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CATALOGUE

OF THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

IN

VERNON, Conn.,

FROM ITS

ORGANIZATION IN 1762, TO AUGUST, 1850.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH AND COVENANT,

WITH

RESOLUTIONS AND HISTORICAL NOTICES

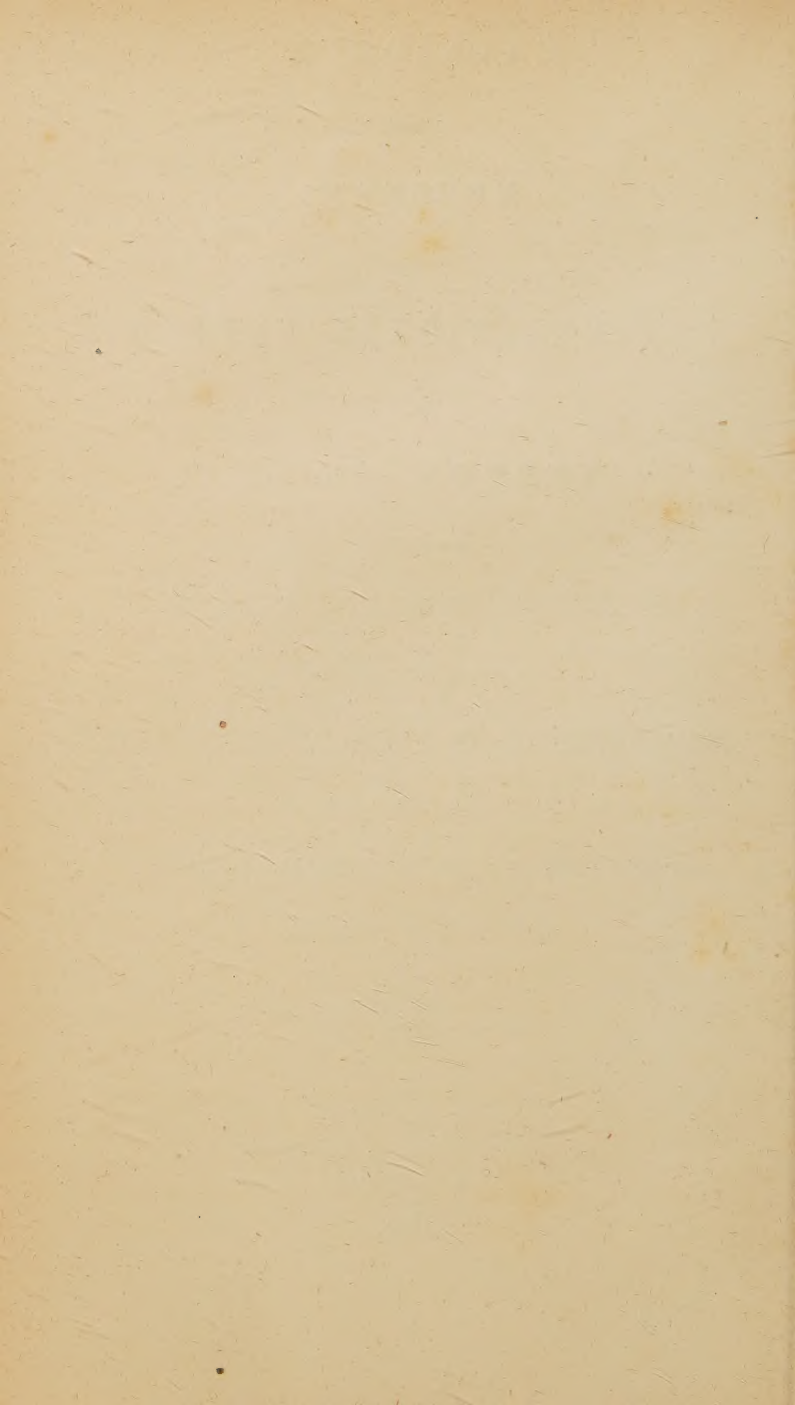
OF THE CHURCH.

NEW HAVEN:

PRINTED BY B. L. HAMLEN,

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1850.



CONFESSION OF FAITH.

ARTICLE I.

You believe in the existence of one only living and true God, who is possessed of every natural and moral perfection.

ARTICLE II.

You believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were written by holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and that they contain the only perfect rule of faith and practice.

ARTICLE III.

You believe that God created all things for his own glory, and that he governs all worlds and events according to the counsel of his own will.

ARTICLE IV.

You believe that God exists in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who are one in essence, and equal in every divine perfection.

ARTICLE V.

You believe that man was created perfect in holiness, that he fell from his original state of rectitude by sinning against God, and that in consequence of his fall, all his posterity are, by nature, totally depraved, and under sentence of condemnation.

ARTICLE VI.

You believe that the only Redeemer of men is the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being the eternal Son of God, assumed human nature, and by his sufferings and death, made an atonement for the sins of all men.

ARTICLE VII.

You believe that salvation is freely offered in the Gospel on condition of repentance for sin and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; that the atonement made by Christ is the sole ground of the justification of believers; and that such is the state of the natural heart that it is only by "the renewing of the Holy Ghost" that any are saved.

ARTICLE VIII.

You believe that "God," in his sovereign pleasure, "hath, from the beginning, chosen" some "to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth."

ARTICLE IX.

You believe that all who comply with the terms of the Gospel, will be "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation."

ARTICLE X.

You believe that you are under obligation to obey all the commands of God, and that without a conscientious discharge of your personal and relative duties as enjoined in the Scriptures, there can be no decisive evidence of your justification.

ARTICLE XI.

You believe that Christ has a Church on earth, composed of those who profess their faith in him and unite in covenant, and that vital piety is a necessary qualification for Christian communion.

ARTICLE XII.

You believe that Christ has instituted discipline in his Church, and appointed the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and that Baptism is to be administered to believers and to their households.

ARTICLE XIII.

You believe that the first day of the week is the Christian Sabbath; that the worship of God in the closet, family and sanctuary, is divinely appointed, and that it is a Christian duty to contribute for the support of the Gospel at home, and for the diffusion of its blessings through the earth.

ARTICLE XIV.

You also believe that, at the end of the world, there will be a resurrection of the dead; that the Son of man, attended by his holy angels, will sit upon his throne of glory, and judge the world in righteousness; and that he will doom the wicked to everlasting punishment, and receive the righteous into life eternal.

Do you thus believe?

COVENANT.

You do now in the presence of the heart-searching God and this assembly, avouch the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to be your God, Redeemer and Sanctifier. You do freely and forever give up yourself [*or, yourselves*] and all you have to him, humbly confessing your sins, and depending wholly upon the merits of Christ for pardon and salvation. Taking the word of God as the only unerring rule of doctrine and duty, you do solemnly promise, by the aid of divine grace, to walk in all the commandments and

ordinances of the Lord, and honor your holy vocation, by a life of piety towards God and benevolence towards men.

You do sincerely dedicate yourself [*or, yourselves*] to the service of God in this church, and deliberately promise to submit to its watch and discipline ; to walk with its members in Christian fellowship, and to labor for the promotion of its purity, peace and edification, till, in the providence of God, your special relation to it shall be dissolved.

With an affecting belief that your vows are recorded on high, and will be reviewed on the day of final judgment, *do you thus covenant with God and this church ?*

We, then, as a church, [*all the members of the church here rise*] do cordially receive you to our communion, and promise to treat you with Christian affection, to watch over you with tenderness, and to beseech the Great Head of the church to enable you to keep the solemn covenant which you have now made. And may we all have grace to be faithful to God and to one another while we live, and be finally prepared, through the Redeemer's merits, for admission to everlasting fellowship with those who shall be "called to the marriage-supper of the Lamb."

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That members of this church about to remove to other places, will be expected to apply for letters of dismission, or certificates of church membership, to be presented to the church where they purpose to reside ;—that members who shall be absent with certificates, will be expected, after one year's absence, to apply for letters of dismission, or assign reasons for not doing it ;—and that we feel it a duty to inquire after all our absent members who shall not comply with this resolution.

Resolved, That members of sister churches who desire to commune with this church more than one year, will be expected to request a removal of their church relation to us, unless there are special reasons for delay ; and that we consider it our duty to inform sister churches, if we know of any of their members residing among us who do not attend upon the special ordinances of the Gospel with us, or who, in other respects, conduct themselves in a manner inconsistent with their Christian profession.

Resolved, That we regard it as irregular, and as a violation of covenant obligations, for any member to withdraw from our communion without requesting a letter of dismission and recommendation to a sister church.

Resolved, That we regard the manufacture, sale, or use of ardent spirits as a beverage, in the midst of the light which now exists in our country on the subject, as inconsistent with the Christian profession.

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

The territory comprised in the present town of Vernon was originally settled by persons from East Windsor, and afterwards became a parish, by the name of North Bolton, formed from the towns of Bolton and East Windsor. It was incorporated as a town in 1808. From the time of its settlement in 1716 until 1762, it contained no separate ecclesiastical organization. During most of the intervening period, the people generally attended upon the ministrations of the Rev. Thomas White, who was ordained pastor of the church in Bolton, in October, 1725. The church in Vernon, composed of thirty-five members from the church in Bolton, was formed in October, 1762.

On the 26th of October, 1837, thirty-five members, having obtained letters of dismission from this church, were, with others, organized as the Second Congregational Church in Vernon, now the First Congregational Church in Rockville.

PASTORS.

The first pastor, the Rev. EBENEZER KELLOGG, was ordained November 24th, 1762. He died September 3d, 1817, in the 81st year of his age, and the 55th year of his ministry in this place.

The Rev. WILLIAM ELY was ordained March 11th, 1818; and was dismissed February 21st, 1822.

The Rev. AMZI BENEDICT was installed June 30th, 1824; and was dismissed February 10th, 1830.

The Rev. CHESTER HUMPHREY was ordained October 4th, 1832. He died April 18th, 1843, aged 40.

The Rev. ALBERT SMITH was installed May 21st, 1845.

DEACONS.

Names.	Chosen.	Died.	Age.
JOHN CHAPMAN,	Dec. 29, 1762,	Feb. 14, 1774,	59.
TITUS OLCOTT,	Dec. 29, 1762,	Oct. 9, 1774,	69.
SETH KING,	April 29, 1773,	July 23, 1780,	57.
EZEKIEL LADD,	April 29, 1773,	Sept. 7, 1809,	95.
DAVID DORCHESTER,	1780,	June 18, 1795,	76.
BENJAMIN TALCOTT,*	1781,	April 18, 1811,	86.
ELISHA LADD,	May 31, 1792,	Dec. 19, 1841,	89.
OLIVER KING,	June 3, 1802,	July 6, 1818,	70.
SAMUEL TALCOTT,	June 17, 1802,	May 26, 1813,	56.
PHINEAS TALCOTT,	June 13, 1813,	Dec. 17, 1835,	77.
FRANCIS KING,	June 14, 1816,	July 16, 1837,	54.
FLAVEL TALCOTT,	Oct. 18, 1833,	Mar. 28, 1844,	58.
ALLYN KELLOGG,	Oct. 18, 1833.		
HORACE W. TALCOTT,	Oct. 31, 1848.		

* This individual was originally a member of the church in Bolton, and no record can be found of the time when he was received into this church; hence, his name is not on the catalogue of members.

EXPLANATIONS.

* Signifies that the person is known to be dead. The year of death, if known, is placed after the star.

d. Signifies that the person has been dismissed.

w. “ that the watch of the church has been withdrawn.

x. “ that the person has been excommunicated.

The dates following these letters, denote the year of dismissal, withdrawal of watch, or excommunication. With a few exceptions, dismissals previous to the year 1818 are not known.

l. Signifies that the person was received by letter from some other church.

The family names of married females are printed in *Italics*, and, when not ascertained, a dash (—) is used.

The figures at the end of the names, refer to the number prefixed to the name of the father, when on the catalogue, otherwise, to that of the mother.*

Figures enclosed in a parenthesis refer to the husband, or wife, if a member of this church.

* Deacon Benjamin Talcott was the father of those to whose names the letters B. T. are appended. See Note on page 9.

CATALOGUE.

The first thirty-five members were recommended from the church in Bolton, when this church was formed.

Oct. 1762.

1 <i>l.</i> Isaac Jones,		*1782
2 <i>l.</i> Titus Olcott,	(3)	*1774
3 <i>l.</i> Damaris <i>Eggleston</i> Olcott,	(2)	*1790
4 <i>l.</i> Elizabeth ——— Allis,		*1774
5 <i>l.</i> John Chapman,	(6)	*1774
6 <i>l.</i> Hannah <i>Kingsbury</i> Chapman,	(5)	*1795
7 <i>l.</i> Isaac Bronson,	(8)	*1769
8 <i>l.</i> Abigail <i>King</i> Bronson,	(7)	*1799
9 <i>l.</i> Charles King,	(10)	*1790
10 <i>l.</i> Sarah <i>King</i> King,	(9)	*
11 <i>l.</i> David Allis,	(12)	*1789
12 <i>l.</i> Sarah <i>Pendal</i> Allis,	(11)	*1781
13 <i>l.</i> Seth King,	(141)	*1780
14 <i>l.</i> Thomas Dart,	(77)	*
15 <i>l.</i> Asahel Root,	(16 & 184)	*1808
16 <i>l.</i> Mehetabel <i>Warner</i> Root,	(15)	*1783
17 <i>l.</i> Thomas Chapman,	(18)	*1797
18 <i>l.</i> Mary <i>Bemont</i> Chapman,	(17)	*1777
19 <i>l.</i> Sarah <i>Loomis</i> Johns,		*1802
20 <i>l.</i> Jabez Rogers,		*1803
21 <i>l.</i> Elizabeth <i>Keep</i> Dart,	(257)	*1798
22 <i>l.</i> Abiah <i>Wright</i> Knowlton,		*
23 <i>l.</i> Solomon Loomis,		*1805
24 <i>l.</i> Nathan Messenger,	(25)	*
25 <i>l.</i> Abigail <i>Callum</i> Messenger,	(24)	*
26 <i>l.</i> Caleb Talcott,	(115)	*1802
27 <i>l.</i> Hezekiah King,	(28)	*1777
28 <i>l.</i> Anna <i>Thrall</i> King,	(27)	*1798
29 <i>l.</i> Stephen Payne,		*1797
30 <i>l.</i> Lydia <i>Cook</i> Payne,		*
31 <i>l.</i> Experience <i>Crippen</i> Lord,		*
32 <i>l.</i> Ruth <i>Rogers</i> Lord,		*1786
33 <i>l.</i> Dorcas <i>Lyman</i> Olcott,		*1800
34 <i>l.</i> Eunice Marshall,		*
35 <i>l.</i> Sarah Blackmore,		*

Before Feb. 3d, 1765.

36 <i>l.</i> David Smith,	(110)	*1815
37 <i>l.</i> Elijah Tucker,	(38)	*1810
38 <i>l.</i> Violet <i>Hills</i> Tucker,	(37)	*1807

39	<i>l.</i> Philip Smith,	(72)		*
40	Nathan Jones,	(41)		*
41	Elizabeth <i>Bidwell</i> Jones,	(40)		*
42	Jonathan Smith,	(43)		*1814
43	Miriam <i>Spaulden</i> Smith,	(42)		*1828
44	Gideon King,	(90)		*1802
45	Roger Loomis,	(46)		*1817
46	Priscilla <i>Baker</i> Loomis,	(45)		*1808
47	<i>l.</i> David Dorchester,	(48 & 154)		*1795
48	<i>l.</i> Eunice <i>Chapin</i> Dorchester,	(47)		*1778
49	<i>l.</i> Benjamin Kilbourn,	(298)	d.	*1817
50	<i>l.</i> Daniel Carpenter,	(51 & 182)		*
51	<i>l.</i> Mrs. <i>Skinner</i> Carpenter,	(50)		*1780
52	Elijah King,	27. (53 & 360)		*1825
53	Mary <i>Baker</i> King,	(52)		*1807
54	<i>l.</i> John McCray,			*1793
55	<i>l.</i> Seth Johnson,			*
56	Eliakim Hitchcock,	(57)	d.	*1817
57	Jedidah <i>Pinney</i> Hitchcock,	(56)	d.	*1824
58	<i>l.</i> Beriah Bronson,			*1794
59	<i>l.</i> Ezekiel Ladd,	(60)	d. 1781	*1809
60	<i>l.</i> Hannah <i>Bigelow</i> Ladd,	(59)	d. 1781	*1813
61	<i>l.</i> William Hunt,	(62)		*1785
62	<i>l.</i> Mary <i>Crosby</i> Hunt,	(61)		*1807
63	<i>l.</i> Solomon Hovey,			*
64	<i>l.</i> Allen McLean,			*1786
65	Alexander McLean,	64. (66)		*1806
66	Jehannah <i>Smith</i> McLean,	42. (65)		*1822
67	John Hodge,	(68)		*
68	Hannah <i>Allis</i> Hodge,	(67)		*
69	Lucretia <i>Johns</i> Badger,	19.		*1801

Between Feb. 2d, 1765 & 1770.

70	Hannah <i>Wright</i> Kellogg,	(Rev. E. K.)		*1807
71	<i>l.</i> Mary Carly,			*
72	<i>l.</i> Ann <i>Stiles</i> Smith,	(39)		*
73	<i>l.</i> Sarah Brown,			*
74	<i>l.</i> Bethiah Thacher,			*
75	<i>l.</i> Phebe ——— Fitch,			*
76	<i>l.</i> Ann Hitchcock,			*
77	Sarah <i>Belden</i> Dart,	(14)		*
78	<i>l.</i> Ann <i>Pease</i> Reed,			*
79	Miriam <i>Grant</i> Root,	(85)	d. 1837	*1845
80	Rachel <i>Andrus</i> Millard,			*1782
81	Sarah <i>C</i> ——— Bliss,			*

1770.

82	<i>l.</i> Elizabeth ——— Baldwin,	(98)		*
83	Edward Payne,	29. (84)		*1841
84	Elizabeth <i>King</i> Payne,	9. (88)		*
85	Samuel Root,	15. (79)		*1822
86	<i>l.</i> Joel Nash,			*
87	<i>l.</i> Ichabod Carly,			*
88	<i>l.</i> Gurdon Fowler,	(89 & 139)		*1809

89	<i>L. Sarah Rogers</i> Fowler,	(88)	*1774
90	Charity <i>Tucker</i> King,	(44)	*1810

1771.

91	Martha <i>Carrier</i> Tucker,	d. 1774	*1814
92	Silas King,	(93)	*
93	Anna <i>Shephard</i> King,	(92)	*1821
94	Lemuel Thrall,	(95)	*1831
95	Lydia <i>King</i> Thrall,	(94)	*1776
96	<i>L. Sarah Porter</i> Rogers,		*
97	<i>L. Lucy</i> Ladd,	59.	d. *1825
98	<i>L. Henry</i> Baldwin,	(82)	*

1772.

99	Jerusha <i>Woodworth</i> Lyman,		*
100	Elijah Bronson,		*
101	Elijah Skinner,	105. (102)	*1829
102	Mercy <i>Pratt</i> Skinner,	(101)	*1832
103	Asahel Webster,	(104)	d. *1810
104	Mary <i>Lawrence</i> Webster,	(103)	d. *
105	Daniel Skinner,	(106)	*1787
106	Elizabeth <i>Hitchcock</i> Skinner,	(105)	*1791
107	Ezra Loomis,	(113)	*
108	Daniel Fowler,	(109)	*
109	Temperance <i>Rogers</i> Fowler,	(108)	*
110	Eunice <i>Jones</i> Smith,	1. (36)	*1815
111	Thomas Chapman,	17. (112)	*1819
112	Rebecca <i>Dart</i> Chapman,	77. (111)	*1820
113	<i>L. Rachel Talcott</i> Loomis,	(107)	*

1773.

114	<i>L. Abigail</i> Whitmore Fitch,		*1819
115	Rachel <i>Andrus</i> Talcott,	(26)	*1822

1774.

116	Sarah <i>Downer</i> Emerson,		*1791
117	Joshua Pearl,	(118)	*1837
118	Deborah <i>Marshall</i> Pearl,	(117)	*1818

1775.

119	Bethiah <i>Randal</i> West,	d. 1793	*1812
120	Daniel Ladd,	59. (121)	d. 1781 *1825
121	<i>L. Persis Blackman</i> Ladd,	(120)	d. 1781 *1837
122	Susannah <i>Millard</i> King,	80. (231)	*1829
123	Abel West,	(124)	d. 1793 *1836
124	Hannah <i>Chapman</i> West,	5. (123)	d. 1793 *1814
125	Azubah <i>Martin</i> Chapman,		*
126	<i>L. Molly Stewart</i> Chapman,		*1811
127	Mabel <i>Kellogg</i> Nash,		*
128	Mary <i>Smith</i> Root,	36.	*1807

1776.

129	Eliakim Root,	(130)	*
130	Eunice <i>Chapman</i> Root,	5. (129)	*
131	Sarah <i>Baldwin</i> Leonard,		*1783
132	Ephraim Ladd,	59. (133)	d. 1784 *1839

133	Lois <i>Chapman</i> Ladd,	5.	(132)	d. 1784	*1836
134	Mrs. <i>West</i> Allis,				*
135	<i>L.</i> Silvanus Delano,		(136)		*
136	<i>L.</i> Elizabeth <i>Abbott</i> Delano,		(135)		*1779
137	Hannah <i>Ladd</i> Younger,	59.		d. 1781	*
138	Elizabeth <i>Cross</i> Fuller,				*
139	Mary <i>Chapman</i> Fowler,	5.	(88)		*1832
140	Sarah <i>Thrall</i> Payne,				*
141	Mary <i>Smith</i> King,		(13)		*1811

1777.

142	Elisha Ladd,	59.	(143)	d.	*1841
143	Abiah <i>Strong</i> Ladd,		(142)	d.	*
144	Phineas Chapman,	5.	(193)		*1823
145	Prudence Dart,	257.			*1801
146	Elizabeth Pental,				*1794

1780.

147	Abijah Johns,	19.	(148)		*1822
148	Joanna <i>Andrus</i> Johns,		(147)		*1831
149	Asenath <i>Dorchester</i> Mariam,	47.			*
150	<i>L.</i> Joel Drake,		(151)		*
151	<i>L.</i> Alithea <i>Cross</i> Drake,		(150)		*
152	<i>L.</i> Asahel Phelps,		(153)		*
153	<i>L.</i> Abigail <i>Beach</i> Phelps,		(152)		*

1781.

154	Rebecca <i>Webster</i> <i>Dorchester</i> ,		(47)		*1817
155	<i>L.</i> Mary <i>Chapman</i> Squire,				*

1782.

156	Oliver King,	13.	(157)		*1818
157	Chloe <i>Humphrey</i> King,		(156)		*1816
158	Eunice <i>Root</i> Wiles,	129.		w. 1821	*1835
159	Wealthy Carpenter,				*
160	Samuel Rogers,	20.			*1829
161	Josiah Whitney,				*
162	Nathaniel Rogers,	20.			*1848
163	Charles Warner,				*
164	Elijah Loomis, jr.,		(198)		*
165	Abigail <i>Root</i> Rider,	15.		d.	*1800
166	Seth King,	13.	(167)		*
167	Silence <i>Lathrop</i> King,		(166)		*1814
168	Leonard Rogers,	20.	(169)		*1843
169	Eunice <i>Smith</i> Rogers,	36.	(168)		*1842
170	Caleb Talcott,	26.	(255)		*1801
171	James Chapman,	126.	(216)	d. 1811	*1838

1783.

172	Amasa Loomis,		(173)		*
173	Mrs. ——— Loomis,		(172)		*
174	Rachel Hunt,	61.			*1818
175	Elijah Loomis,		(176)		*1802
176	Rachel <i>Wolcott</i> Loomis,		(175)		*1836
177	Solomon Loomis,	23.			

178	<i>l.</i> Joseph Sessions,	(179)	*
179	<i>l.</i> Mrs. ——— Sessions,	(178)	*

1784.

180	Joseph Loomis,	(181)	*1829
181	Lois <i>Payne</i> Loomis,	(180)	*1800
182	<i>l.</i> Eunice ——— Carpenter,	(50)	*
183	<i>l.</i> Jerusha <i>Porter</i> Richardson,		*1824

1785.

184	<i>l.</i> Lucy <i>Brown</i> Root,	(15)	*1807
185	<i>l.</i> Henry Waldo,	(186) x. 1819	*
186	<i>l.</i> Hannah <i>Tucker</i> Waldo,	(185)	*
187	<i>l.</i> Daniel Field,	(188) d. 1802	*1795
188	<i>l.</i> Sarah <i>Wells</i> Field,	(187)	*1828

1786.

189	Justus Talcott,	26. (190)	*1849
190	Sarah <i>Johns</i> Talcott,	19. (189)	*1826
191	Rufus Safford,	(192) d. 1796	*1827
192	Mary <i>Andrus</i> Safford,	(191) d. 1796	*1843
193	Elizabeth <i>Johns</i> Chapman,	19. (144)	*1812
194	Jonathan Fowler,	(195)	*
195	Sarah <i>Peck</i> Fowler,	(194)	
196	<i>l.</i> Benjamin Talcott,	B. T. (197&306&486)	*1829
197	<i>l.</i> Jerusha <i>Olmsted</i> Talcott,	(196)	*1800

1787.

198	Rachel <i>Chapman</i> Loomis,	17. (164)	*
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1788.

199	John Olcott,	(200 & 254)	*1802
200	Patty <i>Talcott</i> Olcott,	26. (199)	*1790
201	Oliver Hunt,	61. (202)	*1818
202	Jerusha <i>Symonds</i> Roberts,	(201 & 212)	*1844

1789.

203	Gustavus Kilbourn,	49. (204)	*1841
204	Elizabeth <i>Skinner</i> Kilbourn,	(203)	
205	Ebenezer Kellogg, jr.,	70. (206&295&313)	*1812
206	Abigail <i>Olmsted</i> Kellogg,	(205)	*1797
207	Joseph King,	52.	

1790.

208	Lucy <i>Hills</i> Thrall,	d.	*1826
209	Phineas Talcott,	B. T. (210)	*1835
210	Hannah <i>Kellogg</i> Talcott,	70. (209)	*1836
211	<i>l.</i> Lucy <i>Bissel</i> Field,		*
212	Cornelius Roberts,	(213 & 202)	*1829
213	Lydia <i>Adams</i> Roberts,	(212)	*1817
214	Daniel Lord,	(215) d.	*1834
215	Jane <i>Hyde</i> Lord,	(214) d.	*1844
216	Salome <i>Squire</i> Chapman,	155. (171) d. 1811	*1820
217	Sarah <i>Torrey</i> Fenton,		

1791.

218	<i>l.</i> Seth Talcott,	(219)	*1826
219	<i>l.</i> Elizabeth <i>Andrus</i> Talcott,	(218)	*
220	Samuel Talcott,	B. T. (228)	*1813
221	Roswell Smith,	36. (222)	*1844
222	Hannah <i>Kingsbury</i> Smith,	(221)	*1822
223	<i>l.</i> Mabel <i>Dorchester</i> Richardson,		*
224	Leavit Bissell,	(225)	*1813
225	Sally <i>Newton</i> Bissell,	(224)	

1792.

226	Rachel <i>King</i> How,	9.	*1807
227	Mrs. <i>Isham</i> Simons,		*
228	Sarah <i>Smith</i> Talcott,	(220)	*1823
229	David Smith,	36. (230)	x. 1834 *1837
230	Olive <i>Talcott</i> Smith,	B. T. (229)	*1829
231	Reuben King,	9. (122)	*1831

1793.

232	Hezekiah Loomis,	(233)	d. *1839
233	Lydia <i>Dorchester</i> Loomis,	47. (232)	*1803
234	Roswell Payne,	29. (235)	*1806
235	Sarah <i>Chamberlain</i> Payne,	(234)	
236	Eli Hammond,	(237 & 460)	d. 1837 *1840
237	Olivia <i>Howard</i> Hammond,	(236)	*1813
238	Reuben Carpenter,	385. (239)	*1807
239	Miriam <i>Dart</i> Carpenter,	257. (238)	*1803

1794.

240	<i>l.</i> Roger Dart,	14. (241 & 352)	*1812
241	<i>l.</i> Elizabeth <i>Newton</i> Dart,	(240)	*1803
242	<i>l.</i> Sarah <i>Day</i> Fuller,	(253)	*1815

1795.

243	Eliakim Hitchcock,	56. (244)	*1840
244	Eunice <i>Abel</i> Hitchcock,	(243)	*1836
245	<i>l.</i> Abigail <i>Dimmick</i> Hyde,		*1822
246	Samuel Field,	187.	*1815

1796.

247	Thomas W. Kellogg,	70. (248)	*1837
248	Mary <i>Hubbard</i> Kellogg,	(247)	
249	Abel Driggs,	(250)	*1846
250	Rachel <i>King</i> Driggs,	231. (249)	*1847
251	Ebenezer Hunt,	61. (252)	*1836
252	Mary <i>Smith</i> Hunt,	(251)	*1830
253	Jehiel Fuller,	(242)	*1796
254	Betsey <i>Smith</i> Olcott,	36. (199)	*1831
255	Lydia <i>Baker</i> McKinney,	(170 & 305)	d. 1831
256	<i>l.</i> Mary <i>Hoskins</i> Hyde,		*1801

1797.

257	John Dart,	(21)	*1809
258	Simon King,	52. (259)	
259	Margaret <i>Fletcher</i> King,	(258)	*
260	Salmon King,	44.	*1839

261	Sarah <i>Kingsbury</i> Reed,	(262)	*1798
262	Ebenezer Reed,	(261)	*1832
263	Lois <i>Loomis</i> Kilbourn,	45.	
264	Jacob Talcott,	B. T.	(265) *1835
265	Anna <i>Carpenter</i> Talcott,	385.	(264) *1849
266	<i>l.</i> Achsah <i>Fenton</i> Pearl,	(705) d.	

1798.

267	Daniel Talcott,	B. T.	(268) *1807
268	Betsey <i>Keeney</i> Talcott,		(267) *1802
269	Alvan Talcott,	B. T.	(270) *1835
270	Philomela <i>Root</i> Talcott,	85.	(269) d. 1837
271	Eleazer McCray,	54.	(272) d. *1817
272	Eunice <i>Ladd</i> McCray,	142.	(271) d. *1817
273	Alvan Baker,		(274) *1847
274	Ruth <i>Chapman</i> Baker,	111.	(273)

1799.

275	Elijah Skinner,	101.	(276) x. 1821 *1835
276	Mary <i>Hunt</i> Skinner,	61.	(275) *1815
277	Scottoway Hinkley,	(278 & 500)	d. 1841 *1849
278	Eunice <i>Kellogg</i> Hinkley,	70.	(277) *1824

1800.

279	Clarissa <i>Ladd</i> Craw,	142.		*1847
280	Sarah <i>Pratt</i> McLean,		(286) d. 1809	*1831
281	Jesse L. Hunt,	61.		
282	John Delano,			*
283	Abigail <i>Carpenter</i> Chapman,	385.	(603)	
284	Elijah Tucker,	37.	(285) d.	*
285	Experience <i>Bartlett</i> Tucker,		(284) d.	*
286	Allen McLean,	65.	(280)	
287	John Chapman,	111.	(319)	

1801.

288	Samuel Andrews,		(289)	*1844
289	Tryphena <i>Loomis</i> Andrews,		(288)	*1842
290	<i>l.</i> Elijah Hammond,		(291)	*1836
291	<i>l.</i> Martha <i>Strong</i> Hammond,		(290)	*1835
292	Susannah <i>King</i> Pratt,	231.		
293	Alpheus Andrews,		(294)	*1843
294	Lucinda <i>Dart</i> Andrews,	240.	(293)	*1843

1802.

295	Hannah <i>Olmsted</i> Kellogg,		(205)	*1802
296	<i>l.</i> Percy <i>Chaffee</i> Hyde,			*
297	<i>l.</i> Benjamin Kilbourn, 2d time,		(298)	*1817
298	<i>l.</i> Elizabeth <i>Goodrich</i> Kilbourn,		(297)	*1820
299	Alexander McKinney,		(300)	*1819
300	Elizabeth <i>Reed</i> McKinney,	78.	(299)	*1814
301	<i>l.</i> Caleb Parsons,		(302)	*1838
302	<i>l.</i> Lois <i>Taylor</i> Parsons,		(301)	*1836

1803.

303	<i>l.</i> Solomon Perrin,		(304)	*1826
304	<i>l.</i> Anna <i>Kellogg</i> Perrin,		(303)	*1833

305	Erastus McKinney,	299.	(255)	d. 1831	*1847
306	Hannah <i>Percival</i> Talcott,		(196)		*1820
307	<i>L. Lucy Hurlbut</i> Tucker,		(322)		*
308	Lois <i>Ely</i> Chapman,				*
309	<i>L. William</i> Worthington,		(310)		
310	<i>L. Sarah Wells</i> Worthington,		(309)		
311	<i>L. Sarah</i> Worthington,	309.			
312	<i>L. Celina</i> Worthington,	309.			

1804.

313	<i>L. Betsey Sheldon</i> McLean,	(205 & 336)	d.		
314	<i>L. Asahel</i> Webster, 2d time,	(315)			*1810
315	<i>L. Mary Lawrence</i> Webster, 2d time,	(314)			*
316	<i>L. Abraham</i> Wheadon,	(317)	d. 1822		*1842
317	<i>L. Lydia White</i> Wheadon,	(316)	d. 1822		
318	Rachel <i>Reed</i> Walbridge,		d.		*1835
319	<i>L. Abigail Pratt</i> Chapman,	(287)			*1839

1805.

320	John Payne,	(321)			*1811
321	Damaris <i>Hills</i> Payne,	(320)	d. 1816		*1824
322	Hope Tucker,	37.	(307)		

1806.

323	Sally <i>Roberts</i> Winter,	212.			*1817
324	Clarissa Corning,				*1848
325	Ezekiel Baker,	(326&343&495)			*1842
326	Anna <i>Talcott</i> Baker,	26.	(325)		*1827
327	Sarah <i>Skinner</i> Payne,				*1846

1807.

328	Francis King,	156.		d. 1836	*1837
329	Darius Hunt,		(330)		
330	Jerusha <i>Lyman</i> Hunt,	99.	(329)		*1813

1808.

331	<i>L. Daniel</i> Cone,	(332)			*1839
332	<i>L. Kezia Chapman</i> Cone,	126.	(331)		*1832
333	Emily <i>Bow</i> Avery,			w. 1832	*
334	Lucy <i>Marvin</i> Fuller,			d. 1827	*1843
335	Charles Lee,			d.	
336	<i>L. Alexander</i> McLean,	65.	(337&313)	d.	*1845
337	<i>L. Betsey Thrall</i> McLean,		(336)		*1814
338	Mary Sheldon,			d. 1833	

1809.

339	<i>L. John</i> Bingham,				*
340	Mary Corning,				
341	Olivia <i>Hammond</i> Daniels,	236.		d. 1826	*1832
342	Joanna <i>Johns</i> Tarbox,	147.	(488)	d.	*1826
343	Patty <i>Talcott</i> Baker,	189.	(325)		*1831
344	Roxey <i>McKinney</i> McLean,				*1811
345	Nancy <i>McKinney</i> Hall,				*1818
346	Polly <i>Woodard</i> Fox,		(361)	d.	
347	Elijah Hammond,	290.	(720)	d. 1817	
348	Harriet <i>Humphrey</i> Hull,			d.	

349	Betsey Rogers,	168.		*1812
350	Nancy <i>Rogers</i> Tucker,	168.	(379)	
351	Lydia <i>Cady</i> Bisby,			*1837
352	<i>L. Anna Giles</i> Dart,		(240)	

1810.

353	Sarah Thrall,			*1842
354	Zina <i>King</i> Tucker,	231.	(363)	*1835
355	Eunice Rogers,	168.		
356	Lydia <i>Root</i> Wood,	128.	(545)	
357	Fanny <i>Smith</i> Talcott,	221.	(468)	
358	Electa <i>Smith</i> Tuttle,	221.		

1811.

359	<i>L. Sybil Coleman</i> Barstow,			*1822
360	Susannah <i>McLean</i> King,	64.	(52)	*1815
361	<i>L. Josiah</i> Fox,		(346) d.	

1812.

362	Olive <i>Post</i> Tucker,			*
363	Clark Tucker,	37.	(354)	*1821

1813.

364	<i>L. Sally Trumbull</i> Tuttle,			*1817
365	<i>L. Ruth Pratt</i> Skinner,		d. 1823	*1823
366	Anna <i>Loomis</i> Palmer,			
367	Betsey Pran,			

1814.

368	Ruth <i>Kingsbury</i> Scott,			*1841
369	Martin Kellogg,	205.		*1814
370	George Kellogg,	205.	(419) d. 1837	
371	Amariah Knox,		d. 1820	*1827
372	Nancy <i>Talcott</i> Millard,	228.	d. 1815	
373	Zilpah <i>Perkins</i> Hollister,		d. 1817	*1827
374	Lydia <i>Corning</i> McCollum,		(448)	*1837
375	Huldah <i>Millard</i> Coleman,	413.		*1850

1815.

376	Anna <i>White</i> Tinker,			
377	Ruth <i>Symonds</i> Sage,			*1827
378	Jemima D. <i>King</i> Hills,			
379	Ephraim Tucker,	(380 & 350)		*1830
380	Pemelia <i>Hubbard</i> Tucker,	(379)		*1820
381	Lyman Ransom,	(382)	d. 1827	
382	Eunice <i>Wheadon</i> Ransom,	316.	(381) d. 1827	
383	Lydia S. <i>Wheadon</i> Skinner,	316.	(627) d. 1839	
384	Melicent <i>Wheadon</i> ,	316.	d. 1822	*1845
385	<i>L. Anna Burrows</i> Carpenter,			*1843
386	Joshua Pearl, jr.,	117.	(387)	*1817
387	Eunice <i>Steadman</i> Pearl,		(386)	*1843
388	Oliver Baker,	486.	(389) d. 1818	
389	Laura <i>Ladd</i> Baker,		(388) d. 1818	*1827
390	Mary <i>Booth</i> Warburton,		d. 1829	*1844
391	Mary <i>Root</i> Johns,			
392	Warren McKinney,	299.	(393) d. 1837	

393	Betsey Wallace McKinney,		(392)	d. 1837	
394	Lucretia Bingham Abbott,				*1835
395	Rachel Carpenter Lyman,			d. 1819	*1820
396	Anna Talcott,	264.			*1817
397	Amelia Talcott Smith,	269.		d. 1836	
398	Amanda Steadman Lamson,				
399	Silence Parsons Sage,				*1847
400	Eleanor Grant Phelps,				
401	Achsah Cone Abbott,	331.	(604)		
402	Lois Lee Perrin,	436.		d. 1838	
403	Hannah Wells Smith,				
404	Calista Cone,	331.		d. 1849	
405	Cynthia Swan King,			d. 1818	
406	Betsey Pratt Sage,			x. 1830	
407	Henry Kellogg,	247.	(487)	d. 1829	
408	Sarah Talcott Landfear,	220.		d. 1821	*1838
409	Clarissa McLean Spencer,	336.		d.	

1816.

410	Eunice Chapman,	144.		d. 1837	
411	Docia Wells Comstock,	483.		d.	*
412	Mary Tryon Allen,			d. 1839	*1849
413	Lydia Skinner Milliard,				*1832
414	l. Flavel Talcott,		(415)		*1844
415	l. Eunice Hubbard Talcott,		(414)		
416	Miriam Root,	15.			*1824
417	Lydia Millard Chapman,	413.			
418	Roxey King,	231.			

1817.

419	l. Eliza Noble Kellogg,		(370)	d. 1837	
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1818.

420	l. Mary Abbott Scarborough,			d. 1825	*1843
421	Eldad Barber,		(422)	d. 1832	*1844
422	Lois Bissel Barber,		(421)	d. 1832	*1843
423	Augustus Grant,		(424)		*1832
424	Asenath Fuller Grant,	253.	(423)	d. 1841	*1849
425	Grace Reed Grant,				*
426	Margery Drown,			d. 1826	
427	Joel Talcott,	209.			
428	Sarah B. Childs McLean,				*1835
429	Sylvia Thomas Holden,				
430	Olive Abbott Chaffee,	394.		d. 1837	
431	Gurdon Grant,		(441)		*1840
432	Electa Grant McKinney,			d. 1838	

1819.

433	Asa Cone,	331.	(434)	d. 1828	*1832
434	Lucinda Lay Mann,		(433)	d. 1828	
435	Henry C. Dixon,			d. 1827	*1849
436	Sarah Higgins Lee,	302.			
437	Nancy Chapman Crane,	111.		d. 1824	
438	Olive Smith,	229.			*1831
439	Hannah P. Talcott Chapman,	196.		d. 1824	

440	Lucy <i>Brown</i> Cunningham,			*1828
441	Lucy <i>Cunningham</i> Grant,	440.	(431)	*1840
442	Martha <i>Hammond</i> Warner,	290.	d. 1834	*1845
443	Sarah <i>Lee</i> Roberts,	436.		
444	Lucy <i>Lee</i> Baker,	436.	d. 1834	
445	Deborah Pearl,	386.		*1832
446	Elizabeth L. Talcott,	264.		*1824
447	Maria <i>Kellogg</i> Hinckley,		d. 1824	
448	Erastus McCollum,		(374 & 740) d. 1842	
449	Rebecca <i>Webster</i> Walker,		d. 1835	*1849
450	Miriam <i>Fitch</i> Thrall,	114.		*1846
451	Hannah <i>Talcott</i> Stone,	209.	d. 1842	
452	Elizabeth <i>Warburton</i> Drake,	390.	d. 1824	
453	Mary A. <i>Chapman</i> Hammond,		d. 1832	
454	Eunice <i>Hinkley</i> Button,	277.	d. 1827	
455	Elizabeth <i>Hinkley</i> Steel,	277.	d. 1832	
456	Mary Cunningham,	440.		*1825
457	Francis Grant,		(458)	
458	Anna <i>Wood</i> Grant,		(457)	
459	Royal Talcott,	264.	(481)	*1823
460	Sarah <i>Carpenter</i> Hammond,	385.	(236) d. 1837	*1844
461	Jerusha <i>Goodale</i> Lucas,		d.	
462	Betsey <i>Talcott</i> Griswold,	267.	d. 1824	*1843
463	Julia A. Talcott,	220.	d. 1833	
464	L. Lydia <i>Loomis</i> Hall,		d. 1836	

1820.

465	George Tryon,		(466) d. 1820	*1849
466	Mary <i>Warfield</i> Tryon,		(465) d. 1820	*
467	Josiah Hammond,	290.	(615)	
468	Benjamin Talcott,	196.	(357)	*1850
469	Seneca Gale,		d. 1832	
470	L. Sally <i>Comstock</i> Parker,		d. 1824	
471	Bathsheba W. <i>Talcott</i> Cotter,	267.	d. 1828	*1847
472	Lucretia T. <i>Hunt</i> Babcock,		d. 1835	
473	L. Else <i>King</i> Fuller,	27.		*1830

1821.

474	L. Elisha Ladd, 2d time,	59.		*1841
475	L. Harriet <i>Whiting</i> Ely,		(Rev. W. E.) d. 1827	*1847
476	L. Nathaniel Hubbard,		(477) d. 1837	
477	L. Betsey <i>Taylor</i> Hubbard,		(476) d. 1837	

1822.

478	L. Eliza <i>White</i> Kellogg,		(592)	
479	L. Wealthy <i>Hayden</i> Bradley,		d. 1824	
480	Mary <i>Johns</i> Wells,	391.	(546)	*1834
481	L. Martha <i>Warner</i> Talcott,		(459)	*1829

1823.

482	L. Eliza <i>Nash</i> Kellogg,		(593)	
483	L. Thomas Wells,		(484) d. 1828	*1843
484	L. Sally <i>Risley</i> Wells,		(483)	*1823
485	L. Sybil <i>Thorp</i> Tuttle,			*1833

1824.

486 l. Betsey <i>Field</i> Talcott,	187.	(196)	
487 l. Elethea <i>Birge</i> Kellogg,		(407)	d. 1829
488 l. Benjamin Tarbox,		(489)	*1828
489 l. Joanna <i>Johns</i> Tarbox, 2d time,	147.	(488)	*1826
490 l. Eliphalet Lyman,	99.		d. 1832
491 l. Wealthy <i>Hartshorn</i> Lyman,		(494)	

1825.

492 Julia <i>Baker</i> Skinner,	273.		*1825
493 Anna <i>Palmer</i> Skinner,	366.		
494 Samuel Lyman,	99.	(491)	*1845
495 Ruth <i>Carpenter</i> Baker,	238.	(325)	
496 l. Elizabeth <i>Strickland</i> Thrall,			
497 Eliot Palmer, jr.,	366.		
498 Betsey <i>Hammond</i> Perrin,			*1847

1826.

499 l. Martha S. <i>Cowles</i> Benedict,		(Rev. A. B.)	d. 1832
500 l. Fanny <i>Sheldon</i> Hinkley,		(277)	d. 1841
501 Joseph Colton,			*1835
502 Lenda <i>Baker</i> Huntington,	273.	(607)	

1827.

503 Sarah <i>Wells</i> Tuttle,			d. 1847
504 Cyril Pearl,	386.		d. 1833
505 Elam Pearl,	386.	(635 & 582)	d. 1838
506 l. Mehalea E. <i>Leland</i> Wyman,			d. 1840
507 l. Roxana <i>Wyman</i> Grant,			d. 1841
508 l. Simon Landfear,		(509)	d. 1834
509 l. Electa <i>Andrus</i> Landfear,		(508)	d. 1834
510 Persis <i>Bingham</i> Nash,			*1835
511 Sarah K. <i>Nash</i> Townsend,	510.		
512 Mary A. Nash,	510.		
513 Betsey <i>Abbott</i> Moses,			d. 1829
514 Rachel H. <i>Talcott</i> Case,	269.		d. 1837
515 Rosanna <i>Talcott</i> Miles,	269.		d. 1836
			*1838

1828.

516 l. Benjamin Chapman,		(517)	
517 l. Eleanor <i>Whiting</i> Chapman,		(516)	
518 Philenda <i>Talcott</i> Barber,	220.		d. 1830

1829.

519 l. Nancy S. <i>Chapman</i> Cooley,			d. 1838
520 Sarah K. <i>Hubbard</i> Loomis,	476.		*1844
521 Eunice A. <i>Hubbard</i> Barnes,	476.		d. 1834
522 l. Mary <i>Loomis</i> Skinner,			d. 1835
523 Philenda <i>Roberts</i> White,	212.		*1830

1830.

524 Laura <i>Hunt</i> King,	201.		
525 Direxsy <i>Chapman</i> Beekman,			d. 1833
526 Louisa <i>Chapman</i> Nash,	637.		d. 1833
527 Josiah Park,		(528)	*1836

528	Sarah <i>Safford</i> Park,		(527)	d. 1837	*1848
529	Allen Hammond,	290.	(530)	d. 1837	
530	Orra <i>Park</i> Hammond,	527.	(529)	d. 1837	
531	<i>l.</i> Harriet <i>Tyler</i> Chapman,				
532	Allyn Talcott,	209.	(651)		

1831.

533	<i>l.</i> Henry Kellogg, 2d time,	247.	(534)	d. 1839	
534	<i>l.</i> Elethea <i>Birge</i> Kellogg, 2d time,		(533)	d. 1839	
535	<i>l.</i> Susan <i>Bull</i> Cotter,		(594)	d. 1841	
536	<i>l.</i> Susan M. Pratt,	292.			
537	Phineas Chapman,	144.	(538)	d. 1837	
538	Lucy <i>Wells</i> Chapman,	483.	(537)	d. 1837	*1849
539	Abel Driggs,	249.	(540)		
540	Martha <i>Allen</i> Driggs,		(539)		
541	David T. Smith,	229.	(542)	x. 1842	
542	Mary <i>McLean</i> Smith,	344.	(541)		*1831
543	John Chapman, jr.,	287.	(544)		
544	Rebecca <i>Childs</i> Chapman,		(543)		
545	Marshal Wood,		(556)		
546	Ira <i>Wells</i> ,—	483.	(480 & 739)		
547	Lucius Hinkley,	277.	(584)	d. 1837	
548	Walter Pearl,	386.			*1832
549	Nelson Kingsbury,		(559)	d. 1834	
550	Horace Vinton,		(591)	d. 1837	
551	Seth W. Johnson,			d. 1837	
552	Tirzah <i>Chapman</i> Childs,	287.			
553	Mary K. Hammond,	290.		d. 1842	
554	Sarah M. <i>Tilden</i> Holman,			d. 1838	
555	Emily <i>Lee</i> Cruttenden,	436.		d. 1834	*1837
556	Mary <i>Smith</i> Taylor,	229.		d. 1839	
557	Lucy Sage,	399.			
558	Betsey <i>Thrall</i> Preston,	496.	(640)	d. 1837	
559	Nancy <i>Thrall</i> Kingsbury,	496.	(549)	d. 1834	
560	Louisa <i>Eaton</i> McGraw,			d. 1836	*
561	Mary <i>Pearl</i> Merrick,	386.			*1838
562	Emeline <i>Talcott</i> Tracy,	269.	(610)	d. 1837	
563	Lydia S. <i>Chapman</i> Patrick,	637.		d. 1844	
564	Persis <i>Hammond</i> Ford,	236.		d. 1837	
565	Abigail <i>Rogers</i> Cotney,				*1836
566	<i>l.</i> Halsey Fuller,	334.	(567)	d. 1837	
567	<i>l.</i> Lydia <i>Lee</i> Fuller,	436.	(566)	d. 1837	
568	<i>l.</i> Eunice <i>Talcott</i> Halsted,	209.		d. 1832	
569	<i>l.</i> Hannah E. <i>Wright</i> Kellogg,				
570	Roswell Smith,	221.	(571)	d. 1846	
571	Mariva <i>King</i> Smith,		(570)	d. 1846	
572	Zolva Smith,	229.		x. 1835	
573	Lucius Parish,		(601)	d. 1838	
574	Almira Sage,	399.			
575	Harriet <i>Baker</i> Comstock,	273.	(823)	d. 1831	
576	Mariva <i>Baker</i> Risley,	273.		d. 1847	
577	Emily <i>Smith</i> Chapman,	221.		d. 1835	
578	Maria <i>Slater</i> McLean,	464.		d. 1836	
579	Mary A. <i>Chapman</i> Barnard,			d. 1836	*1841
580	Harriet <i>Thrall</i> Bacon,	496.		d. 1838	

581	Elijah Chapman, jr.,	637.		
582	Lucy K. <i>Rogers</i> Pearl,	168.	(505)	d. 1844
583	Eliza D. <i>Bump</i> Lathrop,			d. 1837
584	<i>L.</i> Laura <i>Waterman</i> Hinkley,		(547)	d. 1837
585	Barnabas Hinkley,	277.	(600)	d. 1833
586	Mary K. Pratt,	292.		*1835
587	Marianne <i>Perrin</i> Galpin,	402.		d. 1840
588	Mariette <i>Perrin</i> Brigham,	402.		
589	<i>L.</i> Rosannah <i>Johns</i> Holmes,	391.		
590	Fanny <i>McKinney</i> Brown,	305.		d. 1831
591	<i>L.</i> Lucretia <i>Johns</i> Vinton,	391.	(550)	d. 1837

1832.

592	Allyn Kellogg,	205.	(478)	
593	Nathaniel O. Kellogg,	205.	(482)	
594	Ralph Talcott,	209.	(535)	d. 1841 *1847
595	Sidney S. Hoskins,			d. 1835
596	Charles T. Talcott,		(704)	d. 1838
597	Permelia <i>Chesebro</i> Hunt,			
598	Clarissa <i>Foster</i> Walker,			
599	Ann K. <i>Walker</i> Ripley,	598.	(664)	d. 1837
600	Olive <i>Ripley</i> Hinkley,		(585)	d. 1836
601	Elizabeth J. <i>Chapman</i> Parish,	537.	(573)	d. 1837
602	<i>L.</i> Lucy <i>Dunn</i> Slocomb,			
603	Alpheus Chapman,	111.	(283)	
604	John Abbott,		(401)	
605	Oliver Dart,			d. 1832
606	Hubbard Kellogg,	247.	(702)	
607	Jonathan R. Huntington,	649.	(502)	
608	Justin Dickinson,			d. 1832
609	Bickford Abbott,	394.	(738)	d. 1849
610	Andrew W. Tracy,		(562)	d. 1837
611	Charles D. Newell,		(622)	d. 1834
612	Manton H. Hammond,	236.	(626)	d. 1838
613	Lavalette Perrin,	402.		d. 1837
614	Sarah <i>Brainerd</i> Cone,			*1838
615	Eveline B. <i>Nichols</i> Hammond,	352.	(467)	
616	Clarissa <i>Munsell</i> Fyler,			d. 1837
617	Mary <i>Hunt</i> Grant,	251.		d. 1846
618	Ursula Hunt,	251.		
619	Mabel Smith,	221.		
620	Eunice Sage,	399.		
621	Sarah <i>Sage</i> Thrall,	399.		*1839
622	Mariett <i>Walker</i> Newell,	495.	(611)	d. 1834
623	Sarah A. <i>Carpenter</i> Avery,			
624	Sarah <i>Pearl</i> Freeman,	385.		d. 1834
625	Eunice C. <i>Chapman</i> Reed,	537.		d. 1837
626	<i>L.</i> Mary E. <i>Loomis</i> Hammond,		(612)	d. 1838
627	Reuben Skinner,		(383)	d. 1839
628	Sophia Lathrop,			
629	<i>L.</i> Clarissa <i>King</i> White,			d. 1836 *1848

1833.

630	<i>L.</i> Sarah D. <i>Dart</i> Humphrey,		(Rev. C. H.)	
631	Mary T. <i>Palmer</i> McLean,	366.		d. 1839

632	Eunice Pearl Lunt,	386.	d. 1836	
633	Abigail J. Tarbox Albray,	488.		
634	Eliza Kellogg,	370.		*1837
635	<i>l.</i> Lavinia J. Merrick Pearl,		(505) d. 1838	*1843
636	<i>l.</i> David Greenleaf,		d. 1837	
637	Lydia Pearl Chapman,	117.		*1841
638	Louisa J. Porter Martin,		d. 1837	*1849
639	James M. Talcott,	414.	d. 1844	
640	<i>l.</i> Miner Preston,	792.	(558) d. 1837	
641	<i>l.</i> Elam A. Pease,		d. 1834	
642	<i>l.</i> Wealthy Strong Talcott,			*1835
643	<i>l.</i> William Smith,		(644) d. 1836	
644	<i>l.</i> Huldah Turner Smith,		(643) d. 1836	
645	<i>l.</i> Rufus West,		(646) d. 1837	*1840
646	<i>l.</i> Lois Gager Sprague,		(645) d. 1837	*1845
647	<i>l.</i> Emily Shepherd Cady,		d. 1838	
648	<i>l.</i> Prudence Cook Loomis,		d. 1837	
649	<i>l.</i> Nancy Rudd Huntington,			*1848
650	Rachel Chapman,	516.		
651	<i>l.</i> Martha G. Robbins Talcott,		(532)	
652	<i>l.</i> Ephraim Ladd,		(701) d. 1839	

1834.

653	<i>l.</i> Hannah Kibbee Griswold,			
654	<i>l.</i> Nehemiah Daniels,		(655) d. 1837	
655	<i>l.</i> Lorinda Thorp Daniels,		(654) d. 1837	*1839
656	<i>l.</i> Lora A. Joslin,			
657	<i>l.</i> Elizabeth Hinds Skinner,			*1841
658	Leonard Noble,		d. 1837	
659	Hannah N. Bill,		d. 1846	
660	Elizabeth A. Fuller,		d. 1840	
661	<i>l.</i> Henry McKinney,	669.	(662)	*1847
662	<i>l.</i> Mary A. Bunce Scott,		(661) d. 1849	
663	<i>l.</i> Lucy Tyler,			
664	<i>l.</i> Frederick Ripley,		(599) d. 1837	
665	<i>l.</i> Louisa L. Chapman McLean,			*1847

1835.

666	<i>l.</i> Lorenza Taylor Bradley,		d. 1836	
667	<i>l.</i> Clement Hale,		(668)	
668	<i>l.</i> Marena Bidwell Hale,		(667)	
669	Betsey White McKinney,			*1836
670	Harriet Walker,			
671	George Lee,	436.	(672) d. 1838	
672	Idah H. Skillman Lee,		(671) d. 1838	
673	Royal O. Storrs,		(674) d. 1836	
674	Lora Lee Storrs,	436.	(673) d. 1838	
675	Harriet N. Avery Brown,	333.	d. 1837	*
676	William M. Champin,		(677) d. 1837	
677	Emily Ripley Champin,		(676) d. 1837	
678	Daniel Chapman,	287.	(698) d. 1837	
679	Maria Chapman Sage,	287.		
680	Nancy M. Chapman,			*1841
681	Betsey T. Chapman Talcott,	603.	(693)	
682	John Cushman,		d. 1837	

683	Mary A. <i>Dolbeare</i> Hall,		d. 1842
684	Harriet E. <i>Dolbeare</i> Jones,		d. 1840
685	Elizabeth H. <i>Hubbard</i> Bissell,	476.	d. 1837
686	Mary Ann H. <i>Hubbard</i> ,	476.	d. 1837
687	Harriet <i>Hubbard</i> Starkweather,	(694)	d. 1841
688	Roxcy <i>McLean</i> Dickinson,	428.	d. 1845
689	Chloe E. <i>Lord</i> Case,		d. 1841
690	Harriet <i>Palmer</i> Little,	366.	d. 1841
691	Maria Rogers,		
692	Adaline <i>Reynolds</i> Eaton,	(709)	d. 1839
693	Nathaniel H. Talcott,	414. (681)	
694	Lyman Starkweather,	(687)	d. 1838
695	Jane <i>Walker</i> Perry,	495.	d. 1841
696	Eliza A. <i>Walker</i> Ford,	495. (818)	d. 1843
697	L. Eunice A. <i>Hubbard</i> Barnes,	2d ti., 476.	d. 1837

1836.

698	L. Julia A. <i>Dimock</i> Chapman,	(678)	d. 1837
699	L. Almira G. <i>Dimock</i> Holt,		d. 1837
700	L. Laura P. <i>Hunt</i> Tracy,	597.	*1846
701	L. Mary A. <i>Tucker</i> Ladd,	(652)	d. 1839 *1841
702	L. Julia <i>Selden</i> Kellogg,	(606)	
703	L. Sophia <i>Hutchens</i> Cady,		
704	L. Jerusha <i>Gager</i> Talcott,	(596)	d. 1838

1837.

705	L. John M. Pearl,	117. (706)	d. 1840
706	L. Achsah <i>Fenton</i> Pearl, 2d time,	(705)	d. 1840
707	L. Rachel <i>Smith</i> Potter,		d. 1840
708	L. Phineas Talcott,	209.	d. 1837
709	Jacob S. Eaton,	(692)	d. 1839
710	Mary M. <i>McCollum</i> Keeney,	448.	
711	Ninetta <i>West</i> Talcott,	(731)	d. 1844
712	Lafayette Bosworth,		
713	Mary <i>Talcott</i> Cotter,	269.	d. 1838
714	Abby J. <i>Eells</i> Tucker,		w. 1842
715	Susan L. <i>Bosworth</i> Janes,		d. 1845
716	Lucretia L. <i>Clark</i> Talcott,		

1838.

717	L. Eliza <i>Johnson</i> Hale,		d. 1844
718	L. Mary E. <i>French</i> Lee,		
719	L. Elijah Hammond, 2d time,	290. (720)	
720	L. Esther <i>Griswold</i> Hammond,	(719)	
721	L. Livia <i>Dean</i> Butler,		
722	L. Zulima <i>Mills</i> Hale,		d. 1840
723	L. William Smith,	(724)	
724	L. Betsey <i>Smith</i> Smith,	(723)	

1839.

725	L. Nathan H. Barrett,	(726)	*1842
726	L. Lovina L. <i>Farnsworth</i> Barrett,	(725)	
727	L. Walter T. Brewster,	(728)	d. 1841
728	L. Mary <i>Johnson</i> Brewster,	(727)	d. 1841 *1849

1840.

729	Chloe A. Chapman,				
730	Ebenezer K. Hinkley,	277.	(735)		*1841
731	Elijah H. Talcott,		(711)	d. 1844	
732	Horace W. Talcott,		(785)		
733	Emery Chaffee,			d. 1844	
734	<i>l.</i> Martha J. Chapman Ingraham,		(829)	d. 1850	
735	<i>l.</i> Mary Gleason Hinkley,		(730)		*1842
736	<i>l.</i> Miner Preston, 2d time,	792.	(737)		
737	<i>l.</i> Betsey Thrall Preston, 2d time,	496.	(736)		

1841.

738	Amelia N. Risley Abbott,		(609)	d. 1849	
739	Caroline Bosworth Wells,		(546)		
740	Harriet Bosworth McCollum,		(448)	d. 1842	
741	Anna Smith,	403.			
742	<i>l.</i> Mary Smith Taylor, 2d time,	229.			
743	Abigail Lay Rogers,				*1843
744	John E. Abbott,	604.			
745	Abaline Abbott,	604.			*1845
746	Anna T. Chapman,	603.			
747	Vesta Dunham,			d. 1848	
748	Elizabeth Dunham,			d. 1848	
749	Jane E. Fuller Nye,				
750	Amos Smith,	723.			
751	Lydia A. Strong Reed,			d. 1845	
752	Elizabeth A. Talcott Perrin,	414.		d. 1844	
753	William F. Talcott,	414.			
754	Cornelia P. Tarbox,	488.			
755	Laura Turbox Humphrey,	488.		d. 1843	*1845
756	Mary Tuttle Bailey,	358.		d. 1849	
757	Sally Reed Tuttle,				
758	<i>l.</i> Sarah J. Burr Abbott,			d. 1849	
759	Edwin F. Brewster,				
760	Sybil Carpenter,				
761	Martha S. Hammond,	719.			
762	Jane Hunt,	597.			
763	Harriet McLean,	428.			
764	Sarah P. Rogers,				
765	Margaret Smith Dimock,	403.		d. 1850	
766	Cornelia Smith Parsons,	403.		d. 1849	
767	<i>l.</i> George D. Morgan,	769.	(768)	d. 1845	
768	<i>l.</i> Mary McLean Morgan,	336.	(767)	d. 1845	
769	<i>l.</i> Keziah Cleveland Morgan,			d. 1845	

1842.

770	Eliza B. Chapman,				
771	Maria McLean,	428.			
772	Andrew W. Chapman,	516.			
773	Almira D. Chapman Post,	516.		d. 1849	
774	Maria S. Risley Davis,				
775	Alfred Driggs,	539.			
776	Allyn S. Kellogg,	592.		d. 1845	
777	Martin Kellogg,	592.		d. 1846	
778	Sarah Tuttle Goodman,	757.		d. 1845	

779	<i>l.</i> Mary P. <i>Reed</i> Moseley,		d. 1848
780	Horace Fenton,	(786)	x. 1847
781	Don A. Leeds,		
782	Edwin Symonds,	(788)	
783	Orrin West,		
784	Aurelia Allen,		
785	Jane M. <i>Gardner</i> Talcott,	(732)	
786	Lora <i>Olcott</i> Fenton,	(780)	d. 1845
787	Marion J. Porter,		
788	Nancy G. <i>White</i> Symonds,	(782)	
789	<i>l.</i> Augustus Kneeland,	(790)	
790	<i>l.</i> Hannah E. <i>Ford</i> Kneeland,	(789)	*1849
791	Sarah McLean,	428.	
792	<i>l.</i> Shubael Preston,	(793)	
793	<i>l.</i> Lucretia <i>Miner</i> Preston,	(792)	

1843.

794	<i>l.</i> Scottoway Hinkley, 2d time,	(278 & 795)	*1849
795	<i>l.</i> Fanny <i>Sheldon</i> Hinkley, 2d time,	(794)	
796	<i>l.</i> Jeremiah H. Post,	(797)	
797	<i>l.</i> Amanda F. <i>Merrill</i> Post,	(796)	
798	<i>l.</i> George C. Bissell,	(799)	d. 1849
799	<i>l.</i> Elizabeth <i>White</i> Bissell,	(798)	d. 1849

1844.

800 *l.* Sarah M. Graham,

1845.

801	Philander P. Talcott,	414.	(833)	
802	Washington B. Risley,			d. 1848
803	Almira <i>Talcott</i> Ingraham,		(829)	*1849
804	Mary E. <i>Talcott</i> Wakefield,			d. 1850
805	Elizabeth A. Aldrich,			
806	Cynthia <i>West</i> Avery,			d. 1850
807	Almira <i>Nash</i> Skinner,	510.		
808	<i>l.</i> Daniel G. Kellogg,		(809)	*1850
809	<i>l.</i> Anna E. <i>Hosford</i> Kellogg,		(808)	
810	<i>l.</i> Cynthia Peck,	811.		
811	<i>l.</i> Ebenezer Peck,			
812	<i>l.</i> Julia Ann Huntington,	607.		

1846.

813	Rebecca <i>Sheffield</i> Hyde,			*1848
814	Jerusha <i>King</i> Walker,	524.		
815	Sophronia Nye,			
816	<i>l.</i> Caroline Talcott,			
817	<i>l.</i> Sarah T. <i>Stoddard</i> Smith,		(Rev. A. S.)	
818	<i>l.</i> Jedediah L. Ford,		(819)	
819	<i>l.</i> Eliza A. <i>Walker</i> Ford, 2d time, 495.		(818)	

1847.

820	<i>l.</i> Nehemiah Williams,		(821)	
821	<i>l.</i> Betsey <i>Eddy</i> Williams,		(820)	
822	<i>l.</i> Edward McLean,	428.		d. 1848
823	<i>l.</i> Isaac Comstock,		(824)	

824	<i>l.</i> Harriet <i>Baker</i> Comstock, 2d ti.,	273.	(823)
825	Henry S. Brown,		
826	William S. Barrett,	725.	(831)
827	Mary Ann Symonds,		
828	<i>l.</i> Phebe <i>Kingsbury</i> Peck,		
829	Warren B. Ingraham,	(803 & 734)	d. 1850
830	Jane L. Wickham,		
831	Mary Ann <i>Skinner</i> Barrett,	493.	(826)
832	Elizabeth Tuttle,	358.	

1848.

833	<i>l.</i> Jane <i>Spencer</i> Talcott,		(801)
834	Elizabeth <i>King</i> Risley,		
835	<i>l.</i> Elam Pearl, 2d time,	386.	(836)
836	<i>l.</i> Lucy K. <i>Rogers</i> Pearl, 2d time,	168.	(835)

1849.

837	<i>l.</i> Halsey Fuller, 2d time,	334.	(838)
838	<i>l.</i> Lydia <i>Lee</i> Fuller, 2d time,	436.	(837)
839	<i>l.</i> Samuel A. Johnson,		(848)
840	<i>l.</i> Emily <i>Porter</i> Russell,		
841	<i>l.</i> Prudence Smith,		
842	Fidelia C. <i>Hunt</i> Abbott,		
843	Jane M. <i>Hyde</i> Chapman,	813.	
844	Harriet M. <i>Neff</i> Andrews,		
845	Charlotte Hunt,		
846	Emily Spencer,		
847	Harriet B. Smith,	403.	
848	Clarinda L. <i>Driggs</i> Johnson,	539.	(839)

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849	<i>l.</i> James M. Talcott, 2d time,	414.	(850)
850	<i>l.</i> Amanda <i>Stoughton</i> Talcott,		(849)
851	<i>l.</i> Esther E. Hammond,	719.	
852	<i>l.</i> Mary K. Hammond,	719.	
853	<i>l.</i> William S. Kellogg,		(854)
854	<i>l.</i> Margaret <i>Barber</i> Kellogg,	421.	(853)
855	<i>l.</i> Ann Elizabeth <i>Moore</i> Tuttle,		
856	<i>l.</i> Maria <i>Slater</i> McLean, 2d time,	464.	

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No. 420. Mary <i>Abbott</i> Scarborough, *1843,	read *1835.
No. 624. Sarah <i>Pearl</i> Freeman, 385,	read 386.

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744 John E.
745 Abaline
758 Sarah J. *Burr*, (Lemuel, jr.)
842 Fidelia C. *Hunt*, (Bela)
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633 Abigail J. *Tarbox*, (John S.)
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 437 Nancy *Chapman*, (Curtis)
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THE
CONFESSION OF FAITH,
AND
COVENANT,
OF THE
CHURCH IN YALE COLLEGE.

1855.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

You, [and each of you,] solemnly profess your belief that there is but one God, in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; self-existent, independent, eternal, unchangeable; infinite in power, wisdom, holiness, goodness, and truth:—that by him all things were made; and are preserved and governed according to his own most wise, holy and good pleasure: and that you are his creature, and under the most righteous and solemn obligations to serve and glorify him with all your powers while you live. You also profess your belief, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God; revealed to mankind by the Spirit of truth; and containing every rule of faith and practice which is obligatory on the consciences of mankind.

Thus you profess and believe.

THE COVENANT.

You, [and each of you,] now solemnly avouch the Lord Jehovah to be your God; your Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier; and do solemnly give up yourselves to him, as his children; purposing and engaging, so far as you know the state of your own minds, to obey, through his grace, without which you can do nothing acceptable to him, all his commandments and ordinances; and denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the present world.

Moreover, you covenant with the members of this church, to walk with them, through the influence and assistance of the same grace, in the order of the gospel; to submit, as becometh christians, to the discipline prescribed by the Redeemer; to watch over your brethren; to instruct, reprove, admonish, comfort and strengthen them; and willingly to be instructed, admonished and reproved by them, with the meekness and humility of the gospel.

Thus you covenant and promise.

We, then, the members of this church of Christ, do also covenant with you, that through the same divine assistance, we will perform the same christian duties to you.

And may God enable us to be mutually faithful, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory forever. *Amen.*

N. B. By a rule of the Church, adopted in 1829, all communicants who join any of the College classes, and who expect not to commune with other denominations of christians, are required to bring letters of dismission, and unite with the Church, in four months from the time of their admission into College; and members who leave the College, are required to take dismissions in six months from the time of leaving.





MANUAL

OF THE

Plymouth Church,

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

HENRY WARD BEECHER,

PASTOR.

Third Edition.

PUBLISHED BY VOTE OF THE CHURCH,

In the Year of our Lord

1854.

NEW-YORK:

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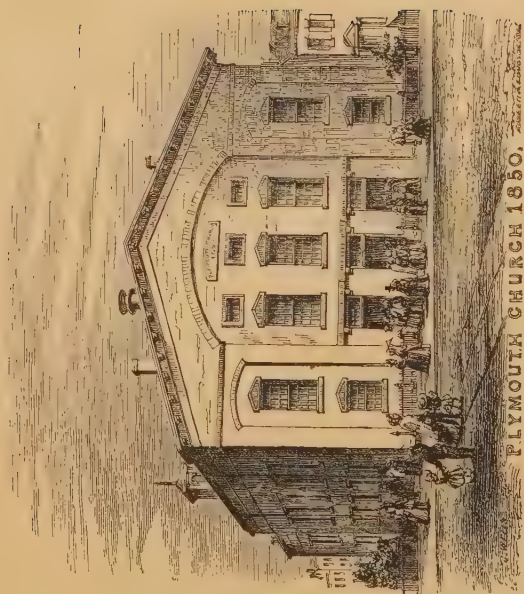
102 Maiden Lane, near Pearl Street.

Plymouth Church Property.

THE ground upon which "The Plymouth Church" now stands, comprising seven lots, running through from Cranberry to Orange Streets, was purchased in 1823, of John and Jacob M. Hicks, for the erection of an edifice for the use of "The First Presbyterian Church." At that time the population of Brooklyn was less than ten thousand. The enterprise was regarded by cautious men as hazardous; the Church being built in what was then cultivated fields, and far out from the settled portion of the village, though now in the densest part of Brooklyn Heights. A Lecture Room, including a Sabbath-School Room and Study, was attached to the rear of the Church, fronting upon Orange Street, in 1831. The Pastors who labored on this ground were Rev. Joseph Sanford, from 1823 to 1829; Rev. Daniel L. Carroll, D. D., from 1829 to 1835; Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D. D., from 1837 to 1847, when the Presbyterian Society built their present house of worship upon Henry Street, and the property was sold to John T. Howard, Henry C. Bowen, Seth B. Hunt (all of the Church of the Pilgrims), and David Hale, of the Tabernacle Church, New-York. Mr. Howard conducted the negotiations, and the other gentlemen furnished the money. The purchase was made in June, 1846, for twenty thousand dollars, and possession was given May 16th, 1847. This property was conveyed to the Plymouth Church, by the above named gentlemen, for the actual cost and interest, on the first of June, 1848.

The original Church was 72 feet in length; it was afterwards enlarged by the addition of 18 feet, making it 90 feet in depth, by 56 feet in width. The Lecture Room was 36 feet by 50 feet.

The Plymouth Church occupied these buildings until January, 1849, when, having been seriously damaged by fire, they were removed to make way for the present edifice.



HISTORY

OF THE

Organization of the Church and Society, &c.

THE first meeting of those interested in the establishment of a new Congregational Church in Brooklyn (now called "The Plymouth Church"), was held at the house of Henry C. Bowen, on Saturday evening, May 9th, 1847. Present: DAVID HALE, of New-York; JIRA PAYNE, JOHN T. HOWARD, CHARLES ROWLAND, DAVID GRIFFIN and HENRY C. BOWEN, of Brooklyn.

The meeting was opened by prayer; after which David Hale made some statements in relation to the property now held by "The Plymouth Church," and then, in behalf of himself and the other owners, offered the use of said property for purposes of religious worship as soon as the premises should be vacated by "The First Presbyterian Church." Whereupon it was

Resolved, "That religious services shall be commenced, by Divine permission, on Sunday, the 16th day of May,"—that being the first Sabbath after the house was to be vacated.

On Sunday morning, May 16th, 1847, notice having been given in the newspapers, the Meeting-House in Cranberry Street was opened for religious worship.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, being providentially in the city, was invited to preach the first sermon. At the close of the services, public notice was given that a weekly prayer-meeting would be established, commencing the next Friday evening, in the lecture room. At the appointed time, about thirty persons were present to unite in prayer for the *Divine* blessing on the new enterprise, most of whom expressed a desire to connect themselves with the Church when organized. Jira Payne conducted the exercises. At the close of the prayer-meeting, on motion of David Hale from New-York, JOHN T. HOWARD, HENRY C. BOWEN, RICHARD HALE, CHARLES ROWLAND, and JIRA PAYNE, were appointed a Committee to make arrangements

for the formation of a Church; to prepare and report Articles of Faith and a Covenant, a Form of Admission, Ecclesiastical Principles and Rules, Manual for business, &c. Also to give notice, the following Sabbath, to all persons who desired to be connected with the Church at its organization, to be present at the next Friday evening prayer-meeting. At the *two* subsequent prayer-meetings, twenty-one persons handed in their names to be organized into a Church. On Friday evening, June eleventh, the Committee appointed to prepare Articles of Faith, &c., made their report, which, after some amendments, was adopted, and notice was given that the Church would be organized on the following Sabbath evening.

A Council of Ministers and Delegates from other Churches, convened at the house of John T. Howard, on Saturday evening, the 12th day of June, by invitation of the Committee, who presented to said Council the Articles of Faith and Covenant adopted, also the credentials of those persons who expected to be organized into a Church.

Said Council were as follows :

FROM THE CHURCH OF THE PILGRIMS.

REV. RICHARD S. STORRS, JR., Pastor.

BRO. CHANDLER STARR, Delegate.

FROM THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

REV. I. N. SPRAGUE, Pastor.

BRO. A. B. DAVENPORT, Delegate.

FROM THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE CHURCH, N. Y.

REV. J. P. THOMPSON, Pastor.

BRO. DAVID HALE, Delegate.

FROM CHRYSTIE ST. CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, N. Y.

REV. D. C. LANSING, D. D., Pastor.

BRO. SEYMOUR WHITING, Delegate.

The Council voted to approve what had been done, and accepted the invitation of the Committee, to participate in the public services of the organization, on the following evening.

On Sunday evening, the thirteenth day of June, the Church was organized. A Sermon was preached on the occasion by Richard S. Storrs, Jr., Pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims. Other clergymen, members of the Council, took part in the services.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LIST
OF THE

Members of the Church, at its Organization.

BOWEN, HENRY C.
BOWEN, LUCY MARIA
BLAKE, ELI C.
BURGESS, BENJAMIN
BURGESS, MARY

CANNON, MARY
GRIFFIN, DAVID

HALE, RICHARD
HALE, JULIA
HOWARD, JOHN T.
KNIGHT, RACHAEL

MORSE, JOHN F.
MORSE, REBECCA

PAYNE, JIRA
PAYNE, ELIZA

ROWLAND, CHARLES
ROWLAND, MARIA

TURNER, ALPHEUS R.
TURNER, LOUISA

WEBB, JOHN
WEBB, MARTHA

ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY.

A meeting was held, in accordance with the laws of the State, on Monday evening, the fourteenth day of June, 1847, in the Lecture Room of the Church, for the purpose of organizing a Religious Society. Jira Payne was appointed Chairman, and J. Wilson Green, Secretary, both of whom were appointed Inspectors of Election for Trustees.

HENRY C. BOWEN, JOHN T. HOWARD, and DANIEL BURGESS, were elected Trustees, who subsequently were divided by lot to serve, each in the order as they stand, for the term of one, two, and three years.

“THE PLYMOUTH CHURCH”

was adopted, upon deliberation, as the corporate name of the Society.

The Certificate of Incorporation was recorded in the Clerk's Office of Kings County, on the twenty-seventh day of September, 1847.

CALL AND INSTALLATION OF PASTOR.

On Monday evening, June fourteenth, the Church, by a *unanimous* vote, elected HENRY WARD BEECHER to be their Pastor, and a committee was appointed to act with the Society in presenting the call.

During the summer the church was opened for religious worship three times each Sabbath. Various clergymen, mostly from New-England, were invited to supply the pulpit. On the fifth day of September a Sabbath School was organized, consisting of ten teachers and twenty-eight scholars. Henry C. Bowen was elected Superintendent, and John T. Howard, Secretary.

After some two months delay, the call presented to Henry Ward Beecher was accepted. On Sunday, the tenth day of October, 1848, he commenced his labors; and on Thursday, the eleventh day of November, he was publicly installed as Pastor of the Church and congregation.

MINUTES OF COUNCIL.

The following is a copy of the minutes of the Council: “At an Ecclesiastical Council, convened by letters from the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, in the State of New-York, at their lecture-room, on the eleventh day of November, in the year of our Lord 1847, for the purpose of installing (if the way should be found clear) the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher as their Pastor, there were present—

FROM THE CHURCH OF THE PILGRIMS, BROOKLYN.

REV. RICHARD S. STORRS, JR., Pastor.

BRO. SETH B. HUNT, Delegate.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH.

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SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BROOKLYN.

REV. I. N. SPRAGUE, Pastor.

BRO. EDWARD CORNING, Delegate.

SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, NEW-YORK.

REV. D. C. LANSING, D. D., Pastor.

BRO. ABRAHAM C. VAN EPPS, Delegate.

CHURCH OF THE PURITANS, NEW-YORK.

REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, Pastor.

BRO. OLIVER E. WOOD, Delegate.

FOURTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, NEW-YORK.

REV. WILLIAM W. WALLACE, Pastor.

BRO. JOSEPH D. KELLOGG, Delegate.

BROADWAY TABERNACLE CHURCH, NEW-YORK.

REV. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, Pastor.

BRO. DAVID HALE, Delegate.

SULLIVAN STREET CHURCH, NEW-YORK.

REV. S. BRISTOL, Pastor.

BRO. A. S. BALL, Delegate.

SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

REV. NATHANIEL HEWIT, D. D., Pastor.

BRO. JAMES RUTHVEN, Delegate.

SALEM CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.

REV. EDWARD BEECHER, D. D., Pastor.

BRO. EBENEZER WELLMAN, Delegate.

NORTH CHURCH, HARTFORD, CONN.

REV. HORACE BUSHNELL, D. D., Pastor.

BRO. THOMAS DAY, Delegate.

NORTH CHURCH, NEW-HAVEN, CONN.

REV. S. W. S. DUTTON, Pastor.

BRO. JAMES BREWSTER, Delegate.

Also, REV. HEMAN HUMPHREY, D. D.,
of Pittsfield, Mass.

Rev. Dr. HEWIT was chosen Moderator, and
Rev. Mr. DUTTON was chosen Scribe.

Rev. JOHN MARSH, Rev. J. M. ROWLAND, Rev. O. W. BIDWELL,
and Rev. LEBBEUS ARMSTRONG, being present, were invited to sit
with the Council as corresponding members.

The Council being thus organized, sought the Divine Blessing by
prayer, being led therein by the Moderator.

The invitation addressed by the Church and Society to Rev. HENRY
WARD BEECHER, to become their Pastor—Mr. Beecher's acceptance
of the same—and also the resolutions of the Society pertaining to his
pecuniary support while in the pastoral office over them, being pre-
sented to the Council, were pronounced, by vote, satisfactory, and
ordered to be placed on record.

After an extended and thorough examination of the Pastor elect,
respecting his views of the doctrine of natural and revealed religion,
his experience of renewing and sanctifying grace, and his object in
entering on the work of the Christian Ministry, the Council unani-
mously pronounced the examination sustained, and voted to proceed
to Installation, assigning the services thereof, as follows:

Invocation and Reading of the Scriptures—by Rev. Dr. HUMPHREY.

Sermon—by Rev. Dr. EDWARD BEECHER.

Installing Prayer—by Rev. Dr. HEWIT.

Charge to the Pastor—by Rev. Dr. LANSING.

The Fellowship of the Churches—by Rev. R. S. STORRS, JR.

Address to the People—by Rev. J. P. THOMPSON.

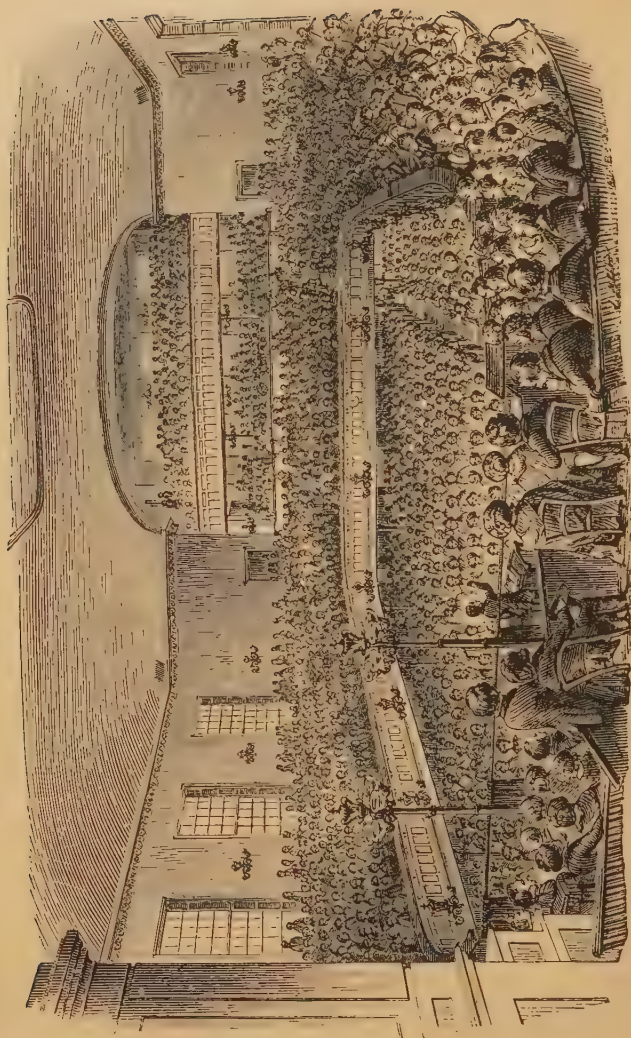
Concluding Prayer—by Rev. Dr. BUSHNELL.

These services were duly performed.

(Signed)	NATHANIEL HEWIT, Moderator.
(Signed)	S. W. S. DUTTON, Scribe.

A very interesting revival soon commenced, during which more
than seventy persons indulged the hope that they passed from death
unto life, nearly all of whom connected themselves with this and other
Churches.

A social meeting was early established for the promotion of friendly
intercourse and Christian affection. Many who might not otherwise
have been acquainted for years, have been brought together as



INTERIOR OF PLYMOUTH CHURCH.

Christians and friends, and the result has been the awakening of a deep interest in each other, and the promotion of the kindest feelings throughout the congregation.

The congregation, from the first, had been so greatly disproportioned to the room in the Church building, as, during the first year, to suggest the necessity, ere long, of rebuilding. The question was, however, unexpectedly settled by fire, January 13th, 1849, which so seriously damaged the structure, that, upon examination, the Society were unanimously of opinion that the Church should be rebuilt rather than repaired.

The wants of this part of Brooklyn, and other substantial reasons, determined the Society to retain the old site. Every movement of the Trustees in the commencement of the new enterprise was submitted to the Society, and, after full discussion, adopted with their unanimous consent. The plans submitted by J. C. Wells, Architect, and adopted, called for a Church 105 feet long, and 80 feet broad, with a height of 43 feet from the floor to the ceiling. The Lecture Room, of two stories, is 50 by 80 feet; the whole extent of both, from street to street, being 185 feet. There are eleven rooms in all, viz: the Main Audience room, measuring 76 by 92 feet in the clear; the Lecture room, 48 by 51 feet; the Sabbath School room, 24 by 64 feet; four rooms for Bible and Infant Classes, each 10 by 16 feet; two Social Circle parlors, each 24 by 32 feet; a Reception parlor and Pastor's study, each 14 by 22 feet. The Church will seat, in pews, 2,050 persons; and with additional seats provided for the aisles, &c. can be made to contain nearly 3,000.

Solomon Conklin, mason, and Tappan Reeve, carpenter, contracted to build the house. The corner stone was laid May 29, 1849, and the building completed so that the congregation occupied it for worship on the first Sabbath of January, 1850, the very day specified in the contract.

No serious difference of opinion is known to have existed among the members of the Society during the whole progress of the work; a result attributable, doubtless, to the judicious care of the Trustees, in referring every important step to the whole Society, to be examined and discussed, before being carried into effect.

Of the whole sum subscribed, \$31,489, there has been collected \$31,127; the remainder, through the death or removal, &c., of the subscribers, will probably be lost.

It may serve a good purpose to insert the following Table of Subscriptions, showing the Church to have sprung from the zeal of many, and not from the bounty of a few.

TABLE.

2 Subscriptions of	\$ 2	\$ 4	9 Subscriptions of	\$ 200	\$1,800
13	5	65	7	250	1,750
107	10	1,070	1	300	300
1	15	15	1	400	400
42	20	840	8	500	4,000
22	25	550	1	600	600
21	30	630	1	700	700
1	40	40	1	750	750
41	50	2,050	1	1,000	1,000
2	60	120	1	1,500	1,500
1	75	75	1	2,000	2,000
1	80	80	3	2,500	7,500
32	190	3,200			
3	150	450			
			Total, ...		\$31,489

Whole number of Subscribers, ... 324

The value of the whole Church property, organ, furniture, &c., as it now stands, is estimated at \$65,000.

No sooner had the congregation been deprived of their place of worship by fire, than invitations were extended by almost all the neighboring Churches, to use their respective buildings for worship, which kindness was gratefully accepted for a period of nearly two months. Sabbath evening Services were held during this time in the Church of the Pilgrims. As it was found to be impossible to conserve the interests of the Church and congregation while they were in such an unsettled and migratory state, they at once decided to erect a temporary place of worship upon grounds in Pierrepont street, generously offered by Lewis Tappan, Esq. A building, 100 feet by 80, was erected in the brief space of thirty days; and in this the congregation worshiped, with great pleasure and profit, until the first Sabbath in January, 1850. The whole expense of the "Tabernacle," including a small study, was \$2,800. The sale of the building, together with the Sabbath collections taken during its occupancy, more than reimbursed the original cost; and the rents of pews were amply sufficient to meet current expenses. The erection of this building proved to be a most beneficial measure. The absence of the Pastor for several months, by reason of sickness, with the general prevalence of Cholera during the summer, would have proved well

nigh the dispersion of the congregation, had they been obliged to wander from place to place, or to occupy the only very limited and inconvenient halls which could be obtained.

The prayer-meetings of the Church, led in turn by the brethren, and conducted in a manner designed to educate and exercise the gifts of the whole membership, have come to be esteemed, perhaps, the most important and edifying of all our meetings. Since the completion of the new buildings, a Social Meeting has been often held in the parlors thereof, for the sake of extending the acquaintance of members of the Church and congregation, and of ripening the interest excited into Christian friendship. And to these social gatherings is to be attributed much of the harmony, and of the marked cheerfulness and friendship, which exist in the Church and Society. In this manner the Pastor is brought into contact with all the persons of the congregation, who may wish such acquaintance.

When the second edition of the Manual was issued (in July 1850), the total number of members was 378. Since that time there have been added to the Church 380. During the same period there have been removed, by death and for other causes, 107; leaving the present actual number, 651. The year 1852 was especially fruitful in blessed results. During that year there were added to us—by letters from other Churches, 59; on profession of their faith, 103. Total, 162. Of these, the proportion of males to females was very nearly two to one; it being of males 103, of females 59. During the whole time, we have enjoyed uninterruptedly the stated means of grace, and the attendance upon the public services of the Sanctuary has been uniformly large.

In the general prosperity of the Church, the Sabbath School has also participated. During the past two years, its numbers have increased nearly one-third. It now numbers 355 pupils, and 36 teachers, distributed as follows: In the main school room there are 32 classes and teachers, with an average attendance of 200 pupils. *In addition to this*, there are in separate rooms of the building three Bible Classes—two of them with an average attendance of from 6 to 10, and the other from 25 to 35. The Infant School numbers about 60. During the past two years there have been more than 50 hopeful conversions among the members of the Sabbath School and Bible Classes. The Library contains over 800 volumes.

It is believed that the spiritual prosperity of the Church and Society has been in no small degree dependent upon its promptness in dis-

charging its pecuniary obligations. The annual pew-rents of the Church amount to about \$12,000, of which not more than one per cent. has ever been lost. During the year 1852, there was paid for the extinguishment of the floating debt of the Church the sum of \$13,200, leaving the Society in debt but \$16,000—being the balance for the original purchase of the property, which is secured by a mortgage on the present premises.

During the past year our contributions to the various religious charities of the day, including subscriptions for church building at the West, have been \$10,000; and during the six years of our existence as a Church, we have raised for the Church Building and its expenses, and for various benevolent purposes, sums amounting in the aggregate to about \$144,000.

FORM OF ADMISSION TO THE CHURCH.

[The Articles of Faith, Covenant, and Rules, having been revised by a Special Committee, were adopted by the Church as they now stand, on the 17th of April, 1848, by a unanimous vote.]

You have separated yourselves from this congregation, dear friends, to perform one of the most momentous, and yet joyful acts of your life. You will never cease to feel the effect of the dedication which you now make. Should you cling affectionately to that Redeemer whom you are now about openly to avouch, you will ever rejoice that you were brought to this hour; but if your soul shall draw back, and you shall put Christ to an open shame, this deed and this hour shall be everlasting witnesses against you.

You have been deeply convinced of your personal sinfulness; you have heartily repented thereof; you have believed in the forgiving love of Jesus Christ; you have dedicated your heart and life to him: that dedication you are about to renew in the presence of God and this congregation. Yet, be not cast down. Though we have thought it meet to admonish you, it is with a calm and cheerful hope that He who in love has called you will never leave nor forsake you until you shall stand in Zion and before God.

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

1. We believe in the existence of One Ever-living and True God, Sovereign and Unchangeable, Infinite in Power, Wisdom and Goodness.
2. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be inspired of God; to contain a revelation of His will, and to be the authoritative rule of faith and practice.
3. We believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are revealed in the Scriptures as existing, in respect to attributes, character and office, as three Persons, equally Divine; while in other respects they are united, and are, in a proper sense, One God.
4. We believe that our First Parents were created upright; that they fell from their original state by disobedience, and that all their posterity are not only prone to sin, but do become sinful and guilty before God.
5. We believe that God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son to die for it; that Christ appeared in the flesh; that he set forth a perfect example of obedience; that he purely taught the truths needful for our salvation; that he suffered in our stead, the just for the unjust; that he died to atone for our sins and to purify us therefrom, and that he rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, where he ever liveth to make intercession for us.
6. We believe that God offers full forgiveness and everlasting life to all who will heartily repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ; while those who do not believe, but persevere in sin, shall finally perish.
7. We believe in the resurrection of all the dead; in a final and general Judgment, upon the awards of which the wicked shall go into everlasting punishment, and the righteous into life eternal.

[*Thus do you believe?*]

COVENANT.

Do you now avouch the Lord Jehovah to be your God; Jesus Christ to be your Savior; the Holy Spirit to be your Sanctifier? Renouncing the dominion of this world over you, do you consecrate your whole soul and body to the service of God? Do you receive his word as the rule of your life, and, by his grace assisting you, will you persevere in this consecration unto the end?

[The ordinance of Baptism, if not previously received, will here be administered.]

COVENANT WITH THE CHURCH.

[Here those who unite by letter will rise in their places.]

Do you solemnly covenant and agree to study the peace, purity and liberty of this Church; to love and watch over its members as your brethren; to receive from them all needful care and admonition? Will you labor together with us in the maintenance of its public worship and ordinances; submit to necessary discipline, and avoid all causes of scandal and offence, so long as in the Providence of God you shall continue among us?

[The members of the Church will here rise.]

We, then, the members of this Church, do joyfully and cordially receive you into our number. We promise to bear with you, to love, to edify, and by all means in our power to advance you in the Divine life. Amen.

ECCLESIASTICAL PRINCIPLES AND RULES.

1. This Church is an independent ecclesiastical body; and, in matters of doctrine, order and discipline, is amenable to no other organization.

2. CONNECTION WITH OTHER CHURCHES.—This Church will extend to other evangelical Churches, and receive from them, that fellowship, advice and assistance which the laws of Christ require.

3. ADMISSION OF MEMBERS.—Application for Church membership, either by letter or profession, must be made to the Examining Committee; and those approved shall be propounded to the Church and congregation at least one week before the Communion. They shall become members by vote of the Church, and giving a public assent to the Articles of Faith and Covenant.

4. DISMISSION OF MEMBERS.—It is expected that members on removing will ask for Letters of dismission and recommendation. Requests for such Letters may be announced at the weekly Prayer-Meeting or Lecture; and if at the end of one week no objection has been made to the Clerk, he shall issue the customary Certificate.

5. RIGHTS OF MEMBERS.—No member can be deprived of Church privileges except by regular process. The presentation of complaints may be first made to the Examining Committee, who shall, upon sufficient cause, prefer charges to the whole Church; or the complainant may present his complaint in person to the Church. When a member is accused, he shall be seasonably furnished with a copy of the complaint, and shall have a full hearing.

6. CENSURES.—The censures inflicted on offenders are, private reproof, public admonition, suspension or excommunication, according to the aggravation of the offence; and in case of excommunication, notice thereof shall be given from the pulpit on the Sabbath.

7. INFANT BAPTISM.—On the Sabbath next succeeding each Communion season, an opportunity will be given for Christian parents to present their infant children for the ordinance of Baptism. It is expected of parents that they will present, *in writing*, their own names, together with the full name of each child, and the date of its

birth, that the same may be entered by the Clerk on the records of the Church. Children are entitled to Baptism, where *either* parent is a member of a Christian Church.

8. DEATHS TO BE RECORDED.—In case of the death of any member, or baptized child of this Church, it shall be the duty of any surviving member of the family to notify the Clerk. And if none of the family or immediate relatives of the deceased are members of this Church, then it shall be the duty of *any* member of this church acquainted with the facts, to inform the Clerk of the same, in writing, that it may be entered upon the Records.

9. MONTHLY CONCERT.—The Monthly Concert of Prayer for Missions shall be held in the Lecture Room, on the first Monday evening of each month. The funds collected at these meetings shall be equally divided between the Am. Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the Am. Home Missionary Society, unless otherwise directed at the annual business meeting.

10. THANKSGIVING COLLECTION.—A collection shall be taken up after the sermon on Thanksgiving Day, for the benefit of the poor in the congregation, to be distributed by the Deacons.

11. OFFICERS.—The stated Officers of the Church shall be the Pastor or Pastors, Deacons, Examining Committee, Music Committee, Clerk, and Treasurer.

12. DUTIES OF DEACONS.—It shall be the duty of the Deacons to assist in the administration of the Lord's Supper, to distribute the charities of the Church, and in the absence, or at the request of the Pastor, to provide a supply for the Pulpit and the Lecture Room.

13. DEACONS HOW CHOSEN.—In 1848 two Deacons shall be chosen for three years, two for two years, and two for one year; and at each subsequent annual meeting, two shall be chosen for three years; and at the expiration of their terms of office, they shall be ineligible for one year.

14. EXAMINING COMMITTEE.—The Examining Committee shall consist of the Pastor, and Deacons (who shall be members ex-officio), and six brethren. In 1848 two members shall be chosen for three years, two for two years, and two for one year; and at each subsequent annual meeting two members shall be chosen for three years; and at

the expiration of their terms of office they shall be ineligible for one year. Members of the Church are entitled to be present at and to participate in the examination of candidates.

15. MUSIC COMMITTEE. The Music Committee shall consist of six brethren, who shall be chosen for the same length of time and under the same limitations as the Deacons and the Examining Committee. They shall have power to appoint suitable persons to conduct the Music of the Church; make all necessary arrangements to furnish a well disciplined Choir; and also for the practical development of musical talent in the congregation. The Pastor, also, shall be, *ex-officio*, a member of this Committee.

16. DUTIES OF CLERK.—It shall be the duty of the stated Clerk to record the doings of the Church at its business meetings; also to keep the Covenant, Confession of Faith, Form of Admission, Ecclesiastical Principles and Rules, recorded in a place by themselves; and a chronological list of its members, with the times of their admission, dismissal, or death, so far as he can ascertain the same. He shall also record the names of the children baptized, with the date thereof, the date of the birth, and the names of the parents; and at the annual meeting present a *written* Report on the state of the Church and its history during the previous year, including an account of the members received and dismissed.

17. TERMS OF OFFICE.—The terms of office of the Deacons, Examining Committee, Music Committee, Clerk, and Treasurer, shall expire on the first day of January.

18. VACANCIES.—Vacancies in any of the offices occurring between the annual meetings, may be filled at any regular business meeting, notice of the intention to fill such vacancies having been given from the pulpit on the previous Sabbath.

19. OFFICERS HOW ELECTED.—All Officers shall be elected by ballot, without nomination; and all elections shall be determined by the vote of a majority of the members, of lawful age, present and voting.

20. LORD'S SUPPER.—The Lord's Supper shall be celebrated on the first Sabbaths of January, March, May, July, September and November.

21. PRAYER MEETINGS.—This Church will meet for prayer and conference every Sabbath afternoon ; and the brother presiding shall appoint another brother to preside the next Sabbath afternoon. There will also be a Prayer-Meeting on Friday evening, conducted by the Pastor, or in his absence by one of the brethren.

22. BUSINESS MEETING.—A business meeting of the Church shall be held, after the religious services, on the Friday evening next preceding the first Sabbath in each month ; but at the meeting next before the Communion, no business but the reception and dismission of members shall be transacted, unless by general consent.

23. SPECIAL BUSINESS MEETING.—The Clerk, on the written requisition of any seven male members, of lawful age, shall call a special business meeting, by causing a notice to be read from the pulpit.

24. WHEN BUSINESS CAN BE TRANSACTED.—No business shall be transacted except at meetings regularly organized ; and full minutes shall be taken of every such meeting, and entered by the Clerk on the Records.

25. MODERATOR.—At each business meeting a Moderator shall be chosen.

26. MEETINGS OPENED WITH PRAYER.—All meetings for business shall be opened with prayer.

27. ACTION ON RESOLUTIONS.—No resolution shall be considered at the same meeting at which it is offered, if any objection is made thereto, but shall be reduced to writing by the mover, and referred to the next business meeting. The objection may be overruled, however, by three-fourths of the members present.

28. ANNUAL MEETING.—A Meeting for the choice of Officers, and for other business, shall be held annually on the second Thursday evening of December, at which the Clerk shall present a written Report on the state of the Church, and its history during the previous year, including an account of the members received and dismissed ; and a report shall also be presented by the Treasurer, and his accounts duly audited.

And the following shall be the *Order of Business* :

1. Annual Reports.
2. Proposed Amendments to the Ecclesiastical Rules, &c.
3. Election of Officers.
4. Resolutions and other business.

29. MONTHLY COLLECTIONS.—A Collection shall be taken up in the Church on the last Sabbath of each month, both morning and evening, for the following benevolent objects :

<i>January.</i>	AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION. L. S. BENEDICT, T. C. FANNING, GEO. G. SPENCER, Committee.	
<i>February.</i>	CHURCH EXTENSION FUND. H. C. BOWEN, A. STUDWELL, JAMES FREELAND,	"
<i>March.</i>	HOME MISSIONARY CAUSE. S. P. CHURCH, J. T. HOWARD, E. D. GOODENOW,	"
<i>April.</i>	CITY TRACT SOCIETY. C. A. AVERY, J. E. CORNING, WM. A. BEECHER,	"
<i>May.</i>	SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY. THOS. HALE, SAMUEL BOYD, DR. J. W. SMITH,	"
<i>June.</i>	TEMPERANCE CAUSE. EDWARD CORNING, A. FITZGERALD, J. I. PERRY,	"
<i>July.</i>	PLYMOUTH CHURCH EDUCATION FUND. J. T. CONKLIN, GEO. H. DAY, CORNELIUS SMITH,	"
<i>August.</i>	HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS. THOS. S. EELS, JOS. H. LADD, WM. H. PRICHARD,	"
<i>September.</i>	WESTERN COLLEGES. L. EAMES, E. A. NICHOLS, WM. H. BIGELOW,	"
<i>October.</i>	FOREIGN MISSIONS. D. BURGESS, T. H. SANFORD, A. B. DAVENPORT,	"
<i>November.</i>	SABBATH-SCHOOL CAUSE. H. E. MORRILL, WARREN GREEN, GEO. A. BELL,	"
<i>December.</i>	CITY BIBLE SOCIETY. R. W. ROPES, A. D. WHEELOCK, C. WILBUR,	"

30. ELECTION OF TREASURER OF THE BENEVOLENT FUND, AND COMMITTEES.—The Treasurer and the several Committees shall be chosen yearly, at the annual business meeting.

31. DUTIES OF BENEVOLENT FUND COMMITTEES.—No money shall be paid by the Treasurer to any object, except on the written order of at least two members of the Committee, and then only to the Society or cause for which said money was collected. It is expected that the Committees chosen to act in behalf of each object will make personal solicitation throughout the congregation, within the month named, and use all proper means to obtain a liberal subscription and collection.

The Confession of Faith, Covenant, Form of Admission, or Ecclesiastical Principles and Rules shall not be altered, except by a vote of two-thirds of those male members of lawful age, present and voting at any annual meeting; nor shall such alteration be considered, unless a notice containing the substance thereof shall have been given in writing, at a previous business meeting.

BASIS OF UNION

BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIETY.

1. The Society shall hold the property, and receive the income, and make all pecuniary engagements, appropriations and payments.

2. In calling a Pastor, the Society and Church will act as concurrent bodies—a majority of each being necessary to constitute a call; the Church nominating, and the Society confirming or rejecting the nomination.

3. The Church will provide for the supply of the pulpit when there is no settled Pastor; make the necessary arrangements for singing, and in general, for the orderly celebration of religious worship: and the Society will liquidate all reasonable expenses thereby incurred.

MEETINGS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY for the election of Trustees, and other business, will be held on Thursday evening following the first Sabbath in January.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading the call of the Meeting, duly certified by the Pastor or other Officer of the Church.
 2. Treasurer's Report.
 3. Election of Trustees and other Officers.
 4. Appointment of Auditor for the ensuing year.
 5. Other Business.
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MISCELLANEOUS.

Weekly Services.

PREACHING, Sabbath morning and evening.

PRAYER-MEETING, Sabbath afternoon, in the Lecture Room.

LECTURE, on Wednesday evening.

PRAYER-MEETING, on Friday evening.

Inquiry Meetings.

Meetings for religious conversation with the Pastor occur by special appointment.

Social Circle.

A Social Meeting will be held, ordinarily in the Social Circle Parlors, every other Tuesday evening, the special object of which is to promote acquaintance, sympathy and friendship, throughout the Church and congregation.

Application for Church Membership.

Those wishing to join the Church, either by Letter or on profession of their faith, are invited to meet the Examining Committee *in person*, at their appointed sessions, notice of which will be publicly given.

Prayer Meetings.

The Sabbath afternoon Prayer-Meetings are conducted by the brethren of the Church, one of whom will preside, whose duty it shall be to appoint another brother to preside at the next meeting. At these meetings the members of the Church are invited to take a part, to express their feelings in regard to their own experience, to provoke each other to more faithfulness in the cause of Christ, and to influence the Church, as a body, to a higher standard of piety and benevolence.

The *Friday* evening Prayer-Meeting will be under the special charge of the Pastor.

MANUAL FOR BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY.

WHEN the appointed time for the meeting arrives, the stated Clerk will call the Church to order, and, a Moderator being nominated, will put the question upon the choice. If the stated Clerk should not be present (or there is no such officer), *any member* may rise in his place, nominate a Moderator, and put the question; and a Clerk *pro tem.* should then be chosen. If the meeting be adjourned to another day, the same Officers preside again, for an adjournment is but a continuance of the *same meeting*.

All the decisions of the presiding Officers are subject to revision by the Church.

Every motion must be made in writing, *if required* by any member; and, when seconded, must be read by the Moderator, and submitted to the consideration of the Church. Until this motion is disposed of, all subsequent propositions must be made by way of amendment to it. An amendment may go to the exclusion, addition, or substitution of words or sentences; indeed, a motion to amend by striking out all the words after the word *resolved*, and substituting an entirely new proposition upon the same subject, is in order. Until some vote has been taken on a resolution or an amendment to it, it may be withdrawn by the mover.

There are certain motions which are termed "*privileged*," which may be made at *any time*: such are the motions to postpone indefinitely, to refer to a Committee, to lay on the table (which means to lay aside for the present), to postpone to a future time fixed, and to adjourn. All these motions may be debated except the last. When a member is speaking, no motion can be made but with his consent.

When any motion is before the Church, every member has a right to express his views concerning it; and while doing so, the Moderator is bound to confine him in his remarks to the point under consideration, and also to protect him against all interruption, except to call him to order if he violate the rules of courtesy or of debate: but after the matter of order is adjusted, he has a right to go on to the end of his remarks.

The proposition *last made* is always the proposition under consideration, and the first to be voted on; so that when several amendments or propositions are before the meeting, the order in which they are to be voted upon is usually the *reverse* of the order in which they were made. If several *sums* are proposed, the *largest* is to be first put to vote; if several *times*, the *longest*; and as to the numbers generally, the *largest*.

When a motion is put to vote, it should be first clearly stated from the Chair, so that there may be no possible misunderstanding about it. Then the moderator says: "As many as are in favor of this resolution, will please to say aye," or "lift up their hands," or "rise," as the custom of the Church may be; then, "As many as are against this resolution," or "as are of a different opinion, will please to say no," or "lift up their hands," or "rise." Then the Moderator declares the result by saying—"It is a vote," or "it is *not* a vote." If any member thinks the Moderator in error, or that an accurate count would change the result, he has a right to demand it immediately; in which case the question must be put again, and the vote carefully counted. After the question is put to vote, there can be no debate, and no new proposition made, until the voting is finished. After the vote is taken, any member who voted in the *majority*, may, during the *same* meeting, move a reconsideration; which motion opens the subject again for debate; and if the vote to reconsider is adopted, the whole matter stands just as it did before the reconsidered vote was taken.

Questions of *order* are to be decided by the Moderator; but if any member thinks the decision incorrect, he can appeal to the meeting; and the decision on that appeal will be final.

When the report of a Committee is presented, it will of course be put on file. A vote to accept, and adopt, is an expression of concurrence with the views of the Committee.

When a member has a motion to make, or wishes to speak on a pending motion, he must rise and address himself respectfully to the Moderator.

A member who has a motion to make, may preface it with such remarks as explain his design; but, with this exception, speaking is out of order, unless some definite proposition has been submitted and is under consideration.

DIGEST OF THE LAWS OF NEW YORK STATE

IN RELATION TO

Ecclesiastical Organizations, Elections, &c.**ELECTION OF TRUSTEES AT THE ORIGINAL FORMATION
OF A SOCIETY.**

1. Public notice must be given, where the congregation statedly worships, at least fifteen days before the said organization and election, and on two successive Sabbaths.

2. Two members of the congregation, to be nominated by a majority of the members present, shall preside at the election, receive the ballots of the electors, and be the judges of the qualification of such electors; and after the election, they shall certify, under their hands and seals, the names of the persons elected as Trustees, the corporate name adopted, and have the same acknowledged and recorded in the County Clerk's office.

3. Only male persons of lawful age are entitled to vote.

4. No person who has not statedly worshipped with the congregation, or been considered a member, can vote.

5. Not less than three, nor more than nine persons shall be elected as Trustees.

NOTE.—At the organization of any Society, it is better in all ordinary cases to elect the full number of NINE TRUSTEES, as the statute of this State (New York) makes no provision for any *increase* of the original number, although it provides for *reducing* the number to not less than three.

6. A plurality of votes shall decide the election.

SEAL OF THE TRUSTEES.

The Trustees shall have and use a common Seal, which may be altered or renewed at pleasure.

POWER OF THE TRUSTEES.

1. They shall take and hold possession of all the property of the Society, both real and personal.

2. In their corporate name they can sue and be sued.

3. They have power to repair and alter their places of worship, and, if necessary, to erect a new edifice, and also to purchase or build a dwelling-house for the Pastor.

4. They may make rules for managing the temporal affairs of the Society.

5. May dispose of the income of the Society according to their judgment.

6. Shall regulate the prices, and order the renting of pews.

7. Shall appoint a Clerk and Treasurer of the Board, who may be removed at pleasure.

MEETINGS OF TRUSTEES.

Any two of the Trustees shall have power to call a special meeting of the Board.

A majority of the whole number of Trustees only shall have power to attend to business at any meeting lawfully convened.

TRUSTEES TO BE DIVIDED INTO CLASSES.

The Trustees first chosen at the organization of any religious Society, shall be divided into three classes, to the intent that one-third of the members of the Board shall vacate their office at the end of each year.

After the first election, all Trustees shall hold their office for the term of three years.

NOTICE OF NEW ELECTIONS OF TRUSTEES.

The Trustees, or a majority of them, shall, at least one month before the expiration of the office of any of the Trustees, notify the same in writing to the Minister, or in case of his death or absence, to the Deacons, specifying the names of those whose term will expire; and the said Minister or Deacons shall give fifteen days' notice to the congregation, on two successive Sabbaths, of a new election, which election shall be held at least six days before such vacancies shall occur.

Any two members present, appointed by the Society, may preside at the election.

DEATH OF TRUSTEES, REMOVAL, &c.

All vacancies by death, removal, or refusal to act, shall be filled in the same manner, and with the same public notice given, as at the regular elections.

VOTERS, AFTER THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION OF ANY RELIGIOUS SOCIETY.

No person belonging to the Society shall be entitled to vote at any election succeeding the first, until he shall have been a stated attendant on Divine Worship at least *one year* before such election, and shall have contributed to the support of said Society, according to the usages and customs thereof.

The Clerk of the Board of Trustees shall keep a register of the names of the legal voters, and shall at all elections decide upon their qualifications.

MINISTER'S SALARY.

The Trustees shall not have power to fix upon the sum to be paid the Minister for his support, but the same shall be determined by a majority of legal voters at a meeting to be called for that purpose.

REDUCING THE NUMBER OF TRUSTEES.

The Society may reduce the number of their Trustees at any annual meeting, provided said number be not less than three.

ANNUAL MEETING.

It shall be lawful for any Society, at its stated Annual meeting, to alter and fix the time for the next Annual meeting and election of Trustees.

RENTING OF PEWS.

The Pews in the Church will be publicly rented every year, on the Tuesday evening next following the first Sabbath in the month of January. Such as are not then taken may be had at any time subsequent, on application to either of the Trustees or the Sexton. No Pew will be reserved for the occupant of the previous year. Payment will be expected *semi-annually*, in advance.

Those unable to rent Pews will be provided with seats free, on application to either of the Trustees.

A Brief Account of Congregationalism.

As the Nature and Constitution of Congregational Churches are often misunderstood, and sometimes misrepresented, it has been thought best to subjoin a brief account of their origin, organization and principles. For convenience, they are arranged under a few principal heads.

I. DEFINITION OF A CHURCH.—A Christian Church is a voluntary association of professed believers in Christ, united by solemn covenant for the public worship of God, for the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, and for mutual aid and encouragement in all Christian duties.

II. OF THE NAME, CONGREGATIONAL.—The names of all sects are of modern origin. The terms Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Congregational, were alike unknown in ancient times. Then, the disciples of Christ were simply styled Christians, or the Christian Church. But in process of time, as differences of opinion arose respecting the doctrines or organization of the Church, it became necessary to distinguish those respective differences by some name. . . The names now in use were consequently adopted.

The Congregational Churches of this country were founded by the first English colonists, who, being driven by religious persecution to seek an asylum on these shores, landed in New-England in the early part of the seventeenth century. The term Congregational was applied to them, because all ecclesiastical power resides in the *congregated body*, or *members* of the Church, and not in the *Officers*. Their system was framed entirely from the Bible, by men learned therein, who felt a strong sense of obligation to ascertain *how the primitive Churches were constituted*, and to follow their pattern. It is believed that the Congregational plan which they adopted *does* correspond, in all essential features, with that of the Apostolic or New Testament Churches. Some evidence of this may be found in the following particulars.

Congregationalism discards all needless forms and mystical or unmeaning rites, with everything like ostentation or display in religious services, and requires a simple, direct worship, with as few

ceremonies as will comport with propriety. It prohibits all dominion and lordship in the Church, and all subjection of one portion of the household of faith to the control of another. It permits no invidious distinctions between the Clergy, and no privileged orders among the laity. All are *brethren*, and members alike of Christ's family. That pride of place, and insolence of rank, too often exhibited by ecclesiastical dignitaries, is thus avoided.

III. OFFICERS, THEIR POWERS AND DUTIES.—The Officers of a Congregational Church are of two orders only—Pastors and Deacons. [In the New Testament, Pastors are styled *Bishops* and *Elders*, the three words being synonymous.] It is usual, however, to appoint occasional or standing Committees, to coöperate with the Pastors and Deacons in examining applicants for membership, and generally, in performing such duties as the Church may assign to them.

The Pastor possesses, by virtue of his office, no more *power* than any other brother in the Church. Yet, there is no want of respect for his person or office. His influence in the Church and congregation is secured, not by official prerogatives, but by his own moral worth and consistent ministerial deportment.

The *duties* of the Pastor are numerous and important. *Teaching* is his great business. He is expected, therefore, to be a thorough and diligent student; to preach on the Sabbath—to visit his flock from house to house—to visit the sick, and perform religious services at funerals. He is also to administer the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, at such times as the Church may appoint.

Deacons have no official powers, unless expressly delegated to them by the Church; their influence in the body, like that of the Pastor, depends upon their own moral excellences. They assist in administering the Lord's Supper, attend to the wants of the poor, distribute to them the charities of the Church, and aid the Pastor in his parochial duties. Their number, and the length of time they are to hold office, is regulated by each Church according to its necessities or sense of propriety; generally, however, it will be found best to limit their term of office to three years or less.

The difference between Congregational and *Presbyterian* Churches lies mainly in this: the latter entrust much ecclesiastical power to their Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods; whereas Congregationalists, in accordance, as they think, with Scripture and primitive usage, confide all such power to the Church itself.

IV. RIGHTS AND POWERS OF THE CHURCH.—It is a cardinal principle of the Congregational polity, that each local Church is complete in itself, and possessed of all the powers and privileges incident to a Church of Christ. Some of these powers may be thus enumerated :—

1. *The Power of choosing its own Officers.*—The Pastor, Deacons, and all other Officers, are elected by vote of the members. In using this power, they are bound to exercise mutual forbearance where there is difference of opinion, and to pay great deference to the rights and wishes of majorities and minorities. This republican principle was evidently a law of the Christian Church from its commencement. Even *the election of an Apostle* to fill a vacancy, Acts 1 : 15—26, was made by the assembled brethren. The Church at Jerusalem chose the seven persons who were to exercise the office of Deacon.

2. *The Power of forming its own Creed.*—Congregational Churches have no uniform denominational Creed ; that is, no Creed recognised as binding on all Ministers and Churches. It is true that there is great harmony of sentiment among the Churches, and they all receive, unhesitatingly, the fundamental or evangelical doctrines. Still, *each Church constructs its own Creed* ; and although hundreds, and perhaps thousands of Creeds have been constructed by our Churches, and the phraseology used is endlessly varied, yet there is the most wonderful harmony, and even identity of doctrine among them all, on the essential truths of religion.

3. *The Power of admitting and excluding Members.*—No person can be received into the Church except by vote of its members. No member can be excluded except by the same process. In cases of discipline, the decision of the whole body with which the offender was associated will carry with it a weight of authority that could attach to no other.

4. *The Power of electing from among the Brethren the Presiding Officer at each Business Meeting, and of regulating the Details of its own Worship and Modes of Procedure.*—Other powers might be specified, but it is sufficient to state, that all the affairs of a Congregational Church are definitively determined by a major vote of the brotherhood. They not only elect their own

officers, admit, govern and expel their own members, but do all other things which, according to the laws of Christ, may of right be done in and over His Church.

V. CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.—Credible evidence of piety, or a change of heart, is, of course, considered a necessary pre-requisite to communion and membership in Congregational Churches. It is by no means maintained, that entire assurance of salvation should be required; but as the Church was designed to embrace only true Christians, it follows, of course, that credible evidence of being a Christian should be the condition of membership. Hence it is customary for the Pastor, in company with some experienced members of the Church, to converse with those who apply for admission, and ascertain, as far as the nature of the case will admit, what evidence each individual can offer of being truly converted. Such candidates, if deemed suitable, are then publicly propounded to the Church for a reasonable period, and if no objections are interposed they are received by vote of the members.

Our Articles of Faith are framed upon the above principles. For while we think none but true Christians should be *admitted* to the Church, we also think that no true Christian should be *excluded*. Our creed therefore contains only the *fundamental* doctrines of religion, to which all true Christians may assent; and we trust that no true follower of Christ will find anything in our Articles of Faith to debar him or her from our communion and fellowship. It will therefore be seen that Congregationalism is truly catholic and liberal, and widely removed from anything exclusive or sectarian in its organization and principles.

VI. RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS.—The members of a Congregational Church are on an *equality* as to privilege and obligation. They are all alike responsible for the well-being of the body—their peace, purity and efficiency. There being no authorized Episcopate, nor body of Elders, to take the interests of the Church into their keeping, and thus to stand between the individual and his duty—between the disciple and his Master—*personal exertion*, on the part of each member, becomes a constant and pressing obligation. He may not shake it off, nor delegate his duties to another. Every member is therefore expected, and considered as voluntarily bound, to be diligent in private and social duties; to attend habitually the stated meetings of the Church, especially on the Sabbath, unless providen-

tially hindered; and to do all in his or her power to exemplify the doctrines of the Gospel, and to spread it through the world.

VII. INDEPENDENCY.—A Congregational Church is independent, because no other Church or ecclesiastical body has power to reverse its decisions, or to interfere with its internal affairs. Its only head is the great Head of the Church Universal, and it is alone subject to His authority. No ecclesiastical power can impose on any Church a religious teacher, or other officers—or admit members—or form their creed—or regulate their modes of proceeding. Each Church has the exclusive right of managing its own concerns.

These principles are plainly in accordance with the Scriptural model. For it is certain that no text can be produced, in which God assigns power over the Churches to any *individual*, or set of individuals. It is to be taken for granted, therefore, that no such power exists.

But there are various passages which fully indicate the possession of all these powers in the primitive Churches. The Church at Corinth was expressly charged to exercise discipline; 1 Cor. 5: 3—5. The command is repeated, 1 Cor. 5: 13. The Church was to act in the case of offences; Matt. 18: 17. And Elders [meaning Bishops or Pastors], are forbidden to be lords over God's heritage; 1 Pet. 5: 3.

Ecclesiastical History also gives the same account of the primitive Churches. One citation out of multitudes must suffice. Mosheim says: "All the Churches of those primitive times, until near the end of the second century, were *independent bodies*, none of them subject to the jurisdiction of the other. Each Church was a little republic, governed by its own laws."

This independence of Congregational Churches is neither Discord nor Isolation, as some represent. They live in close fraternal union; often meet in mutual Councils and Conferences; ask and receive advice and assistance from each other; and may admonish each other in case of heresy, lax discipline, or any scandalous offence. But all this is the result of mutual confidence and affection, not of any *superior power*. It is *counsel* that is called for; not an edict, or a decree. It is *fellowship* that is recognized—the affectionate fellowship of sympathizing Churches; not *dependence*, for existence or for rights, of one upon another.

The advantages of this feature in Congregationalism are manifold

and important. Only a few can be noticed here, and those very briefly.

1. *It promotes Harmony among Churches*, and diminishes the hazard of Ecclesiastical collisions. Wherever there is a power or tribunal above a Church to direct or reverse its action, that power will at least occasionally be exerted; and unless exercised with singular moderation, and submitted to with unusual cordiality, the result will be a serious clashing of interest and feeling, by which passions will be inflamed, jealousies excited, and the progress of the Gospel materially retarded.

2. *It prevents the spread of Controversy among the Churches*, and shortens its existence, by limiting its sphere to the Society in which it may unhappily originate.

3. *It tends to preserve the Truth, and to prevent the rapid and extensive diffusion of Error*. The Churches being independent, and standing alone, each presents a distinct barrier to the progress of error, and a point for separate attack. In a community of such Churches, every one is a citadel for the Truth. If one be infected or defeated, it does not involve the others. They still remain unassailed, and each will become a new battle-ground for the Right.

VIII. INTERCOURSE WITH OTHER DENOMINATIONS.—Though preferring, on Scriptural grounds, as they think, the organization and principles of their own Churches, Congregationalists recognize, as true Churches of Christ, all societies of believers who love our Lord Jesus Christ in truth and sincerity. They invite to their Communion members in good standing in other Churches, and practice the usual interchange of members, by letters of dismission and recommendation.

IX. ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES. Those generally recognized by Congregational Churches are, Councils (both mutual and ex-parte), Associations and General Associations. *Councils* are occasional bodies, composed of Pastors and Delegates from a number of contiguous Churches, invited to assist in organizing new Churches, ordaining, installing, or dismissing Pastors, or to give advice on such matters as may properly be referred to them. *Mutual Councils*

are those in which the Pastor and the Church, or the Church and an aggrieved member, *unite* in asking advice from the neighboring Churches. An *Ex-parte Council* is one called at the request of a single party; the Churches invited are selected by himself, and usually but one side of the case is presented. Hence they are not regarded with much favor. *Associations* are composed of Ministers only. They meet for prayer and mutual counsel; examine and license candidates for the ministry, and suggest advice to the Churches. The *General Association* is composed of delegates from the smaller Associations. It meets annually; hears reports on the state of religion; suggests advice to the Churches as to the concerns of benevolence, sound doctrine and religious duty. *Consociations* have also been formed in some of the New-England States, which unite the functions of a Council and Association. They are composed of ministers and lay delegates.

It will be particularly noted, that *none* of these bodies possess any *ecclesiastical power*, like the superior judicatories of most other denominations. They are all simply advisory. The Churches may, if they choose, manage their own concerns without reference to them. Still, so much confidence is reposed in the character, wisdom and piety of these bodies, that great weight is cheerfully and voluntarily given to their opinions.

Those who have read this very brief sketch of the Congregational system, cannot fail to perceive that its principles are in perfect harmony with the principles of our Civil Government. The *People* of the United States are the source of civil power. They appoint their own magistrates and rulers, and, directly or indirectly, make their own laws. This doctrine, so justly prized by all true Republicans as the basis of freedom in the State, is no less prized by all good Congregationalists as a fundamental element in the policy of their Church.

On this point History gives the most gratifying evidence. Even Hume, bitterly as he hated the founders of Congregationalism, declares:—"To this sect the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." Lord Brougham says of them:—"A body of men to be held in everlasting remembrance, for the unshaken fortitude with which, at all times, they have maintained their attachment to civil

liberty: men to whose ancestors England will ever acknowledge a boundless debt of gratitude, as long as freedom is prized among us."

It would scarcely be too much to say of the people of this country, that, in no small measure, they "owe the freedom of *their* constitution" to the same source; for it is a well known fact, that "the author of the Declaration of Independence drew his first notions of practical democracy from an ecclesiastical society."

Church Discipline.

THE subject of Church Discipline, like that of Church polity, is left in the New Testament to the guidance of general principles rather than of specific precepts. One invariable rule is given for the settlement of private difficulties and the censure of private offenses; one conspicuous example is recorded of the method of dealing with an open and scandalous offense against a Church; there are also occasional instructions upon the proper subjects of Church censure and the mode of treating an offender; but no formal process of Church Discipline is any where laid down in the New Testament; that is left rather to the judgment and experience of individual Churches.

The directions given by Christ, in Matthew xviii. 15-18, should be implicitly followed in all cases of *private* and *personal* offense. The Church should never in any form entertain a complaint, or suffer an insinuation from one member against another, in a matter of private grievance, until these instructions have been complied with in good faith, and without effect. Even where the letter of these instructions have been followed, regard should be had to the question whether they have been complied with in *spirit* or only in form. The Church should never allow a private grievance to be spread before them without satisfactory evidence that the aggrieved party has used all reason-

able endeavors to gain redress in private, in the spirit of forgiveness, of forbearance, and of brotherly love. When one member of the Church suffers himself to be alienated from another, or from the Communion of the Church, because of a private difficulty, while yet he does not in a proper spirit seek to reconcile the matter in private, any member of the church cognizant of the facts should labor with him to persuade him to his duty.

It is evident that the rule of proceeding laid down in Matthew xviii. is *obligatory as a rule only in cases of private offense*. That rule was given prior to the organization of local Churches; it was given to the disciples as individuals—associated, indeed, in one brotherhood, but not incorporated as a local Church, under a covenant and laws. It was a rule of practical wisdom for the settlement of personal differences; a rule equally appropriate out of the Church and in it; a rule for kindly intercourse between man and man. If thy brother shall trespass against thee, *i. e.* (according to the precise import of the original), if he shall *do thee a wrong*; if he shall injure thee in thy person, in thy property, in thy reputation, in any of thy personal interests and relations; if he shall give thee offense, or do thee any injury whatever, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; endeavor to settle it in private: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then, still for the purpose of a reconciliation, with as little publicity as possible, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the Church—the whole company, circle, or brotherhood with which you are associated, and towards which you sustain relations in common; but if he neglect to hear the Church—if he will not regard the remonstrance of the whole society of believers—let him be to thee as an heathen man and a publican.

A breach of Church covenant, or any public and scandalous offense against religion, is not a *personal wrong* done to any one member of the Church, or to the members of the Church as individuals, in any such sense as would bring it within the scope of the instructions of Christ for the healing of private offenses. But while the rule given in Matthew xviii. is not in such cases obligatory as a rule, it is nevertheless desirable that the principle and the spirit of the instructions there given should be applied also to offenses of a public nature,

wherever this is practicable. Indeed, it is of the utmost importance that every member of the Church should feel it to be his *personal duty* to admonish in private an erring brother, and to seek to restore him to the path from which he has wandered. This is one of the most impressive obligations of that mutual covenant into which Church members enter with one another. No member of the Church has a *right* to pass over without notice the dereliction of a fellow-member from Christian duty, on the plea that the offense is not personal against himself. The *knowledge* of the transgression imposes upon him an obligation to seek immediately the restoration of the erring member, and the purification of the Church from this offense. To omit this, is to be guilty of a breach of covenant and an offense against the purity of the Church; it is in a measure to connive at sin. How can that Church member be faithful to his own covenant with the Church—a covenant that makes prominent among the duties of Church members that of “studying the peace, purity and liberty of the Church”—who knows that a fellow-member is living in the habitual violation of his covenant—in the belief of some deadly error, or in the allowance of some known sin, and yet takes no steps to recover the transgressor or to deliver the Church from the scandal that he is bringing upon it? The discipline of the Church belongs not to the pastor, or to the deacons, or to any Committee; it is a matter of personal duty and responsibility with *every member* of the Church.

In all large Churches, and especially in all city Churches, where membership is perpetually changing, it comes to pass, in the course of years, that there are numerous absentees enrolled upon the list of members, whose very names are hardly known to the active members of the Church, and of whose character and position nothing is known to the body of present communicants. The case of such persons cannot be left to the ordinary course; if there is any thing in them worthy of discipline, it is not likely to be ascertained by any individual inquiry. It is proper, therefore, that the Church from time to time appoint Committees of Inquiry upon the cases of absentees or of members, who, though residing in our vicinity, are supposed to be living in the neglect of covenant obligations. The sole object of this Committee of Inquiry should be to procure information respecting the residence and the Church communion of absent members. If in the course of their investigations they find matters worthy of discipline, they should act precisely as it is proper for Church members to act in

any case where facts requiring the discipline of the Church are brought to their knowledge.

In cases of public and scandalous offense, the Church may proceed in a more summary manner upon common fame. The authority for this is given in the instructions of Paul to the Church at Corinth.—“It is *reported commonly* that there is fornication among you.” The common fame of this scandal in the Church had reached the Apostle at Philippi; immediately on hearing of it, he rebuked the church for its neglect and connivance in the matter, and required them on their first coming together to cut off the offender from their fellowship without delay. Here is a precedent for proceeding at once, and in a public manner, to discipline a Church member, whose offense is an open scandal before the world. Obviously, every such case should be brought to the adjudication of the Church. A flagrant case of immorality, such as intemperance, fraud, or licentiousness in a Church member, dishonors the Church and the cause of Christ, as this is represented in and by the Church. In such a case it is not enough that one or more individuals, who have had special oversight of the case, are satisfied of the repentance of the offender; the Church should always be satisfied, and an open offender should in no case be restored to full standing, without making to the Church a confession of sin, and giving satisfactory evidence of repentance.

As a matter of propriety, during a process of discipline, the party arraigned should be understood to be suspended from Church privileges.

Cases requiring the discipline of the Church are caused, either by breaches of the moral law, or the transgression of mere Church ordinances. In all cases of open and scandalous offenses, or of any breach of morality, or any fundamental error in doctrine, affecting Christian character, when efforts to bring the offender to repentance prove unavailing, the Church should proceed to the act of excommunication, or excision, giving the reasons for the same, which should be publicly announced before the congregation on the Lord's day.

But in cases of breach of covenant, the Church should deal very patiently and leniently with the erring member; discharging faithfully its own covenant obligations towards him, which may hitherto have been neglected; seeking in every way to lead him or her to repentance; and if, after a reasonable delay, all effort seems unavailing,

the Church shall disown said member, giving in full the reasons for its action, which shall also be stated to the assembled Church at the next following communion season, that the member may not lie under the imputation of immorality.

USUAL MODE OF ORGANIZING A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY.

1. THE CHURCH.—A Church is, or *should* be, composed only of those who, in the judgment of charity, are true Christians. Therefore, where any number of such persons desire to organize themselves into a Church, they meet, and having prayerfully conferred together, appoint a Committee to make the necessary arrangements; to prepare and report Articles of Faith and a Covenant, a Form of Admission, Ecclesiastical Principles and Rules, a Manual for Business, &c., &c. This Committee, or another appointed for that purpose, also examine and report upon the *credentials*, or christian standing and character of those persons who intend to constitute the new Church. When these have been approved, and the Articles of Faith &c. adopted, a Committee is then appointed to invite several of the neighboring Churches to meet in Council, by their Pastor and Delegates, to assist in the organization. To this Council is presented the Articles of Faith and Covenant adopted, as well as the credentials of those persons who expect to form the Church. If the Council approve what has been done, they signify that approval (by vote), and participate in the public religious services of the organization.

After a Sermon appropriate to the occasion, the associated members *publicly* assent to the Articles of Faith and Covenant previously adopted by them, and there is offered what is termed the *constituting Prayer*. This is followed by a solemn Charge from some member of the Council, and they are then welcomed to the fellowship of the Churches.

It will be seen from the foregoing, that an Ecclesiastical Council is generally called at the formation of a new Church. But the Council does not create the Church. That results from the *voluntary association* of certain professed believers in Christ, *uniting themselves* by solemn covenant, for the public worship of God; and the Council only publicly approves and recognizes the Church, which is in reality formed by the *voluntary covenanting* of the brethren themselves. The presence of a Council, therefore, is not at all indispensable.

2. THE SOCIETY.—A Religious Society is composed of those persons who stately attend public worship in any given place, and contribute to its support. Hence, although the members of the Church are usually members of the Society also, yet the Society are not, necessarily, all Church members. They each require a separate organization, and are governed by separate Officers.

Provision is made by Statute in nearly all the States for the formation of Religious Societies, and therefore the local laws of the State should be first consulted, that the Society may be constituted in conformity with them. The manner in which Religious Societies should be organized in this State (New York), may be gathered from pages 7, 8, 22, 27, and 29, of this Manual; and points of *difference* can only be learned by consulting the Statutes of each State respectively.

CALLING AND SETTLING A PASTOR.

According to Congregational usage, the *Church* takes the lead in calling a Pastor. When a candidate gives satisfaction to a supposed majority, a Church Meeting is called in the usual manner, the *particular object of the Meeting being stated* in the public notice thereof. If the brethren decide to invite the Candidate to become their Pastor, the Religious *Society* is then convened; the previous action of the Church is officially laid before them by the Clerk, or a Committee especially appointed for the purpose, and

they either concur, or refuse to concur in such action. If they concur, they fix the terms of settlement, and the amount of Salary, and a joint Committee of the Church and Society is appointed to arrange the time for the ordination or installation, and to issue the invitation for a Council. If the Society refuse to concur, the action of the Church becomes void; as it would be considered *irregular* for either the Church or Society to proceed to the settlement of a Pastor without the concurrence of the other body.

FORM OF A LETTER MISSIVE FOR CALLING A COUNCIL TO SETTLE A PASTOR.

..... 1854.

The Church and Society in to the
..... Church in sendeth Greeting:

BELOVED BRETHREN:

It having pleased the Great Head of the Church to induce this Church to invite Mr. (or Rev.) A. B. to settle with us in the work of the Gospel Ministry; and the Society connected with this Church having concurred in this request, and Mr. A. B. having accepted our invitation:—We hereby request you to be present, by your Pastor and Delegate, on the day of at ... o'clock, P. M. to assist in the ordination (or installation) of our Pastor elect.

We are respectfully your brethren, in the faith and order of the Gospel.

C. D. } Committee of
E. F. } the Church.

G. H. } Committee of
I. J. } the Society.

P. S. The other Churches invited, are

[Here give their names.]

FORM OF A LETTER MISSIVE FOR CALLING A COUNCIL TO DISMISS A PASTOR.

. 1854.

The Church and Society in to the
. Church in sendeth Greeting:

BELOVED BRETHREN:

Whereas, the Rev. A. B. has resigned his office as Pastor of this Church, and requested a dismissal, and the Church has accepted his resignation;—therefore we respectfully request you, by your Pastor and Delegate, to meet with us in Council, at our Church, on the day of next, at . . . o'clock, P. M., to take into consideration the propriety of dissolving the said Pastoral relation, and giving us your advice and assistance therein.

Yours, in the bonds of the Gospel.

C. D. } Committee of the
E. F. } Church.

G. H. } Committee of the
I. J. } Society.

I concur in the above request.

A. B. Pastor.

The other Churches invited are—

[Here give their names.]

NOTE.—It sometimes happens that a Council is to be called for other purposes than settling or dismissing a Pastor. As for instance, where a Church is embarrassed, or in perplexity, and wishes advice and assistance; or where disaffection or differences exist between the Church and the Pastor, which they desire to have settled by a reference to their brethren:—in all which and similar cases, *the particular object of the Council* should be distinctly stated in the Letter Missive, as that will form the basis of action when assembled; and the Council cannot *regularly* take up and consider *any other subject* than that proposed in the Letter convening them.

If it is an *ex-parte Council*, that fact should also be *distinctly stated*, as otherwise it will be understood to be a *mutual Council*, and the call or letter should bear the signatures of all the parties who desire to be represented in it.

Officers of the Church.

1854.

PASTOR.

HENRY WARD BEECHER,

Installed, Nov. 11th, 1847.

Residence, 126 Columbia Street.

DEACONS.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1855.

HENRY C. BOWEN,

76 Willow Street,

LUTHER EAMES,

86 Hicks Street.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1856.

EDWARD CORNING,

54 Willow Street,

THOMAS H. SANDFORD,

64 Sands Street.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1857.

THOMAS C. FANNING,

84 Henry Street,

JAMES CRUIKSHANK,

79 Pacific Street.

EXAMINING COMMITTEE.

1854.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, Pastor, (*ex-officio*).

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1855.

E. D. GOODENOW,

J. INGHAM PERRY.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1856.

GEORGE B. LINCOLN,

GEORGE H. DAY.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1857.

ANDREW FITZGERALD, SHELDON P. CHURCH.

The DEACONS are also (*ex-officio*) members of the Examining Committee.

MUSIC COMMITTEE.**1854.**HENRY WARD BEECHER, Pastor, (*ex-officio*).*Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1855.*

ABIJAH WHITNEY, SAMUEL K. CAMP.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1856.

DANIEL BURGESS, HENRY C. BOWEN.

Term Expires Jan. 1st, 1857.

HENRY W. LAW, GEORGE W. HICKCOX.

CLERK.

J. T. CONKLING, Residence, 157 Jay Street.

TREASURER OF THE BENEVOLENT FUND.

SHELDON P. CHURCH, Residence, 124 Hicks Street.

OFFICERS OF THE SABBATH SCHOOL.HENRY E. MORRILL, SUPERINTENDENT,
No. 88 Orange Street.GEORGE H. DAY, ASSISTANT SUP'T,
Cor. Myrtle Av. & Pearl Street.ELAM C. LANGDON, SECRETARY & TREASURER,
No. 88 Orange Street.DAVID G. FANNING, LIBRARIAN,
No. 84 Henry Street.HASSAN H. WHEELER, ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN,
No. 240 Jay Street.HENRY E. MATHEWS, CONDUCTOR & TEACHER
of Music in the Sabbath School,
No. 37 Nassau Street.

Members of the Church,

SEPTEMBER, 1854.

In the following list of the Members of the Church, arranged Alphabetically, the names of those who are deceased, or who have been removed by Letter, or otherwise, do not appear.

A.

ABBOTT, BENJAMIN V.
 ABBOTT, MRS. ELIZABETH T.
 ABBY, HORATIO G.
 ABER, SMITH M.
 ABER, MRS. HANNAH M.
 ACKERMAN, ABRAHAM
 ALVORD, JOHN C.
 ALVORD, G. G.
 AMERMAN, RICHARD
 AMERMAN, MRS. MARIA
 ANDREE, FREDERICK
 ANDREE, MRS. CAROLINE M.
 ANDERSON, MRS. MARY
 ANDERSON, MARGARET
 ANDREWS, MRS. REBECCA E.
 ANDREWS, MRS. ADELINE
 ARNOLD, HANNAH
 ARNOLD, ELIZABETH R.
 ASHLEY, MRS. AMELIA P.
 ASHLEY, ELLEN P.
 ATKINSON, CHARLOTTE A.
 ATKINSON, SARAH
 ATKINSON, MRS. EMMA J.
 ATKINSON, JAMES F.
 ATWATER, MARIA B.
 AUSTIN, MRS. SARAH E.
 AVERY, CHARLES A.

B.

BABCOCK, MRS. MARY
 BABCOCK, JANE A.
 BAILEY, ALEXANDER
 BAINBRIDGE, MRS. MARY A.
 BALDWIN, MRS. MARTHA B.
 BAGOTT, JOSEPH
 BAGOTT, ELIZA
 BAKER, DANIEL
 BAKER, MRS. HANNAH M.
 BAKER, MARGARET

BAKER, ORIGEN M.
 BARKER, MRS. ELIZABETH
 BARKER, EZRA D.
 BARKER, MRS. MARIA L. D.
 BARNSDALL, JOHN
 BARNSDALL, MRS. EMMA
 BARR, ALEXANDER M.
 BARTLETT, PHINEAS
 BARSTOW, MRS. FRANCES S.
 BATES, E. N.
 BEACH, MOSES S.
 BEACH, ALFRED E.
 BEACH, MRS. HARRIET E.
 BEATTY, CATHERINE
 BEECHER, HENRY WARD
 BEECHER, MRS. EUNICE W.
 BEECHER, HARRIET E.
 BEECHER, WILLIAM A.
 BEECHER, MRS. MARIA P.
 BELCHER, SAMUEL
 BELCHER, MRS. ELIZABETH
 BELL, GEORGE A.
 BELL, MRS. ISABELLA E.
 BENEDICT, LEWIS S.
 BENEDICT, MRS. HARRIET
 BENNETT, CHARITY
 BENNETT, MRS. CATHERINE H.
 BERRY, SARAH
 BERGEN, GEORGE W.
 BERGEN, MRS. SUSAN
 BERTRAND, MRS. ELIZABETH
 BERTRAND, ROSETTA D.
 BIGELOW, WILLIAM H.
 BIGELOW, MRS. LOUISA B.
 BIRD, THOMAS H.
 BIRD, MRS. SARAH JANE
 BIRD, HELEN MARIA
 BLAKE, ABBY L.
 BLAKE, ANGENETTE
 BLAKE, CHARLES F.

BLAKE, ELI C.
 BLAKE, SUSAN O.
 BLISS, MRS. ABBY W.
 BLISS, JUSTIN A.
 BLISS, JOHN, JR.
 BLOSS, JOSIAH
 BLOSS, MRS. JOSIAH
 BONTA, ELIZABETH
 BOWEN, HENRY C.
 BOWEN, MRS. LUCY MARIA
 BOWEN, EDWARD E.
 BOWEN, MRS. SOPHRONIA A.
 BOWEN, GEORGE M.
 BOWERS, GEORGE W.
 BOYD, SAMUEL
 BOYD, MRS. SYLVIA C.
 BOYD, ROBERT M.
 BRINKERHOFF, EMELINE
 BROOKS, ESTHER A.
 BROOKS, MRS. LUCY
 BROWN, ELLEN S.
 BROWN, MOSES P.
 BROWN, MRS. HELEN E.
 BROWN, COCHRANE G.
 BROWN, MRS. ELIZA
 BROCKWAY, DAVID W.
 BROCKWAY, MRS. EMMA E.
 BULKLEY, PHILANDER
 BUNCE, MARY M.
 BURGESS, DANIEL
 BURGESS, MRS. PAULINA L.
 BURGESS, BENJAMIN
 BURGESS, MRS. MARY
 BURTIS, SAMUEL W.
 BURTIS, MRS. PRISCILLA A.

C.

CAHOONE, GEORGE
 CALDER, MARIA
 CAMMET, LOUISA
 CAMP, SAMUEL K.
 CANNON, MRS. MARY
 CANNON, JOSIAH
 CARLY, JESSE
 CARLY, MRS. SARAH E.
 CARMAN, JOHN B.
 CARMAN, WILLIAM
 CARHART, MRS. JANE
 CARNER, MRS. JOANNA
 CHILD, PENELOPE
 CHILD, SUSAN
 CHILD, JOSEPH
 CHITTENDEN, MRS. HENRIETTA
 CHURCH, SHELDON P.
 CHURCH, MOSES
 CHURCHILL, SOPHIA S.

CHARLTON, JOHN
 CHARLTON, MRS. MARTHA
 CHOWN, MARY E.
 CHOWN, ANN MARIA
 CLAFLIN, MRS. AGNES
 CLARK, MRS. IANTHA
 CLARK, BURTON
 CLARENDON, THOMAS
 CLEMENT, MARY E.
 CLUFF, MRS. CHARLOTTE
 CLUFF, HENRY G.
 COCHRANE, SARAH
 COLEMAN, EDMUND
 COLLIGAN, WILLIAM
 COLLIGAN, MRS. JOY
 COLLINS, SARAH
 COLLYER, CHARLES W.
 CONDIT, ISAAC L.
 CONKLING, J. T.
 CONKLING, MRS. CAROLINE E.
 COOK, CATHERINE
 COOK, ANNA
 COOPER, MRS. HARRIET S.
 CORNING, EDWARD
 CORNING, CATHERINE MATILDA
 CORNING, D. AUSTIN
 CORNING, JASPER E.
 CORKREY, PHOEBE J.
 CORWIN, CHARLOTTE A.
 CROSBY, SARAH B.
 CROSBY, MARTHA S.
 CRUIKSHANK, JAMES
 CRUIKSHANK, MRS. MARY
 CUMMINGS, WILLIAM R.
 CUTTER, WILLIAM T.
 CUTTER, FRANCES M.

D.

DALRYMPLE, JANE
 DAMAI, CORNELIUS
 DAMAI, MRS. SARAH
 DANFORTH, MRS. LYDIA
 DANFORTH, FRANCES A.
 DAVENPORT, WILLIAM
 DAVENPORT, MRS. CATHERINE M.
 DAVENPORT, A. B.
 DAVENPORT, MRS. JANE JORALE-
 MON
 DAVIS, MRS. CATHERINE
 DAVIS, ISAAC F.
 DAVIS, THOMAS
 DAY, SHERMAN
 DAY, MRS. ELIZABETH A.
 DAY, HARRIET K.
 DAY, GEORGE H.
 DAY, MRS. JEANNETTE L.

DAY, ELIAS H.
 DAY, MRS. MARGARET
 DAY, MARY A.
 DEANE, ROBERT
 DE MOTT, MRS. CATHERINE
 DENNY, JAMES P.
 DENNIS, ANN
 DICKINSON, ISAAC U.
 DICKINSON, MRS. RUTH ANN
 DIAS, MRS. DOROTHY
 DIAS, MRS. MARY
 DILLINGHAM, WILLIAM S.
 DILLINGHAM, MRS. JULIA
 DILLINGHAM, JULIA
 DOBBIN, MARY
 DOTY, SAMUEL C.
 DOTY, MRS. ABBY A.
 DOUGHERTY, MARY.
 DOWNING, MRS. MARIA
 DRAKE, MRS. ANN
 DRUMMOND, SUSAN
 DUNCAN, CHARLES C.
 DUNCAN, MRS. HARRIET J.
 DUNN, MRS. SUSAN W.
 DURYEA, HARSIMUS B.
 DURYEA, SARAH ANN
 DURYEA, ALLETTA
 DURYEA, MARIE LOUISE
 DUFF, ALEXANDER

E.

EAMES, LUTHER
 EAMES, MRS. MEHITABLE
 EAMES, EDWARD A.
 EELLS, THOMAS S.
 EELLS, MRS. MARY A.
 ELLIOTT, AUGUSTUS
 ELY, H. GILBERT
 ELY, MRS. CAROLINE B.
 ELY, MRS. MARY B.
 EVANS, SUMNER F.
 EVANS, MRS. MARY E.
 EVERITT, EDWIN C.

F.

FAIRCHILD, FANNY
 FALKENER, BISHOP
 FANNING, THOMAS C.
 FANNING, DAVID G.
 FAYRES, JULIA
 FIELD, WILLIAM EMILE
 FISHER, MRS. MINNA ANN
 FITCH, MRS. CAROLINE
 FLETCHER, HORACE
 FLETCHER, MRS. OLIVE J.
 FLETCHER, MRS. MARGARET
 FLINT, MRS. MARIA A.

FITZGERALD, ANDREW
 FITZGERALD, MRS. CATHERINE
 FOWLER, HENRY
 FOSTER, MRS. JULIA B.
 FORD, ADONIJAH D.
 FREELAND, JAMES
 FREELAND, MRS. CAROLINE
 FRINK, MRS. MARIA L.
 FULLER, JOHN C.
 FULLER, MRS. EMILY H.
 FONDA, HIRAM J.
 FRECKLETON, JOHN
 FRECKLETON, MRS. MARY ANN

G.

GARBUTT, ELMER H.
 GARBUTT, MRS. EMMA
 GARROD, MRS. AMELIA
 GIBBS, JOHN
 GIBBS, ELIZA JANE
 GIBBONS, MRS. ELIZABETH
 GILBERT, EDWARD
 GILBERT, JOHN
 GIFFORD, MRS. SOPHIA
 GLOVER, JANE MARIA
 GLOVER, RHODA A.
 GLOVER, WILLIAM H.
 GOODRICH, CHRISTINE
 GOODRICH, MAHALA
 GOODRICH, JOSIAH B.
 GOODRICH, MRS. MARY B.
 GOODENOW, ERASMUS D.
 GOODENOW, MRS. CAROLINE B.
 GRAFF, HENRY
 GRAFF, MRS. SARAH
 GRANT, MRS. MARY
 GRASSIE, WILLIAM C.
 GREEN, J. WILSON
 GREEN, SARAH E.
 GREEN, WARREN
 GREEN, MRS. LYDIA ANN
 GRIFFIN, SARAH
 GRISWOLD, STEPHEN M.

H.

HALE, RICHARD
 HALE, MRS. JULIA
 HALE, MRS. CAROLINE C.
 HALL, MRS. JULIA A.
 HALLOCK, DANIEL B.
 HALSEY, JAMES M.
 HAMILTON, CUTLER
 HARNED, ADELISSE
 HARRISON, JOSEPH
 HART, JACOB
 HARTMAN, MRS. SARAH M.
 HASKELL, SAMUEL S.

HASKELL, MRS. ELIZABETH
HATHEWAY, THOMAS
HATHEWAY, MRS. ESTHER AN-
GELINE

HAYNES, ROBERT
HEALY, AARON
HEALY, MRS. ELIZABETH
HERBERT, ABIGAIL
HERVEY, MRS. PRUDENCE
HICKCOX, GEORGE A.
HICKCOX, MRS. CORNELIA A.
HINMAN, R. HOPKINS
HOLBROOK, EMELINE
HORSEY, JOSEPH
HORSEY, MRS. SOPHIA
HOWARD, JOHN T.
HOWARD, MRS. SUSAN T.
HOWARD, JOSEPH P.
HOWARD, MRS. ELIZABETH J.
HOUSE, MRS. ELIZABETH W.
HUNTER, LOUISA
HURBURN, MRS. E.

J.

JACOBS, GEORGE
JACOBS, MRS. ANNA F.
JAMES, MRS. MARY
JAMES, MARY
JOCELYN, MARY A.
JOHNSON, H. F.
JONES, EBENEZER
JONES, MRS. MARY E.
JONES, KEZIAH
JONES, HARRIET
JONES, EMILY
JUDSON, HARRIET
JUDSON, MARY JANE
JUDSON, CHARLES G.
JUDSON, MRS. FANNY

K.

KEELER, AMOS M.
KENNON, MRS. MARIA V.
KENT, MRS. HANNAH C.
KING, MRS. JANE OLIVIA
KING, MRS. ANN
KING, MRS. ELIZABETH
KING, HESDEN
KING, MRS. MINERVA R.
KINNEY, MRS. MARGARET E.
KIRBY, S. H.
KITCHEN, JOHN E. F.
KITCHEN, MRS. SARAH B.
KNAPP, NATHAN B.
KNAPP, CAROLINE A.
KNAPP, IVERSON WILSON
KNAPP, MRS. HARRIET M.

KNAPP, J. W.
KNIGHT, MRS. RACHEL
KNOX, ISRAEL W.
KNOEPFEL, JOHN G.

L.

LADD, JOSEPH H.
LADD, MRS. MARY
LANGDON, ELAM CHESTER
LA PRAITE, JOHN
LAW, HENRY WARD
LAWRENCE, JOHN B.
LEDYARD, MARIA
LIBBY, MRS. ANN E.
LINCOLN, GEORGE B.
LINCOLN, MRS. MARY A. M.
LLOYD, HENRY H.
LOVE, MARGARET
LYNDE, MARTIUS T.
LYNDE, MRS. ELIZA W.
LYONS, MRS. ANN
LUDLAM, MRS. SARAH

M.

MACKAY, WILLIAM
MACKAY, MRS. ANN
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ZUNDEL, JOHN

RECAPITULATION.

TOTAL NUMBER OF MALES,	-	-	-	269	
" " FEMALES,	-	-	-	382	651
ADMITTED ON PROFESSION,	-	-	-	291	
" BY LETTER FROM OTHER CHURCHES,				360	651

NOTICE.

Every Member of this Church is desired to keep the Clerk informed of his or her place of residence, and to give him notice of every removal, either in the city, or to another section of the country.

The Clerk should in like manner be informed by relatives or friends, if possible, of the decease, when it occurs, of any Member of the Church. These deaths sometimes take place out of the city, and unless care is taken, they may not be properly registered.

☞ Applications for Letters of Dismission should be made to the Clerk of the Church,

J. T. CONKLING,
 No. 157 Jay Street.

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4.

TWO

DISCOURSES

ON

THE NATURE OF SIN;

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE STUDENTS OF YALE COLLEGE,

JULY 30TH, 1826.

BY ELEAZAR T. FITCH, D.D.

NEW-HAVEN :

RE-PUBLISHED BY HOMAN HALLOCK,

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P R E F A C E .

The first edition of these Discourses was published in 1826 ; and, though large, was taken up almost immediately. Pending the controversy which afterwards arose upon the points advanced in them, many persons became desirous of procuring a copy, but were unable ; and the author was frequently requested to issue a second edition.

The present edition is published, not to revive a spirit of controversy, but simply in fulfilment, though at a late period, of promises made in answer to such requests, and in order that they who have desired in vain to obtain a copy, might have the opportunity.

I have made a few alterations in the text of the present edition ; not with a view to change the sense, but simply to render it more perspicuous. The notes remain precisely as they were.

In a short preface to the first edition, I apologized for the style,—which originated in the hurry of preparation during the week, and from a state of mind intent altogether on the thoughts and not at all on the expression ;—and also, for attempting to establish, by argument, a proposition which appears so very like an axiom in morals as the one set forth in the Discourses.

The axiom stands at the basis of the moral government of God over his creatures, which exacts a certain line of

conduct from them with authority, and holds them to it under the bonds of a strict account and an impartial retribution. In carrying so plain an axiom into the *facts* presented to us in the vast field of theology, the error has too often been, to set the two things at variance ; to insist, either that the axiom destroys the facts, or that these destroy the axiom.

The facts of original sin, total depravity, regeneration, perseverance in faith and holiness, and the purposes of God in respect to the broad fields of his creation and providence, all are seen to be consistent with this first principle of moral government, by that mind which admits that there are influences connected with the *certainty* of conduct for which the subject of them is not accountable ; which are consistent with his voluntary and accountable conduct ; and which are regulated by the providence of the Creator, in the best manner possible for the promotion of holiness in his whole Kingdom.

Here the grand truths on the subject, for aught that I can see, must rest ; on the basis of *natural ability* on the part of creatures to do the duty God requires of them, and that of the *certainty* of *their conduct* while under the influence of those measures of divine providence, which are adapted to secure the highest welfare of such a Kingdom.

— ELEAZAR T. FITCH.

YALE COLLEGE, FEB. 3, 1842.

DISCOURSE I.

ROMANS vii, 13.—*Sin is not imputed, when there is no law.*

THIS assertion occurs in a passage of scripture which, it is well known, has received very different interpretations. Yet, without attempting an analysis of the whole passage at present, it is enough for the object I have in view to remark here, that whatever exposition is given to the whole paragraph, this particular assertion, leads us irresistibly to the conclusion, that nothing in any being is accounted sin, but conduct that is a violation of law. “Sin is not imputed”—not accounted to exist, or not made the ground of accusation and punishment—“when there is no law”—when there is no rule of duty violated in the conduct, upon the basis of which judgment proceeds. In other words; God, in his moral government, takes not cognizance of any thing as sin, except on the basis of a law which is violated in the conduct.

Now whether we affirm, or deny, that the apostle maintains in his argument that the law of Eden constituted the conduct of Adam vicarious, and entailed the penalty of his sin; it will still be true, on the principle asserted by the Apostle, that nothing in Adam, or in his descendants, is itself sin, or recognized of God to be such, in any form or instance, except those acts in which each personally violates law. The only difference will be, that in one view of the argument of the Apostle, all men will have simply their own sins imputed to them; and

in the other, all will have the first sin of Adam imputed to them, in addition to their own sins. Still, that which is accounted the sin,—the thing which is recognized in the imputation,—will invariably be, in all and each, acts in which they violate law.

In regard therefore to the nature of sin—that in the subjects of his moral government, for which God blames and punishes,—the apostle warrants me in asserting the unlimited proposition : that *sin, in every form and instance, is reducible to the act of a moral agent in which he violates a known rule of duty.*

The present discourses will be devoted to a consideration of the nature of sin, and more especially to an illustration, defence, and application, of the proposition concerning it, which has just been stated.

This proposition traces all sin, ultimately, to *the acts of moral agents.* I speak of their actions, not in the popular sense of external and visible conduct, but strictly of the acts of the will in distinction from any inherent and essential properties pertaining to the constitution of such agents. There are certain powers and properties essential to constitute a moral agent, capable of willing in a manner that is morally right or that is morally wrong. Now it is of such an agent in the actual exercises of his will ; in the volitions, choices, or preferences, which he actually makes ; that I predicate either sin or holiness.* This view of voluntary action accords with the definition of Edwards. He observes, “ whatever names we call the act of the will by, choosing, refusing, approving, disapproving, liking, disliking, embracing, rejecting, determining, directing, commanding, forbidding, declining, or being averse, a being pleased or displeased with ; all may be reduced to this of choosing. For the soul to act voluntarily is evermore to act elective-

* See Note A,

ly." Such an agent is informed, by his conscience or by a written law, what choices he ought to make ; what volitions to put forth ; what use to make of his powers ; and it is in some actual choice, some real volition, some definite use of his powers, in violation of duty, that his sin lies.

To show more clearly my meaning, I will take a well known division of sins,—sins of the *heart* and *life*, of *omission* and *commission*,—and explain how I understand they are all reducible to the *acts* of the moral agent, viewed in different relations. Sins of the *heart*, are those acts of will which lie concealed within the breast of the moral agent,—*immanent* acts, which consist in the preference of good forbidden, to the good required, to be sought : while sins of the *life* are those exercises of the will which are expressed in external and visible conduct among men—*imperative* acts, which command, to the pursuit of chosen good, the actions of the body. Sins of *omission* are those acts of the moral agent, which employ him in ways that differ from the positive requirements of duty, while those of *commission* are such acts as are directly prohibited by duty. For instance ; if I choose the good that is in the world rather than the good that is in God—or to please myself rather than to please God, and continue to adhere to this guilty preference, I am indulging a sin of the heart ; or am in the exercise of what is often termed a sinful affection or disposition of heart. If I choose to obtain or secure this object of my choice by some external act of theft, fraud, falsehood, or violence, I am guilty of a sin in the life. If I resolve to attend on my farm, or merchandize, or any other worldly concern, when I should be attending on some duty of religion or humanity, I am guilty of a sin of omission. And if I resolve on any act of unkindness towards man, or impiety towards God, I am guilty of a sin

of commission. You may perceive my meaning, then, in tracing all sin to *the acts* of a moral agent.

The proposition, likewise, restricts sin to those acts of a moral agent, in which he *violates a known rule of duty*. I would not be understood here to confine the rules of duty to what the phrase might designate in the popular acceptation, —to the published laws of God or man, merely ; but would extend them to all moral obligations, however made known ; whether by the conscience, by the works of God, or by published statutes. Moral obligations wherever and however made known to a given moral agent, are, to him a *law* ; and it is a violation of such as are known, or knowable, and are thus a law to him, that is reckoned against him as a sin,—and that only. Nor do I, in this, deny the distinction between what are popularly called sins of *ignorance*, and sins of *knowledge*. For, in either case, a known obligation is violated, to constitute the sin of the act ; but the obligation in the one case does not, and in the other does, arise from a knowledge of the specific law. For instance ; sins of ignorance are those acts in which the moral agent, transgressing a particular law of which he is ignorant, violates the known obligation to acquaint himself with the laws that apply to his conduct, or some known general obligation of morality from which he might have inferred the given law ; while those of knowledge, are the acts in which he violates the obligation which arises from a knowledge of the particular law he transgresses.

With this explanation of the proposition before us, I will now attempt to evince its truth.

I. The first proof which I allege on the subject, is the *operation of our consciences*.

The conscience manifests itself in the feeling of obligation we experience ; a feeling which precedes, attends, and follows, our actions. Its very decisions respecting guilt, are resolvable into a strong perception of our own

personal obligations which we have violated ; and no accusation of conscience, therefore, can ever arise except on the ground of our having violated a known obligation. I have never felt a compunction of conscience in my own case but on such grounds ; and as men are constituted alike, I assume it as a fact that no others ever have.

Now the operation of our consciences respecting sin, let our speculations or theories be what they may, exhibits sin to us, in every instance, as some act in which we contravene known obligations. No matter respecting the particular causes which influenced us to the act, or the consequences which followed upon it, the act itself of which we were the agents, the affection we cherished, the resolve we took, in opposition to perceived obligations, constitutes,—according to the invariable decisions of conscience,—all our sin : for, (as is true of one sin, so of all the sin that attaches to our being,) conscience rests it solely on this foundation.

Now the operations of conscience speak the language of truth, and assign to sin its real nature. For, God who gave us our being, and formed us for his subjects, would not have given us such a constitution as necessarily carries with it, under all circumstances, the conviction of an error respecting his moral government. But, unless the convictions of our consciences accord with the real nature of sin the conviction of an error necessarily does attend upon us in whatever circumstances our being is placed, even under all the effulgence of an external revelation. For it is true, that, in all this light, the conviction of our consciences is still irresistible that sin lies in nothing else but the acts in which we violate known obligations. If sin lies in any thing *beside* this, then we never feel remorse of conscience for it ; and if it lies not *in* this, then we feel remorse for that which is not sin. But,

II. I appeal to the *universal sentiments of men*.

The conduct of mankind in their intercourse with one another, in relation to this subject in particular, shows me more fully than I can prove from the constitution of my own being, the existence of a common and universal conviction which they entertain of the nature of sin. And that it is their united conviction that sin is resolvable into that which I have stated, I refer to the ground on which they justify themselves, in accusing others of blame-worthiness, and in awarding punishments.

I know it is said, that individuals, and that courts of justice, never stop to inquire whether a criminal possesses the requisite powers of a moral agent or not ; or whether he had a knowledge of his obligations or not ; but are satisfied with ascertaining the fact that he did an intentional injury, in order to justify themselves in the verdict of guilt, and the infliction of punishment. But it is not strictly so. The presumption indeed in every case, that an alleged criminal, like the multitude of his fellow-men, is a moral agent, and that he knew his obligations, is so strong, that the fact is always assumed and acted upon, unless evidence arises to the contrary. But let evidence to the contrary appear ; let such evidence arise, to the strength of conviction, that the alleged criminal was by the act of God deprived of the powers of moral agency ; and a court of justice, or an individual, might indeed see him thenceforth confined,—on the principle on which they would chain a wild beast,—that he do no hurt ; but never would they hope to justify themselves to the good sense of the community, if they did such an outrage on their convictions, as seriously to accuse the criminal of guilt and award to him the punishment of law. Or let evidence arise that, although endowed with the faculties of a moral agent, he did not know his obligations as specified in some enactment of civil law, he is not acquitted indeed—because he violated known obligations

in not acquainting himself with the law, and violated known obligations of morality in venturing on an act of injury to his neighbour—but he would not be considered as adding to his crime the sin of an open contempt of the civil enactment.

Enough has been said, I trust, to show the universal sentiments of men respecting the essential nature of sin : —that, when they have no particular theory to maintain —when they are acting out in life the unbiassed dictates of their sense of justice—they restrict all sin to the conduct of moral agents in which they violate known obligations.

But,

III. I appeal again to the *views of God*, as expressed in his *law*, his *judgment*, and his direct *testimony*.

In his law, Jehovah assumes the principle that the duty of his subjects is referrible altogether to their voluntary conduct, and to nothing else—by exerting his authority over them, only in relation to this conduct. He assumes, in his published law, the work of legislation over nothing else. Such is the purport of the grand law of his kingdom —“Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbour as thyself”—and also of every specific injunction inculcated on the principle of this law. For, to love God and our neighbour is something pointed out to us, to be done by us as voluntary beings, rather than the contrary. The requisition is that we fix our choice, with all the strength of inclination possible, on such final ends as the glory of God and good of others, and that we carry out this choice into execution in all the outward acts specified in particular laws. Nothing in a moral agent, then, but the exercises of his will, either immanent or imperative, does God, in his law, consider as concerned in holiness or sin. Over no property of the agent, independent of his will, and distinct from its exercises, does he legislate. It is supposed indeed, by some, that the heart

is altogether distinct from the will and its exercises ; and that God in legislating over it, in his law, does extend his command beyond the voluntary agency of his subjects. But the only heart which the law acknowledges is the will itself of the agent, or his actual preferences. For, to love with all the heart, as the law requires, means not—metaphysically—to love out of a certain fountain called the heart, rather than out of a certain other fountain called the will,—as though God were insisting that love should proceed from some peculiar specific fountain,—but simply to love with all the capacity we, as voluntary agents, possess of loving. I trust, then, the plain tenor of the commands of God, if nothing else be taken into view, is enough to convince you, that God holds moral agents responsible only for their actual choices or voluntary acts.

And, that in his law, he makes sin to be a violation of known obligation, is obvious from the fact, that he makes the *written* law the ground of the charge of sin on his subjects no farther than that law is known, or the ability and obligation to become acquainted with it are known ; as in lands that possess the light of revelation. From his adherence strictly to such a principle in the written law, as the necessity of a knowledge of obligation to constitute the conduct of subjects sinful, it is obvious that the charge of sin in other cases is rested on the violation of obligations that are known.

Again : The *judgment* of God evinces this to be his view of sin.

All which is mentioned to us in his word respecting his conduct as a Judge, restricts his judgments to the *deeds* of his subjects in which they have violated known obligations, or have discharged them with fidelity. “ He searches the heart,” not as a reservoir of good and evil in the origin or continuance of which the being himself had no agency, but as as existing in the real preferences conceived, adop-

ted, and cherished within the breast of the agent, in distinction from the outward and imperfect manifestations of them made to men. He searches the *heart* that his judgments may be accordant with truth and righteousness—"even to give to every man as his *work* shall be." Their *deeds* as examined by that omniscient eye which can look into the hidden operations of their souls, are made the grounds of his public sentence.

And in his sentence, he estimates guilt by obligations known to his subjects. "As many as have sinned without the law"—against other obligations than those of the written law—who, as the apostle explains, "not having the law, are a law unto themselves, showing the work of the law written in their hearts;"—"shall perish without law,"—or without any accusation from the written law; and "as many as have sinned *in* the law, shall be judged *by* the law."

Again the direct *testimony* of God evinces this to be his view of sin.

This testimony occurs in the language of those servants whom he has inspired to teach us his will; and it is contained in such declarations as the following. James gives us this express account of the origin and nature of sin; and though metaphorical language is used, the meaning is as obvious to every reader as it could be made by the strictest definition: "Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin." The natural appetites are represented as placing temptations before the moral agent, or giving attraction to appropriate objects, and his own sin as commencing in consent of will, or his own act of preferring the objects they crave, to others, or of resolving to seek them in opposition to duty. John affirms the positive proposition: "whosoever committeth sin, transgresseth also the law: for sin is a transgression of the

law ;" and Paul, the universal negative : " where no law is, there is no transgression." Christ said to the Sanhedrim, " If ye were blind, ye should have no sin ; but now ye say, we see ; therefore your sin remaineth : " and his speech, though it related to the degree of their guiltiness, could have no meaning, but on the principle that a knowledge of obligation, and acting in violation of it, were necessary to the existence of sin and guilt. Nor does the testimony of Paul in the text, which we have already considered, admit of evasion : " sin is not imputed "—it is not charged to a moral agent as having any existence, and as forming any ground of blame—"when there is no law"—when there is none applied to the agent himself which he violates : and if any will contend that, notwithstanding this declaration, there still may be a species of sin of which God takes no positive cognizance, they either enter upon a trifling logomachy, or else impeach the divine rectitude.

Nor do I know of a single expression of scripture which bears on the face of it the least appearance of contradiction to this testimony, unless it is an expression of Paul—"it is no more I that do it but sin that dwelleth in me." Yet whatever other interpretations have been given to it, I have never known that, which would literally separate sin from his own conduct, seriously contended for : viz. that he was one active being and agent, and that sin was another active being and agent in him, thus making two agents in his one being.

The law, and judgment, and word, of God, then, unitedly show that He considers sin to consist in that conduct of his subjects in which they violate the laws which he gives them for their regulation and government. But

IV. I appeal to the intrinsic *absurdity* of supposing any thing else to constitute a ground of blame, in the subjects of moral government ; and the *reasonableness* of taking this view.

The decisions of our consciences, the convictions of mankind, and the views of God, as they have been already exhibited on this subject, are manifestly founded in justice and truth.

What other view can we take that leads not to *absurdity*? For, sin *must* lie, either in the *consequences* of wrong choices of the agent, or in the *causes* of them, or else in the *wrong choices themselves*. But sin cannot lie simply in the *consequences* of wrong choices,—that they occasion evil to others. For although it may be true that sin does in most cases occasion evil to others, yet the sin itself is distinct from the evil flowing from it; nor does it essentially consist in its actually occasioning evil to others. For, ravenous beasts may occasion evil to others by their conduct as well as men; and among men, it may be that the worst sins in them may be prevented from actually bringing evil on others, and their best conduct, on the other hand, (as in the administration of salutary correction,) may occasion it in a high degree

Nor can sin lie in the *causes* that influence an agent to sinful choices. I mean any cause which precedes in the order of nature, and renders certain the sinful determinations and choices of the agent. For although a previous choice which was wrong, may influence an agent in making a present wrong choice, yet to make a present sin consist in its being occasioned by a previous choice which was wrong, would equally require us to make the sin of that previous choice itself, to lie, not in itself, but in some previous sinful choice of the agent which influenced him to it; and so on, till we come to the first choice or act of will in the series, which could have no act of will preceding it to constitute it sin,—so that on this position there could be no such thing as sin in the whole series of acts from first to last. Besides: many things influence an agent to a present determination of will, aside from pre-

vious determinations : things which are wholly out of his own being, and pertain wholly to the agency of others : and to make his sin lie in such a cause of his determinations, and not in his determinations themselves, would be to make that pertain to his being which neither does, nor can, pertain to his being.

If then it is absurd to refer sin to the consequences of sinful determinations of the will, or to the influential causes ; it is obvious that the sin of the agent can lie in nothing else but the wrong choices themselves, of which he is the immediate author.

And it is equally absurd to class any of his choices under the head of sin, but those in which he violates known obligation. For a known obligation must either be violated or complied with ; and compliance with obligation is holiness if any thing is—so that sin must consist in the violation, rather than the contrary. And the obligation which is violated must be known : for if there is no knowledge of an obligation, there can be no act of will whatever in reference to it ; and there is just as much reason, if the determination of the agent is compared with such an unknown obligation, to say that he has complied with it, as that he has violated it, in any case : because, without the knowledge of an obligation, he has never really made the choice, one way or the other, for a compliance or a violation. So that it is absurd to speak of an obligation extending to an agent when it is wholly removed beyond his knowledge and the possibility of it ; or, to speak of his conduct as bearing any relation to such a (supposed) unknown and undiscoverable obligation.

On the other hand, the reasonableness of this view of sin appears, at once, in the consideration that the agent never does, nor can, commit sin without a natural ability at the time to do otherwise. For, as it is reduced, in all its forms and instances, to an act of will under the know-

ledge of obligations, the agent who puts forth a determination or choice at any time in violation of known duty, might, at the given time, put forth a different choice in compliance.* He is therefore reasonably commanded, beforehand or at the time, to avoid sin ; and if he commits it, is reasonably blamed for it afterwards. He is not made the victim, as he must be otherwise, of certain physical properties, independent of his acts ; or of an ignorance over which he had no control. There appears full and reasonable ground, on such a view, for his being subject to moral government ; that, in every determination or choice he is to make, the influence of divine authority may come in to aid all the favorable influence in the case and counteract that which is unfavorable, to excite him to a determination, choice, preference, disposition, (call the voluntary act as you please,) which shall be a compliance with obligation ; or, holy.

Nor can I conceive the reason why any should depart from this simple view of the subject, and attach a physical and created property to the constitution of the agent as his sin, unless it lies in the supposed necessity of such a theory, in order, most successfully, to account for the certainty of sin. Just as if, in order to deny that self determining power in man which is subject to no influence from abroad and which wills a given way unexcited by any object whatever,—the foundation of the Pelagian and Arminian errors, and the subversion of the doctrines of grace which imply the certainty of human action,—it were necessary to verge to the other extreme ; and hold that man has no power whatever in originating action ; that he is not, himself, the mover who is to be influenced, the actor to be addressed ; but the mere subject of impressions made on an intrinsic and created part of his constitution, or the mere vacuum receiver of certain im-

* See Note B.

mediately created phenomena called *his acts*; and that the law of God is addressed to him, not as a *rule of action*, to influence him, the agent and the mover—the living spirit existing out of God, who can and who must act either in sin or obedience; but as a mere *standard* by which—as in a process of chemistry, physical qualities are tested—those impressions and phenomena are tested in regard to their (what is vainly called *moral and accountable*) nature.

Considering then, that the operations of our own consciences, the general convictions of mankind, the revealed views of God, conspire to lead us to those views of the nature of sin which have been stated, and that such views, and such only, are consistent with truth and justice, are we not obligated to admit that such is the nature of sin?

I shall now apply the subject principally as it stands related to other truths and as it may serve for their illustration. I remark, therefore,

1. The fact that all sin consists in transgression of law, teaches us not to confound with *sin itself*, the *ground of its certainty*.

For all the sin pertaining to a sinner at a given time, lies in the wrong choices of which he is the efficient author at the time; and the cause or influence whether within his being or without it that moved him to the adoption of the choice, does, in the order of nature, precede it and cannot therefore come in to the account of the sin at the given time. Though it may serve to illustrate the nature of the given choice, yet it is totally distinct from the being of it, inasmuch as it is the ground of its certainty, and, in the order of nature, previous.

Consequently the grounds of moral certainty that a given act of sin, will take place, do not destroy the sinfulness of that act. For the given act of sin, lies in a wrong de-

termination of will in the agent ; and whatever may be the causes that influence the agent to such determination ; whether any previous determination of will, or any thing else, they do not render the given determination of will, any other than a determination of which the sinner is the immediate author, and in which he violates obligations.

Consequently the grounds of moral certainty that an agent will be totally depraved, do not destroy the sinfulness of his total depravity. For that total depravity consists in nothing else, than in all the continued volitions of the agent being actually wrong ; and the moral causes which determine the agent to one given choice, consistently with the perfect sinfulness of such choice ; may determine him to a continued train of sinful volitions, consistently with the perfect sinfulness of the whole train.

Consequently the grounds of moral certainty respecting sin in the future constitute not the measure of present guilt pertaining to an agent. That measure is to be found only in the amount of his actual determinations to evil. There may be created by the first sinful volition of a moral agent, a ground of certainty respecting all the future sins of his being ; yet no sin really pertains to him, any farther than exists in the evil determinations he has actually adopted up to the present time under this influence. The sin of to-day is not the sin of to-morrow, though the same general determination of will and the same external temptations may influence to both. Though there are moral causes in operation to favor the continuance of sin in the agent to-morrow, there are also causes, at least in existence, favoring the commencement of holiness in him to-morrow ; and it may be the agent will take up a new choice on the morrow ; and, to charge sin against him for the morrow, on the ground that caus-

es favoring its continuance exist to-day, would then be a charge of what never did, and never can take place.

Consequently the grounds of moral certainty respecting sin, do not prevent at all the necessity of exertion, to turn sinners from their sins. For, if so many causes exist, to make them adhere still to their guilty purposes, so much the more reason, that we should bring in all our influence, as a counteracting cause, to prevent such a result and to excite them to better purposes. Nor are we thrown on such a hopeless ground of expecting the reformation of sinners, as the mere causes themselves which influence them to sin. Neither man, nor God, could effect their conversion by requiring that their sinful purposes should themselves become holy purposes, that their present choice of self-serving should itself become the choice of pleasing God. No. Our appeals are to the agent, who has hitherto chosen wrong, now to choose right. An influence to holiness has come forth from God,—the influence of the cross of Christ, the power of the Spirit, and the efforts, prayers and examples of Christians,—and there is hope that this influence, concentrating on many minds yet bent on sinful purposes, will turn them to the choice of God and his holy service. I am to throw my part of influence, therefore, (and pray for that influence of the Spirit, which may render it effectual, to accompany it,) into this system of redeeming effort ; nor lie still, passively acquiescing in the existing state of the causes which favor sin and holiness.

DISCOURSE II.

ROMANS v. 13.—*Sin is not imputed, when there is no law.*

In my discourse from these words, this morning, I attempted to explain the nature of sin. The proposition which I stated concerning it, was, that sin, in all its forms and instances, is reducible to the act of a moral agent in which he violates known obligation.

The proposition, I attempted to show in my explanation of it, really applies to all the various divisions under which sins are usually classed : viz. those of the *heart and life* ; of *omission and commission* ; and of *ignorance and knowledge*.

The proofs of the proposition, I gathered from the *operations of our consciences* ; the *universal convictions of mankind* ; the *views of God*, as revealed in his law, judgment, and testimony ; and from the *propriety, in the nature of things*, of charging sin and blame-worthiness on moral agents, for such acts only.

I then proceeded to apply the subject, principally with regard to its bearing upon related truths ; and remarked,

(1.) On the necessity of distinguishing between the *causes* of a given sinful determination, and the sinful *determination itself*.

In continuing the subject at the present time, I shall, of course, pursue the train of remarks which I had begun. I remark, therefore,

2. That the truth which we have considered shows us that there is not a *sinful heart*, in any moral agent, *distinct from his own sinful choices, determinations, or preferences*.

Many entertain confused notions respecting the real nature of a sinful heart ; as though it were some physical, incontrollable, source of sin, existing apart from the active agency of the being or his determinations ; and to be blamed, or he to be blamed for it, as being sinful because it is so very unlovely in its nature and consequences ; and because the existence of a reservoir of a different kind, that should flow out in good volitions, would be in its nature so very lovely and excellent ; and as though the being who has such a physical, incontrollable reservoir of sin placed within him, separate, in its origin and continuance, from his own agency, had nothing to do about removing it and putting a better in its stead ; but must live on, only as a passive spectator of its irresistible overflowings, and see it flow on and flow out forever.

I do not indeed deny the propriety of using such language as a sinful heart, or sinful affections, or a sinful disposition, but of connecting with such terms the idea that the heart, to which the epithets sinful, depraved, wicked, are applied, exists in any thing apart from the active preferences of the agent himself. They are but immanent acts of the soul in man, as distinguished from those which are imperative or executive, which command the actions of the body and are accomplished in the outward life ; and they are sinful, on the same ground that outward or visible acts of the agent are, and on no other, because they are choices, or acts of the agent, in which he violates known obligation.

Nor is there any thing in the scriptural account of the heart which should lead us to take any other view of the subject, than that which is presented to us by the subject of these discourses. The Hebrews spake of the literal heart, as the bodily organ in which the operations of the understanding and will, and the passive emotions of joy and sorrow, centred. Hence with reference to the

understanding, such expressions occur so frequently in the Old Testament as, a wise heart—wisdom of heart—an understanding heart—wise in heart—a heart to devise, on the one hand; and on the other, the foolish heart—the heart of fools—and foolishness in the heart: and with reference to the will, such expressions as the following: a good heart—an obedient heart—a heart to do good; and an evil heart—a rebellious heart—a heart to do evil: and also with reference to the emotions of joy and sorrow, such expressions as, a sad and merry heart—a heavy and light heart—a heart of anguish and a heart of rejoicing. They also made the heart, as it lies concealed within the body, to represent the soul that is invisible in distinction from the visible body. The Lord “looketh on the heart,” in distinction from “the outward appearance”—he sees all that is concealed in man. “Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts,” &c.—from the internal soul, the real and responsible agent.*

It is obvious, then, that the word heart, which occurs so frequently in the scriptures, is a metaphor taken from that part of the body, and applied to mental faculties and operations, the nature of which is to be explained on other grounds than the mere application of a metaphor. The mental operations to which this metaphor is applied in the scriptures, we have attempted to show in this discourse by proper evidence are, so far as sin is considered, the acts of will in which the moral agent violates his obligations. So far then as the metaphor applies to sin, we have the proper evidence of what the meaning is that we are to give to the metaphor; and the application of the metaphor affords no ground for substituting any different sense.

But aside from the use of the term, it may be said that the scriptures give us, and reason too, such views of the

* See Note C.

mental operations themselves, as imply the existence of a mental disposition or bias which sustains toward the particular volitions of the moral agent the relation of an influential cause. But I have not denied, and do not deny, that one purpose, choice, or preference of the agent may have influence over him in regard to another ; but what I deny is, that any such disposition, itself moral,* which is supposed to influence the agent to a given resolution, is, in its origin and continuance, at all distinct from a determination of will in the agent. When an agent chooses any end of pursuit, in distinction from the outward acts by which he would accomplish it, he is, (until he adopts a different end of pursuit,) under the influence of such a determination in all the particular and subordinate determinations of will which he adopts, to gratify his choice. His general determination may be called in this relation, an inclination, a tendency, or a bias of heart ; but it was at its origin, and it is still, so far as adhered to in particular volitions, nothing but an actual choice or preference of the agent. Thus, a heart of covetousness is the state of will that exists in the choice of such an end of gratification as wealth ; a heart of selfishness, or ambition, the state of will that exists in the choice to gratify ourselves and acquire power : and so of every conceivable mode in which the will may be said to be in a state of moral inclination any given way. In this manner, the will of the sinner is, from the first, fastened on the gratification of his own appetites as the end of pursuit, and when you meet him with the demands of duty to choose as his end of pursuit the glory of God and good of others, you find him under the strong bias of a previous choice of selfgratification, or purpose of will to such an end ; and so long as he adheres to his purpose and prefers the same final end, all the minor effects

* See Note D.

you have on his determinations do not amount to a change of heart ; his great motive of action remaining the same as the final end he has chosen, and still secretly chooses, to pursue. But let him be moved from the final object of pursuit on which his will is fastened ; let him, instead of choosing or preferring the gratification of himself, choose or prefer the gratification of God ; let his choice actually terminate on this ultimate object, no matter what causes come in to influence him as an agent in regard to his putting forth this new choice, to render it certain ; this new determination itself, is the real change of his heart, the beginning of a new preference—the only change of heart known or required in the scriptures.

This restriction of the sinful heart to actual preferences of the agent, is not only inferred from the subject of the present discourse, but is, notwithstanding the objections I have so far considered, the view which is the best conformed to the representations of the scriptures. For on the view that the sinful heart is but the sinful determinations of the moral agent, not only can all the expressions which speak of a heart or refer to the relation of cause and effect in the conduct of moral agents be consistently understood, but also all the requirements which are made of sinners are manifested to be just, as on no other view they could be. For the requisition laid upon the sinner to avoid sin, is but requiring him, in a present or future act of will, under his known obligations, to make such a choice as corresponds with his obligations. And the requisition laid upon him to change his heart, is, in amount no more. It is but requiring the moral agent who has hitherto preferred one ultimate object of choice, now, at the present time, to prefer, instead of it, another ultimate object of choice. This is the demand of that which he has power to do, and obviously just ; while on any other view, an avoidance of particular sins, or a change of

heart however worthy the objects to be respected in it, would be that which the sinner has no natural power to accomplish ; and the demand of it, be unjust.

I remark,

3. That we learn from the present subject that, in the connection of Adam with his posterity, no sin of his is reckoned theirs.

For, no sin can exist in his posterity but in those acts in which they severally disregard duty ; and consequently no sin can be correctly reckoned theirs, which took place, as did that of Adam, before they existed and acted, and entirely separate from their own agency. In this position, it is my intention simply to deny that the sin of Adam is so reckoned to be theirs, as that they are blamed for his sin itself, as that they are held culpable for his act of transgression; not to deny that Adam, through that constitution of the Creator, which made him the parent of the human race, has occasioned the *evil* to his descendants of their being personally sinners, and as such, deserving and experiencing condemnation.* Yet there are some who feel afraid of the position, in as obvious a noon-day light as it seems placed by the present subject, lest, if they admit it, serious consequences should arise to the scripural representations concerning the connection of Adam with his posterity. Just as if the scriptures were not in this case free from asserting the manifest absurdity ; and as if they themselves were under no obligation, in maintaining the truth of the scriptures before their fellow-men, to disconnect every absurdity of their own from the purity of their representations.

But you may ask whether any connection can exist at all between the sin of Adam and the sins of his posterity, if it is admitted that no sin exists but what consists in

the individual sins of Adam and the individual sins of all his children after him? I reply, that there can be some other connection between his sin and the sins of his posterity, beside that of a gratuitous imputation of his sin to them as theirs; as well as there can be a connection between one sin and another in the series of sins pertaining to an individual, without at all confounding the two—without making the sin of yesterday the sin of to-day. The fact is, it is consistent with the view which we have taken of sin, that the moral agent should be under the influence of a great variety of causes to render certain a given determination of will; all we contend for is, that sin at any time consists in the voluntary acts of the sinner at the time, not in any thing before them, or after them, but in these acts themselves. If Adam by his sin created in any way the grounds of moral certainty that his posterity in the first responsible determinations of will would sin, then all the connection exists which is requisite to account for the fact of the sinfulness of his posterity—while at the same time no sin is allowed to exist but what is found in the individual determinations of will in the various moral agents who compose the series of beings.

Do you ask, how Adam could occasion a moral certainty applying to every instance of his posterity? I may reply, that if I cannot tell how, it may yet be true; for there are many instances of moral certainty which I know to be in fact founded on their proper causes, but cannot exactly state how they are. There was a moral certainty occasioned by the temptation of Eve in regard to her determination; there is a moral certainty occasioned by one determination of a moral agent respecting another; there is a moral certainty, formed by the influences of the Spirit, of a choice by the sinner, of totally a new final end in every case of conversion; and there is some

ground of moral certainty which, in fact, meets every child of Adam in regard to his first responsible acts of will, that he will make a wrong choice, a forbidden preference. Whether I can say what precisely constitutes this ground of certainty, or not, I am sure there is such a ground. Now Adam, as the first ancestor of all the race, and as a sinner, may be the first and remote author of the moral certainty that every one of his posterity will commence moral action in sin ; whether you, or I, or any one else, can tell how or not. But were I to enter upon any theory or explanation of the mode in which he creates the certainty of their sin, I would simply state the facts that by the constitution given him as the progenitor of the race, he is the remote and first cause, under the Creator, why they come into being rather than not ; and, as a sinning progenitor, the remote cause why they come into being so affected in their very constitution as to render certain their sinning at the first, rather than otherwise.

But still it may be asked, allowing that a connection can be supposed to exist between the sin of Adam and that of his posterity, which occasions the moral certainty of the latter, whether the scriptures do not assert that the connection involves particularly that very imputation of his sin to them which is denied to be possible,—as in the passage respecting Adam and Christ in the epistle to the Romans. In reply, I would state concerning this passage, that in it the Apostle does not specify the mode in which Adam renders certain the sin of his posterity, but the fact ; which assertion of the fact, was all that was necessary to his object in the passage. “By one man,” he says, “sin entered into the world and death by sin, and so,” in the same connection, “death passed upon all men”—it has gone over all the nations of men all the past generations of men have died ;—“because,” as the Apostle had asserted in the

third chapter of the epistle, "all have sinned." Now that all had sinned, he states, that until the giving of the law sin had prevailed in the world, and that though it might be objected that sin could not be imputed at such a period when the law was not yet introduced, yet the fact of death passing upon all the generations, from Adam to Moses, that is, over those generations who had not sinned in the situation of Adam—under a published law, and the offers of immortality,—their death shows, (in the connection he had already stated between death and sin as its procuring cause, and in the connection between the two already intimated in the previous chapters of the epistles respecting the Gentiles,) that all nations before Moses had sinned; and he states, moreover, that the law itself which came in by Moses had no effect to prevent the existence of sin among the Jews, but rather to increase its heinousness. Now in stating this fact, that all the nations of men were sinners, he refers to the disobedience of Adam as the remote cause why all are so; without defining otherwise the nature of the connection. Morus remarks on this passage: that "in this comparison (between Adam and Christ) the Apostle declares the magnitude of the redemption in the design of its universal extension among men;" that as Adam had introduced a reign of sin which had involved in sin and condemnation all the nations and ages of the world before and since the giving of the law—so Christ, who was predicted to come, the minister of grace, had now come, and instituted a reign of grace that was to be extended to all the nations and ages of the world in future; that as there had hitherto been a full reign of sin, there should in the future, be a glorious reign of grace. The comparison favors the views already contended for in the epistle, that salvation comes through Christ and not through the law, and is not confined to Jews under law,

but extended to Gentiles also : for, as a common apostasy involved all the nations in guilt before the giving of the law, and the law itself had never been able to rescue the Jewish nation from it, but had enhanced their guilt : so that notwithstanding the law, both Jews and Gentiles were under sin :—as a world was in apostacy and without a remedy notwithstanding the law : the Apostle rejoiced in the Lord Jesus who had brought an atonement, and had established his kingdom of recovering grace—(the excellence of which appears on the comparison)—not over the Jews merely as they in their prejudices might wish, but over Jews and Gentiles both, over a world of sinners. “The Apostle therefore, does not describe *how* sin in the heart and life passes over from Adam to others. He does not deny that there are many other, more proximate causes, in man and without him, why in each case he sins, and why, in each case, he dies. He, therefore, teaches that each dies, because each one sins, (*εφ ὃ πάντες*, &c.) and consequently not for the simple reason that the first man sinned, nor that his death is at all the punishment of the sin of Adam : but he simply asserts that by retracing the chain of causes, we arrive at the ultimate origin of all the causes why men sin and die in the first man.”

Should any still further inquire why, if such only were the intent of the apostle, he should use the law-terms, that his disobedience occasions judgment upon his descendants, and condemnation, and their being guilty or sinners ; I will merely reply, that the original constitution of Adam, as the parental head of his offspring, whatever connection it has with the original state of their being, is a connection which involves their being moral agents as well as himself, coming under the responsibilities of law ; so that the evil in them, of which his disobedience forms the ground of certainty, is an evil which

involves their being sinners under the law, their condemnation, their death.

I remark,

4. That the subject may assist us in making a right explanation of original sin.

The scriptures assure us of the fact, that there is that at the origin of the descendants of Adam which renders sin, and its entire prevalence, certain in all. And this phrase has been chosen to denote that which pertains to man at his origin, constituting him a sinner, and which subjects him to the prevalence of sin afterwards. The explanation of this fact which has been given, very extensively, by Calvinistic writers, is, that man is constituted a sinner at his origin, by the imputed guilt of the sin of Adam, and the vitiosity of his constitution ; both which are previous to moral action, and the latter of which certainly subjects him, at the time of moral action, to transgression. But since nothing is sin in any given being but his own conduct in violation of known duty, it is obvious that the scriptures intend not to teach, that men are, individually, the subjects of sin, by the imputation of guilt ; or by vitiosity of constitution, *previous* to moral and accountable action, or *separate* from such action. We are led, therefore, to the conclusion that, although man may be so affected at his origin in his constitution as to render certain his commencing moral agency in sinful action, yet that nothing can with truth be called his original *sin*, but his first moral choice or preference being evil ; which original determination of will or moral purpose, operates, in addition to his original susceptibilities, as a ground of his succeeding acts being sinful.*

Original sin, is by nature, by birth, by Adam ; not as though it were in itself any thing different from a wrong

See Note F.

direction of will, choice, or act of the agent who is born ; but because the moral causes, which render this original determination of the will certain, are connected with his being by birth and descent from Adam. He is born as a moral agent into a state of being which renders certain such a determination of will. Whether any one can tell what it is precisely, in his original constitution as an agent, and his relation to the external frame of nature, which forms the immediate disposing cause—the cause which excites and disposes the agent,—to render certain this first and original moral preference of forbidden ends, or not ; yet, we are bound, by the scriptural testimony, to acknowledge the existence of such an immediate disposing cause, out of God : and that the cause is made to operate on the individual agent in consequence of his birth. In the case of Adam and Eve in their original sin, or the first determination of their wills to evil, a cause of moral certainty was formed by the condition of their being, at the time of the transgression, which cause influenced or moved them to such a choice. Their sin began simply in a wrong choice, a wrong act of will, and was induced by something else than the wrong choice itself ; and so the sin of their posterity always commences in a wrong choice or preference, and which must be induced by something else than the wrong choice itself. A moral certainty must be admitted to exist in both cases, occasioned by something else than the original choice itself ; and if the condition of the being of Adam and Eve at the time of their temptation, occasioned the moral certainty of their choice ; so may the state into which the being of their posterity is introduced by birth, occasion equally the moral certainty of their choice.

Yet, though there is a disposing cause, existing at the original of man, to render certain his first moral preference being evil, that which can with propriety be called

the original *sin*, is the moral preference itself only, not the disposing cause ; the moral acting of the being, not that which is extrinsic to it. Now as it is an ultimate fact that an original choice of a wrong end or forbidden object occasions the certainty of a continued train of evil choices by the agent—the total depravity of the agent ; such an original choice or first inclination of the will to evil sustains towards the acts of the agent, as does no other, the relation of a primary influential cause of their being evil. But this was as true of the first evil choice or preference made by devils, or by Adam and Eve, as it is of the first evil choice or preference made by the descendants of Adam ; the fact, that in the latter, evil choices commenced in their very first voluntary and moral acts, and in the former, after a course and series of holy acts making no essential difference in the principle. The first inclination of the will to evil, or first guilty choice, in devils, and in Adam, laid as sure a foundation for their total depravity, as it does in the descendants of Adam for their total depravity as we learn from the results. All that we can say on this subject is, that it is an ultimate fact in the constitution of moral agents that an original determination of will either in a sinful or holy choice, is a determination that prevails in all the stated exercises of the will ensuing, unless some cause sufficiently powerful, intervenes to occasion a contrary determination, or excite the agent to the choice of different final ends. But this is not making the original determination of will to be any thing in its nature, different from any of the subsequent exercises of will which are influenced by it ; that is, any thing different from an original choice of evil ends by the agent, who still adheres to the choice in subsequent volitions.

The scriptures, in full accordance with these remarks, speak of nothing sinful in the original nature of man,

viewed in distinction from his actions. The very theory asserted in them, is, that the nature of men, as it is affected by descent from Adam, is the *occasion*, *ground*, or *cause* of their sinning or their sinfulness ; and not itself any part of their sin. The “natural man” is a phrase by which they designate the simple fact of man being swayed and ruled in his choices by natural passions, *obeying* the lusts of human nature, and *walking* in them, in opposition to duty. The very phrases, by Adam, by birth, by nature, must be interpreted, to denote causes simply : not that the sin itself pertains to the person of Adam, to the act of birth, to the constitution of nature. Nature, is distinguished from the sin itself of the agent, as a cause is from its result. One is assigned as the cause, or certain occasion of the other ; and who that identifies them, follows the record ? Just as when the scriptures affirm that the Gentiles “do by nature the things contained in the law,”—nature is that which influences them to act in such a manner. I do not undertake to inquire whether nature mean here the light of nature around them or their own nature as intelligent beings, perceiving obligations—but surely, the assertion is, they are influenced by the one to do the other ; by nature, to do the things contained in the law ; not that their doing them, is itself a part of their nature. Every one in the least conversant with Greek, moreover, must know that *φύσει* is construed as the causal or modal dative. The asserted theory of the scriptures, therefore, is not that nature is itself sinful, but that it is the certain occasion why the accountable being himself sins.

Nor let any one say that this distinction between the original constitution of an agent and his sinful choices and preferences, is a tenuous distinction ; a very shadowy difference ; which, if it exist at all, can have no possible use in regard to our views in religion : the grand

facts remaining the same and unalterable, explain them as we will.

The distinction is no less broad and glaring than the distinction between the *existence in my constitution* of susceptibilities to the excellence of God and virtue, and of appetites and desires for the various kinds of natural good around me on the one hand ; and *my choice and preference*, on the other hand, whether to serve God and regulate these appetites and desires, or in neglect of God to surrender up myself a slave to their clamorous demands ; —no less broad and glaring than the distinction between the constitution of the being who acts, and his actions ; —no less broad and glaring than the distinction between the influence which another uses with me and the purpose I form while this influence is used with me :—no less broad and glaring even, than the distinction between the conduct of others and my own. And in religion, it is important whether we hold that God faults us for the former, or for the latter only.

The facts remain the same, immutable by our explanations : but that is no reason why we should not understand them and the scriptures.

The facts remain the same and immutable : but that is no reason why we should explain them in a manner that is wrong, at variance with the moral government of God, and in unison with the objections of the atheist and mere fatalist.

The facts are the same, and immutable : and these are they which, rightly explained, form the intelligible ground of the revealed religion of grace through a Redeemer. Men are indeed so affected in their very constitution and relations to an external world, by descent from sinning Adam, as that, at the very beginning of their moral action, they are sinners, and condemned of God for it to eternal death. Verily it is not my purpose to disavow a

fact of so tremendous import, which meets me with its terrors wherever I go in this world of revolt and wickedness. No, it is my purpose rather to feel more deeply myself, and to make others around me feel more deeply not only that the evil exists, but that it is an evil which, through its whole desolating course should clothe a world in sackcloth before its God, for the enormities which itself conceives and perpetrates ; and drive it to the throne of a proffered Redeemer, as its only place of refuge, from the terrors of deserved and impending judgment.

The explanation is of use, because it is contained in the revelation of God ; and serves, while it assures us of the certainty of the evil, to clear his throne from the aspersion of creating and countenancing it, and to throw the aspersion, as He does, on a revolting world. It serves to deepen the convictions of his righteousness ; to silence the cavils which are brought against his testimony to our depravity ; to aid the victories of his truth over the minds and hearts of the unbelieving ; and to make a world, before the irradiations that break upon it from the Heavenly Throne, fall prostrate and plead to all the accusations of its Maker : guilty ! guilty !

I remark once more only,

5. That from this subject we learn why all sinners should be convicted of their sinfulness, blame only themselves for it, and be required to break off from it immediately by righteousness.

Why they should be convicted of sin. For, the sins of which they stand guilty before God are nothing but those acts of their own in which they have transgressed their obligations. If they look at the secret affections within, what they have been choosing, and delighting in, as the final end of their pursuit, and compare this conduct with their obligations, faithfully and impartially, they can obtain a conviction of their guilt. On this

ground all conviction of guilt which is ever felt by men or devils rests. And on this ground sinners are ready to be alarmed and convicted in their consciences at every turn of life ; and they will infallibly be, when the obligations towards God, and others, and themselves, which have been violated, by their choice of trifles, are brought distinctly to their view and beyond the effect of their resistance, by the influences of the Spirit in this life, or by the solemn revelations of eternity.

There is reason why all sinners should take wholly to themselves all the blame of their sin. They stand accused in their own consciences, and in the judgment of God, of choosing their good in the world and the selfish gratification of their own appetites, and for such ends, neglecting or opposing all their high and solemn obligations to God and others. And where now shall they throw the blame ? Shall they, like Adam, throw it on beings around, because they used so much influence, or permitted it to be used over them in regard to sin ? Ah, it is true that others may have sinned, and may have sinned too with respect to them ; but then, their sin is all summed up in their *own doings* ! Shall they throw the blame on God, that he permits so much influence to be exerted over them in favor of sin, and uses no more himself to recall them to the way of life ? Ah, it is God who follows them with entreaties and remonstrances ; who removes every unfavorable influence and brings in every favorable one, that he consistently can do, to turn their feet into the way of life—but they will walk in the road to death. Whom then shall they blame for their sin but themselves ; when it is summed up, simply, in their *own doings* ? Every sinner, then, ought immediately and willingly to throw on himself alone, to the exclusion of every other being, all the blame of the impiety, and the rebellion, and the ingratitude, and the hardness, and the malice, involved in his many violated obligations. Let the law he has

violated come home to his conscience in all its extent, in all its purity, in all its excellence ; and let him, in all the revelation it makes of his guilt, throw on himself, alone, the blame.

There is perfect reason why all sinners should be required immediately to break off from their sins by righteousness. For, although they cannot possibly recal their past acts of will, or do any thing now to change the sinful character of them ; though they must forever acknowledge their guilt in what is past, and blame themselves alone for it ; yet they are not fatally and physically bound down, in their present and future conduct, to but the single choice of evil ends. Higher and nobler objects of choice solicit their attention. God commands, invites, entreats them to choose, at once, the high and noble ends of his proposal. Let them but choose these high and exalted ends, and, by this very act of holiness, they break off from their career in sin. There is perfect reason then why every sinner should be commanded immediately to desist from sin, and to enter upon holiness : for nothing is required of him but to withdraw his choice from unworthy, and to fix it on worthy ends. Why then should he any longer continue his choice on a good that is contracted, vile, forbidden ; and pervert to so unworthy ends, all the noble powers and privileges attendant on his being ? Why any longer withhold from a high and holy God his due ? Why not say at once, with full consent of will, with true and lasting choice ; “ God is my hope and portion forever ? ” Nothing else but such a choice of God as his supreme good is requisite to interrupt the train of his sins, and introduce into his soul a new era of holiness and joy. Let every sinner who hears it feel his obligation to make the choice his own ; and let him make it too without delay, while on the threshold of eternity, he is yet permitted to breathe the air of a world in which mercy guides the penitent to victory.

NOTES.

A.

In popular language, the ultimate choices and preferences of a being are called moral *dispositions*, moral *affections*, moral *qualities*; and his proximate choices and preferences only are called moral *acts* or *choices*. And the reason for this distinction is obvious; because the ultimate choices and preferences of an agent, involving in them all his subordinate activity, remain the permanent springs of that activity, the constant traits of moral character; which are never relinquished except by new ultimate choices, and which oppose great obstacles to the influence that leads to a change.

But they who affirm that moral disposition, moral affection, moral quality, in an agent, (and by these epithets, I mean the disposition, affection, or quality, for the existence of which he is responsible,) is not, in its nature, an act of will, a choice or preference of the agent, but an essential property or part of his created constitution, maintain the doctrine of physical depravity which is opposed in these discourses.

They who make this distinction, suppose that moral disposition, affection, quality, taste, (call the constitutional property what you please,) is necessary to prepare the being for acting in a moral manner; and, consequently, include it in the very constitution of the agent, as, in the order of nature, preceding all his moral actions. Just as though the constituent powers and capacities of a moral agent were not those, simply, which prepare a being to act, either in a sinful or a holy manner; and as though a given preference of such being for one ultimate good rather than another (which only can be called moral disposition or affection) were not itself to be included in the acts of such agent, and among the most important of his moral actings: and as though there were not an obvious distinction between the constitutional powers and susceptibilities of a being, his power to glorify God or seek his good in the world; and his actual preferences, his choice of pleasing God, his choice of gratifying the lower appetites of his nature.

But to make a given moral disposition or affection, itself, a constituent part of a moral agent, and necessary preparation for his acting morally, is at variance with the following facts. (1.) The moral government of God. For this, in its laws and sanctions, respects his subjects chiefly in regard to their preference of ultimate ends of action. (2.) The temptation of perfectly holy beings. For this implies a susceptibility in them to other ultimate ends than those of their actual preference. (3.) The appeals of the Gospel to sinners. For, these involve a susceptibility in them to other final ends of action than those of their actual preference. (4.) The inconstancy of Christians. For this implies the actual preference at different times, by the same moral agent, of opposite ultimate good, through opposite influences reaching him from his lower appetencies and from the Spirit of God, Gal. v. 17. (5.) The apostasy of holy beings and the return of sinners to God. For these facts likewise involve

the actual preference, at different periods of life, by the same moral agent, of different ultimate ends. (6.) The principle (whatever meaning be attached to it) that the greatest apparent good, is the object of active preference. For this, if it apply at all, applies as much to an election of ultimate ends of pursuit, as it does to an election of means to accomplish ultimate ends; and implies, that the one election is as really the act of man as the other; or else, that both are equally remote from his agency. For, we may as well call his choosing, at any time, one particular mode of accomplishing an end in preference to other modes, a constitutional liking for that particular mode implanted in him at the time; as his choosing at the first, or afterwards, one given end of action rather than another, a constitutional liking for that particular end implanted in him at the first or afterwards. Either all is alike mere passive infusion, or all alike involves active power. Either we must hold that moral disposition and volitions exist alike in the voluntary action of the being; or confess that they are both alike remote from any agency or conduct of his, and confine his actions simply to the movements of his visible and corporeal frame.

The distinction between the constitutional powers and susceptibilities of a moral agent and his actual preferences, which is overlooked or disregarded by those who make moral disposition commence previous to moral action, is, nevertheless, a distinction always made in common life; practically regarded, even by those who theoretically oppose it; and plainly recognized in the scriptures. In common life, every one distinguishes between the constitutional feelings of a person and his moral determinations: in discourses on given sins,—the love of honour, the love of sensual pleasure, for instance,—it is not a bare constitutional susceptibility to the species of good named, which is regarded as defining the given sin; but the choice of the agent to pursue the good in question as an ultimate end, or in preference to the objects of divine requirement: and in the scriptures, the obstacles which are declared to exist in the minds of sinners to the love of God, truth, holiness, are not the utter want of a constitutional susceptibility to their excellence:—an utter incapacity to love them, for their own sakes: but the native strength of constitutional susceptibility or appetency to natural good, and the moral determination to pursue it as the chief good in preference to the good of divine requirement. For, it is their testimony that the carnal mind,—the mind which prefers this good to the good of the divine proposal,—“is enmity against God,” and “hates the truth,” simply on the ground of its *moral determinations*, “because it is not subject to the law of God;” because “its deeds are evil:”—on the basis of contrariety of will or choice.

The scriptures never aver the opinion that the constitution of the human mind itself is such as to include in its essential properties, hatred towards goodness for its own sake, and hatred towards truth for its own sake, and hatred towards happiness of others for its own sake. The very opposite of this they favor, by grounding the enmity and opposition which actually exists—not

on the want of constitutional susceptibility to the goodness of God and truth and virtue,—but on *moral determinations*—on the contrariety of the will ; and by making insensibility of mind towards God and truth and virtue ; or—if I may so call it—the want of impossibleness from the excellence of God and truth and virtue, to be an *effect* on the agent, which depends in its degree, upon the *strength* of his existing moral determinations.—John v. 44. viii. 47. vi. 26, 27. Rom. i. 21, 24, 28. Psalm lxxxi. 11—13. xcv. 8.

Nor can this distinction between the constitution of a moral being and his moral determinations, possibly be avoided, except by directly denying the very existence of any being who acts ; or indirectly denying it, by analyzing such being into a bare succession of mental phenomena. And if any will so far reason themselves out of their own natural convictions as to deny the existence of any created subjectum with its powers which is called the soul ; as to deny the existence of any agent who has the power to act ; or as to deny even the power of God to create and uphold such an active spiritual being ; they must be left to carry on the war of their philosophy with their own minds ; to beat down and destroy, if possible, the ever-rising conviction that God hath made them living spirits, and that it is they themselves, who exist and act as separate beings, that are subjected to the government of God, and not a bare string of separate phenomena which are collected within the body.

NOTE B.

The distinction between natural ability and moral, is admitted by many writers in theology at the present age ; and on this very distinction have they rested the consistency of the commands which God addresses to sinners, with their dependence on the influences of the Spirit to do that which they themselves are commanded to do. But why if we adopt this distinction at all, shall we not carry it with us over the broad field of moral agency ? Why shall we not equally make it the basis on which we rest the consistency of the moral government of God over such beings altogether, with all the truths which relate to the certainty and futurity of their conduct ? A distinction which avails to the clearing up of one case, should equally avail to all : for in all cases, the same question, essentially, is presented for solution : How can God, with propriety, command moral agents to act in a given way, when the manner in which they will act is, under his government, rendered certain, by other means than simply their own powers of action ?

I have therefore, throughout these discourses, proceeded on the ground of this distinction being universal ; that the living moral agent who is responsible to the divine government, is a being so constituted with the power of action, as to be, himself, the immediate author of every choice or act for which he is responsible ; and that he, always existing in the order of nature previous to any given choice or preference which is required of him, may always be exposed to such influence, previous to his acting, as to render certain his acting in a given manner rather than otherwise, without disturbing at all his natural power to act otherwise. The exercise of the power of a being in a given man-

ner, rather than another, does not imply, surely, the destruction of the power itself of acting either way : and the intrinsic power of acting either way must be acknowledged to pertain to the being, unless the very act which he always does put forth be denied to be his, and be affirmed to be immediately created without his agency.

Making this distinction universal, the justice of God in every part of moral government is clear ; in commanding and prohibiting, in threatening and promising, in blaming and punishing, and in accepting and rewarding ; because every act of authority and retribution proceeds on the basis of the power of such agents to do their duty ; and that in fact, they themselves do perform it, or do violate it, in every instance in which they are declared to be sinful or holy, ill deserving, or well deserving, and are treated accordingly, by their judge : and because also, such a government is the best possible means of influence which can be exerted over such beings to secure and strengthen their holy purposes, or virtue.

In regard to the certainty or futurity of the conduct of such beings, as it depends on the measures of divine providence, and the influences which, in a system of providence over all, reach the individual agents, justice requires no more of God surely than that he make the course of his providence as favorable to the holiness of each agent as he can consistently with rendering it the most favorable possible towards the whole system of such agents. When therefore objections brought against the justice of God, are proved not to stand against the process of retribution with such agents for their own conduct ; in which alone it is that holiness or sin always begins and continues ; we have thrown the objector a step farther back, to show if he can, that in a system of providence over a universe of such beings, which is the best adapted for promoting the general and eternal interests of virtue, it were possible for God himself to adapt his providence so favorably to the interests of every individual agent in it, as infallibly to secure his acting in a holy manner ; or to adapt it more favorably to the interests of given individuals, than he now does ; and until he can show this, we ask him to submit to that providence which does the best it can for the interests of all the beings who are thrown upon it, and to blame alone the beings who, in such a system, refuse to follow the known will of their Creator and choose the path of evil.

But they who make depravity itself to be a physical attribute of the agent—a *tertium quid* between the agent and his actions, which begins not in his conduct, yet for the very existence of which he is responsible—do, in fact, bring an objection against the very process of retribution itself, which they can never take away from the infidel, but by throwing him on the better convictions of his own conscience.

NOTE C.

They who make the word *καρδια*, in this passage, Matt. xv. 19, and in the parallel passage, Mark vii. 21, to signify sinful disposition, from which flow

all sinful modes of voluntary agency,—thereby making sin to exist in something back of all sinful action of the agent,—altogether misconstrue the import of the language and the intention of the Savior. The word denotes simply the soul; animus; the spiritual part of man in distinction from the corporeal. “*Horum fons est animus.*”—Kuinoel.

For this rendering the following reasons may be assigned: (1.) The occasion on which Christ was speaking. A charge had been brought against his disciples by the Pharisees that they defiled themselves by eating “with unwashed hands.” The charge was that of contracting moral pollution and guilt. The occasion therefore would lead him to speak of the mode of contracting pollution, not of the certainty of sinning: to distinguish the soul from the body, not sinful disposition from sinful action. (2.) The terms he uses interchangeably with *καρδια*. Mark vii. 20: That which cometh out of the *man*—vii. 15: “The things which come out of *him*”—vii. 21, 23: “from *within*.” These expressions are used as equivalent, and refer to the spiritual being. (3.) The things contrasted with those that proceed from *καρδια*. Mark vii. 18: “Whatsoever thing from without, entereth into the man”—Matt. xv. 11: “That which goeth in at the mouth”—xv. 20: “To eat with unwashed hands.” This is speaking of things affecting the state of the body, in distinction from such as do the soul; and not discriminating between sinful affection and volitions. (4.) The *effect* of the things proceeding from *καρδια*. Mark vii. 23. “These *defile* the man”—v. 15: “Those are they that defile the man.” The whole pollution about which the Savior speaks originates in those very acts.

But how does this agree with their interpretation who make *καρδια*, from which these acts proceed, to contain in itself all the pollution and to infuse into those very acts all their polluting nature? That would make the pollution to exist continually (from first to last during the whole existence of man as a sinner) previous to the very acts, by which, or in which, the Savior says the pollution is contracted: which, if it be not opposed to the intent of the Savior, and involve not the manifest absurdity that a thing exists before it exists, I confess myself exceedingly at a loss for power to discern. (5.) His ascribing the origin of the acts themselves to *καρδια*. Out of it proceed the very acts. I ask then whether the Savior inculcates that man has an agent, attached to him, distinct from his soul; and that this agent—not the living spirit—gives origin to every mental act, good or bad; and if so, what the soul itself does, and whether it be responsible for the acts of a separate agent? Is it a mere space; a mere receiver; in which these acts are expanding themselves?

For these reasons, I give to *καρδια* the rendering I have done; and hold that the Savior meant to assert to his disciples, that guilt is not contracted by the manner of eating our food or by what is taken into the body, but by evil thoughts and intents of the soul; specifying various species of such acts. On the whole, it is much as if Christ had been asked the very question: in what does sin consist? does it in taking our food with unclean hands? and he had replied: no; but in the evil acts of the soul.

NOTE D.

I speak of disposition, *itself moral*, to denote that state of mind which exists in a choice or preference of the agent, in distinction from that *disposing cause*, which, whatever it be, does ever, in the order of nature, precede every act of preference to render it certain.

An ultimate preference of an agent, is preceded by a *disposing cause* to render it certain, as the *temptation* of holy beings preceding their sin ; in the case of Adam and the multitudes of angels who “kept not their first estate ;” and the *influences of grace* upon sinners preceding their conversion ; the multitudes of mankind who “purify their souls in obeying the truth through the Spirit.” But it would be preposterous to call the disposing cause which renders certain the given preference, sinful in itself, or holy, as any attribute of the agent.

The ultimate preference itself is that which defines the character of the being, or which forms the moral attribute of his mind, in the adoption of which and continuance of which, he brings forth the fruit of sin or righteousness in the outward life : as Matt. 12 : 33—35, Luke 6 : 42—45.

Moral disposition I call choice and preference, not only to define it as consisting in the voluntary agency of the being, but to distinguish it from those active desires and passive emotions which, though founded in the constitution of the being, are regulated by his moral preferences : such preferences always involving the knowledge of opposite ultimate objects, and of obligation as to which should be preferred of the two, previous in the order of nature, to their existence.

The predisposing cause is that which occasions the certainty of the agent preferring one ultimate good to another ; or which, in the language of Edwards, renders one the greatest apparent good of the two. Ultimate objects do never themselves efficiently originate choices or preferences, for the obvious reason that an active being who himself chooses and prefers is ever presupposed to the existence of choice and preference : nor does the existence of the objects form ever the ground why the being chooses and prefers one rather than another, for the obvious reason that they all co-exist. There must therefore be that, in the beings themselves and the measures of an outward Providence which affect them, united, which forms, a disposing cause.

Nor let any one make any difficulty about the time it must take an active being to act when subjected to the dominion of God, and called upon to prefer Him to the world. The very circumstances impose the necessity of immediate choice or preference.

Or will the advocate of physical depravity here inquire, whether it is not absurd to speak of choosing to love God ; and whether we might not as well speak of choosing to choose to love him, and so on ad infinitum ? Will he make this vain inquiry, when the representation respects simply the act of *love itself* ? Better might he be asked in reply, whether it is not absurd to speak of there being love implanted in a being to love God with ; and whether we

might not as well speak of there being in him a love to love to love, and so on, ad infinitum? The only question is, what is *holy* love to God? What is *sinful* love to the world? What is *moral* disposition? Is it *sensation*? Is it animal *feeling*? Is it a *constitutional quality*? Is it any *feeling* which is created independent of the voluntary agency of the being and a view of its objects? Or, is it the *preference* of the being? Is it the act of a being, *out of God*? Is it the act of one who has *intrinsic power to act in another manner*? Is it the act of one who *knows and feels the claims of obligation*?

NOTE E.

In the relation of Adam to his posterity, it was my design to deny imputation, simply in that sense which involves the literal transfer of the guilt of his sin, on the ground that sin is always personal.

In respect to the philological considerations which affect this passage, Rom. 5: 12—21, I apprehend, that whether we adopt either of the meanings which usage may allow to the phrases πάντες ἥμαρτον; ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεσθῆσαν; transgression, or culpability; the phrases apply to the race, as a really existing and morally acting race; if prospective, they are prospective attributes of such a race, actually applying to them only as existing moral beings. Whether we introduce the sense of transgression, or culpability, into the passage, therefore; and I confess there are some reasons for the latter; personal distinction must be admitted; and it will still remain a question whether the culpability into which they are brought is not that which attaches to them as personal sinners.

The construction, adopting such rendering, must be, either that they are rendered culpable as personal sinners; or simply, that they bear the culpability of the one sin of Adam on their persons. The latter only is what I have denied; and for the plain reason that the latter is that only which denies the necessity of moral action to the existence of personal guilt, or the impossibility of which justly flows as a consequence from the subject of the discourses.

The interpretation that Adam brought the literal culpability of his one sin on his descendants, (in distinction from his occasioning by it the evils of their sinning and condemnation,) is proved not to be accordant with the intention of the apostle, from the following considerations. (1.) It rests the need of personal salvation on different *sin*, from the sin on which it had been rested, in the whole epistle. We naturally suppose, that when the apostle came to this comparison he had reference to the very thing which had occupied his reasonings, in the whole epistle previous. But the sin before spoken of, as forming the need of personal salvation, was personal sin, 3: 23, Πάντες γὰρ ἥμαρτον 4: 25. (2.) The same is true of the *condemnation*, before stated as the ground of salvation. Not a sentence upon the one sin in Eden, but on personal sins. 1: 17, 18, 32. 2: 11—16. 5: 10. (3.) The *salvation*, also, advocated in the epistle, respects justification from personal deserts, 4: 7, 25, sanctification from personal sins, 6: 6. 8: 30. (4.) The interpretation in question agrees

not with the *design* of the apostle in making the comparison. For the design is to convince the Jews (who object to an universal religion, that it takes away the peculiar favors conferred on them as the descendants of Abraham) that the religion which he announces and defends, 1: 16, is consonant with the common state of all, 3: 23; the common relation of God to all, 3: 29; and the common source of the sin and guilt of all in the first progenitor Adam, 5: 12—21: all which considerations favor the conclusion which he urges, that God intends through Christ to bring justification to all believers, 3: 22; without distinction of Jew or Gentile, 1: 16. 3: 23, 30; considered simply as descendants of Adam a common father and not of Abraham—as men and not as Jews, 5: 18, 19; in an extensive reign over the nations of men, 5: 21. The fact that Adam by his sin, had involved all in those common wants of salvation, specified (1, 2.) would strongly favor his argument with the Jews (who acknowledged Adam to have originated them, Ecclesiasticus 40: 1,) that the Savior, promised to arise out of his race, was designed to bring salvation to all his common posterity, without distinction, who should believe, 3: 22. 5: 18, 19. But how irrelevant would it be, at this stage of the epistle, merely to introduce this new circumstance, that in addition to the common wants, already specified, (1, 2.) Adam had connected with his race the culpability and blame of his one sin? (5.) It agrees not with the *nature* of the comparison itself. For the comparison involves, on the side of Christ, no other salvation than that which had been illustrated: which is, salvation from the evils specified. (1, 2.)

All which I gather from the passage therefore, is what was stated in the discourses; that Adam being constituted the progenitor of the race, so affected all, by his conduct during his trial, as to entail upon all, the causes of sin, mortality, condemnation.

The distinction which I make on this subject between the providence of God establishing a relation between the subjects of his moral kingdom through which one may occasion evil to another; and his directly charging on one the sin of another, is an obvious distinction, and most important in its bearing on divine justice. For if the constitution of Adam as a parental head, gave him the power of affecting the condition of his posterity at their origin, rendering their sin and condemnation morally certain; or the power of persuasion conferred on one being, gives him influence over the conduct and destinies of others; or physical strength conferred on one being, gives him power over the condition of others; the act of God in conferring these trusts, is not itself injustice towards the individual or others, for they are powers of doing good as well as evil. His justice is concerned only, in using his authority over all in favour of their rightly using their trusts: and when, through their right use or their abuse, the good or evil comes on others, in establishing ultimately a just retribution over all. Satan misused the power of persuasion, given him; deceived Eve; and occasioned the transgression of the first pair, and, through them, the sin and condemnation of their posterity: so that the scriptures ascribe the whole as explicitly to Satan as they ever do to Adam—the

one in whom the world lieth—whose works Christ has come to destroy. Just so is it with the thousand connections of mankind with one another, by which they affect the character, joys, and destinies of others.

But the moment we suppose God directly to blame and punish one being for the misuse of trusts by another being, we invade and overthrow the very foundations of a just retribution. The man who by the peculiar sin of a parent is hereditarily afflicted with a peculiar propensity; he who is led by the persuasion of his neighbor into intemperate habits; and he who is murdered by another; all suffer evil, in consequence of the sin of others; but it would be an obvious perversion of justice, to charge on the child the individual fault of the parent; on the misled, the sin of the tempter; or on the victim, the guilt of the murderer.

No matter in what particular mode the sin of one may occasion evil to others, provided there be ultimately a just retribution towards all—both those who occasion, and those who suffer, the evil; but the moment we suppose there must be a commingling of the guilt of an action among all those who suffer in consequence of it, we subvert the very foundations of righteousness.

F.

The simple positions taken in this remark, that whenever moral responsible character commences in the descendants of Adam, it is sinful; and that it always commences with moral agency and in moral action; are positions which cannot consistently be denied by any Calvinist who rejects the literal imputation of the sin of Adam.

The question, at what precise time does moral agency commence in the descendants of Adam? is not embraced at all within the scope of the discourse: for the reason that the effect on their constitution which renders their sinning certain,—the effect called vitiosity, proneness, concupiscence,—renders their sinning certain as soon as moral agency commences, whenever it may be.

Most Calvinistic writers have denied that moral agency commences in infancy; and have attributed to that period of life no other guilt than imputed; which imputation visits infants with vitiosity of nature and condemnation. Considering them not yet put on personal responsibilities they have differed in their views respecting infants who die: Doddridge taking the position of ignorance as to their future state, yet denying that God will hold them in a state of pain "for the guilt of a remote ancestor;" Dr. Watts maintaining the annihilation of all except the seed of the righteous, saved by covenant through Christ; Dr. Ridgely maintaining their existing in eternal insensibility; and most maintaining, with Calvin himself, that the state of vitiosity itself, in connection with its cause in Adam, is transgression in them, for which they deserve eternal death.

Without offering any opinion of his own, as to the time when the personal and responsible character of the descendants of Adam begins, the writer will

merely state the considerations offered in favor of the period of birth, and those which are in favor of a later period.

In favor of the time of birth, it may be observed : (1.) That their existence is dated from that period : (2.) That they die at every stage of life after it : (3.) That they seem recognized as moral agents in circumcision and baptism : (4.) That universal descriptions of the race in the scriptures, except not infants : (5.) That character is ascribed to them from the birth : (6.) That they may possess in infancy the requisites of moral agency in miniature.

In favor of a later period, it may be observed in reply : (1.) That they may exist without moral agency, as in sleep and ideocy : (2.) That the extinction of animal life, being a consequence of the sin of Adam in rendering them mortal, may in itself be endured without personal desert as in the case of mere animals ; (3.) That circumcision and baptism, if applied on personal grounds, may be on the ground of that state of vitiosity into which they are brought by the sin of Adam previous to moral agency : (4.) That to the universal descriptions of men in the Scriptures, which refer to moral and accountable action we are to make the exception of infants by the rule of our Saviour, Matt. 19 : 11—12, on the ground of their obvious inapplicableness : (5.) That the ascription of character to men from birth, may rest, on the fact of its originating in that vitiosity of constitution—*σάρξ*—which is previous to moral action ; or on the ground of confirmed habit, so described by the Jews. Job. 31 : 18. (6.) That we have no evidence whatever, from observation, that infants, just born, do discern moral good from moral evil, and are capable of choosing between them ; whatever suppositions be made of the possibility : (7.) That the scriptures positively assert, that the requisite powers of moral agency commence at a later period. Deut. 1 : 39, Is. 7 : 15, Jonah 4 : 11.

But whichever opinion is adopted, all who hold the positions above stated, must acknowledge :

(1.) That every motive exists which can arise from their certain depravity, and their dependence on divine grace for a happy immortality, to pray for infants.

(2.) That the precise instant in which they come within the moral dominion of God and are personally responsible, may be concealed without injury to any : it being known to God, the Arbiter of right in his kingdom.

(3.) That all who are personally addressed by the Gospel, have equal reason to acknowledge that they are, in regard to their entire moral character and conduct sinners ; and also, to feel their obligation in respect to the Gospel duties of repentance and faith, whether they decide that their moral character and conduct commenced a little sooner or later ; sive in pueritiis, seu ab utero, seu in fœtu, seu in semine parentis proximi vel ultimi Adami. The evil exists ; and it is wiser with a true sense of its nature, to apply the divine remedies offered for its removal, than to be able to trace with accuracy the precise stages of its history.

5.

CONCIO AD CLERUM.

A

SERMON

DELIVERED IN THE

CHAPEL OF YALE COLLEGE,

SEPTEMBER 10, 1828.

By NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR.

NEW HAVEN,

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THE author of this discourse has no reason to believe, that the views which it contains, are in any essential respect diverse from those of his brethren, who heard it. That the general proposition will meet with the approbation of all who hold the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, he has no doubt. In regard to some of the more specific statements, he supposes that there is, in some limited degree, the semblance of controversy, rather than real diversity of opinion. It may be proper to remark, that he is not aware of any change in his own views on these points, since he entered the ministry ; nor of any departure in any article of doctrinal belief, from his revered instructor in theology, the former President of the College. Facts however, which are extensively known, furnish it is believed, a sufficient apology for the selection of the topic, as well as for the publication, of the discourse.

New Haven, Sept. 1828.

[Reprinted, 1842.]

S E R M O N .

EPHESIANS II. 3.

And were by nature the children of wrath even as others.

The Bible is a plain book. It speaks, especially on the subject of sin, directly to human consciousness ; and tells us beyond mistake, what sin is, and why we sin. In the text, the Apostle asserts the fact of the moral depravity of mankind, and assigns its cause. To be “ the children of wrath ” is to possess the character which deserves punishment ; in other words, it is to be sinners, or to be entirely depraved in respect to moral character. The text then teaches ; THAT THE ENTIRE MORAL DEPRAVITY OF MANKIND IS BY NATURE.

In illustrating this position, I shall attempt to show, First, In what the moral depravity of man consists ; and Secondly That this depravity is by nature.

I. By the moral depravity of mankind I intend generally, the entire sinfulness of their moral character,—that state of the mind or heart to which guilt and the desert of wrath pertain. I may say then negatively,

This depravity does not consist in any essential attribute or property of the soul—not in *anything created* in man by his Maker. On this point, I need only ask,—does God create in men a sinful nature, and damn them for the very nature he creates ? Believe this, who can.

Nor does the moral depravity of men consist in a sinful nature, which they have corrupted by being *one* with Adam, and by *acting in his act*. To believe that I am one and

the same being with another who existed thousands of years before I was born, and that by virtue of this identity I truly acted in his act, and am therefore as truly guilty of his sin as himself,—to believe this, I must renounce the reason which my Maker has given me ; I must believe it also, in face of the oath of God to its falsehood, entered upon the record.*

Nor does the moral depravity of men consist in any *constitutional propensities* of their nature. Whoever supposed himself or others to be guilty, for being hungry or thirsty after long abstinence from food or drink ; or merely for desiring knowledge, or the esteem of his fellow-men, or any other good, abstractly from any choice to gratify such desires ? Who does not know that a perfectly holy man must be subject to all these propensities ? The man Christ Jesus was subject to every one of them, for he “*was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.*”

Nor does any degree of *excitement* in these propensities or desires, not resulting in choice, constitute moral depravity. Suppose them then, in the providence of God, excited in any degree, and yet the man to prefer doing the will of God to their gratification ; all will admit that it is the noblest act of obedience conceivable in a moral being. All will agree, that the man, who always triumphs over excited propensity, who duly subordinates all his desires of inferior good to the will of God, is a perfect man. It is the uniform sentiment of inspired truth, that this ruling of the spirit, this government of himself, imparts unrivalled glory to his character. We add the express declaration of the Apostle ; “*Blessed is the man that endureth temptation.*”

Nor does the moral depravity of men consist in *any disposition or tendency* to sin, which is *the cause of all sin*. It is

*Ezek. xviii. 3, 4.

important on this point to guard against error from the ambiguity of terms. There is an obvious distinction between a *disposition* or tendency to sin, which is prior to *all* sin, and a *sinful* disposition. I am not saying then, that there is not, what with entire propriety may be called a disposition or tendency to sin, which is the cause of *all* sin; nor that there is not, as a *consequence* of *this* disposition or tendency, what with equal propriety may be called a *sinful* disposition, which is the true cause of all *other* sin, itself excepted. But I say, that that which is the cause of *all* sin, is not itself sin. The cause of all sin itself sin! Whence then came the first sin? Do you say, from a previous sin as its cause? Then you say, there is a sin before the first sin. Our first parents and fallen angels were once holy. Tell us now, whence came *their* first sin? Do you still repeat, from a previous sin? And what sort of philosophy, reason or common sense, is this—a sin before the first sin—sin before all sin?—Do you say there must be *difficulties* in theology?—I ask must there be *nonsense* in theology?*

* The embarrassment which in some minds attends this part of the subject, seems to result from the different senses in which the word *disposition* is used. That this word, like most others, is used in different senses, is undeniable; sometimes denoting simply *tendency* or *bias*, and sometimes, the moral temper, the *governing affection* or *predominant inclination* of the mind. The manner of its use, however, if correct, always shews in which sense it is used. Thus if we speak of a *disposition* to sin, in the way of accounting for *all* sin, the case shews that we use the word simply in the sense of *tendency*; or as Edwards says, “a prevailing liableness or exposedness to such an event.” For by the *very mode* of speaking, the *disposition* and the *sin* are so distinguished as to shew that we cannot mean, that the *disposition* is itself sin; it being spoken of as the cause of *all* sin. But if we speak of a *sinful* or *wicked disposition*, or a *worldly disposition*, or an *avaricious disposition*, or of a *disposition* as the cause of specific sinful acts, or if in any other way, we imply *its sinfulness* by our mode of speaking, then the predicate shews that we intend a state of mind which includes *preference*,—a *supreme*

The question then still recurs, what is this moral depravity for which man deserves the wrath of God? I answer—it is man's own act, consisting in a free choice of some object rather than God, as his chief good ;—or a free preference of the world and of worldly good, to the will and glory of God.

In support of these views of the subject, I now appeal to the testimony of some of the ablest divines, of Apostles, and of common sense.

Says Calvin, speaking of our text, “our nature is there characterized, not as it was created by God, but as it was vitiated in Adam; *because* it would be unreasonable to make God the author of death.”* Again, “natural depravity is not a substantial property originally innate, but can be imputed to none but man himself.”—He says of sin expressly, “it is voluntary.”—“If they are convicted of any fault, the Lord justly reproaches them with their own perverseness.” “He who sins necessarily, sins no less voluntarily.”†

The Westminster divines say, that “every sin both original and actual being a transgression of the righteous law of God &c.” I ask, is not transgression, action? is it not something done, and done knowingly and voluntarily?

Dr. Bellamy, speaking of the *sinful* propensities of man, says “they are not created by God with the essence of the soul, but result from its native choice, or rather, more strictly, are themselves its native choice.—They are not natural in the same sense in which the *faculties* of our souls are; for they are not the workmanship of God but are our native choice, and the *voluntary, free, spontaneous* bent of our hearts.”‡

or governing affection of the heart. Such, it is supposed beyond all question, is the *usus loquendi*; a due attention to which would have saved some theologians from no trivial amount of absurdity.

* Lib. II. C. ii. §. 6. † Lib. II. C. v.

‡ Works, Vol. I, p. 202.

Says President Edwards, "The inferior principles of self-love and natural appetite which were given only to serve, (and which as he also says, 'were in man in innocence') being alone and left to themselves became reigning principles. Man did set up himself (which by the way was doing something) and the objects of his private affections and appetites as *supreme*, and so they took the place of God. Man's love to his own honour, private interest and pleasure which was before wholly subordinate unto love to God and regard to his glory, (and while thus, he says also, 'all things were in excellent order and in their proper and perfect state,') now disposes him to pursue those objects without regard to God's honour or law." Thus he adds, "it is easy to give an account, how total corruption of heart should follow—without God's putting *any evil* into his heart, or implanting any *bad principle*, or infusing any *corrupt taint*, and so becoming the author of depravity."*—Again, he says, "If the essence of virtuousness or fault does not lie in the nature of the dispositions or *acts of the mind*, then it is certain, it lies no where at all." "That which makes vice hateful—is a certain deformity in that *evil will*, which is the soul of all vice." "If a thing be from us, and not from our *choice*, it has not the nature of blame-worthiness or ill-desert."†

What says St. Paul? In the context he describes the nature of human depravity, and I request you to mark the agreement between his description and that of the last named author. He says "ye, who were dead in trespasses and sins, wherein ye *walked*." You see it was a *walking—living* death. Dead as they were, they did something; "Wherein ye walked according to the course of

* Works, Vol. VI, pp. 427—431.

† Works, Vol. V, p. 220, et passim. Vide also, Vol. IV, pp. 12—16.

this world." And what is the course of this world? What is it, but as Edwards says, "Men setting up themselves and the objects of their private affections as supreme, so that these things take the place of God?" What is it, but a world loving the creature more than God the Creator, and acting accordingly.—Again says this Apostle, "Among whom we all had our conversation"—our deportment and manner of life, "in the lusts of the flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and the mind." Now what is this, but freely and voluntarily yielding to propensities, which men ought to restrain and govern, and to subordinate to the will of God; what is it but propensities rising into a free preference of their objects, and going out into a free purpose of self-gratification? For how can men walk in the lusts of the flesh and fulfil the desires of the flesh and of the mind without preferring the gratification of these lusts and desires to other good? How live and act thus, without choosing to do it? You see then that the sin, which the Apostle describes consists not merely in external action, nor merely in having propensities for natural good, but in acting freely, in yielding to these propensities as a matter of choice and preference.

What saith St. James?—"Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God," (and was there ever a more fatal tempter than God, if he creates sin in us?)—"for God is not tempted of evil neither tempteth he any man; but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. *Then*, when lust, i. e. strong desire (the same word used by Paul when he says 'I have a *desire* to depart, &c.'—and by our Lord when he says 'with *desire* have I *desired* to eat this passover') *then* when lust hath conceived it bringeth forth sin." Now when does lust or strong desire conceive and bring forth sin? When it rises into a preference of its object, and goes out in ac-

tion to secure its own gratification.—Or, if you say the lust is itself the sin, (though I think this is ascribing to the Apostle the absurdity of asserting sin before sin,) yet be it so. What then is the lust which is sin, but a *preference of its object*, a *stronger* affection for it than for God? Interpret then the language of the Apostle either way, and you come to the same result,—that all sin consists in freely preferring some inferior good to God. I might add to these many other passages. I only ask what is the import of the most common terms used by Apostles to describe sin in its true nature? I refer to such as these, *minding the flesh, walking in the flesh, living after the flesh, the flesh lusting against the Spirit*, what is this, but freely, voluntarily setting up the gratification of our natural propensities and appetites as our chief good, fixing our supreme affections upon it,—setting the heart, when the living God claims it, upon some inferior good?

I now enquire, what says Common Sense?—Take then any action which common sense in the common use of language, calls a *sinful* action,—what is the sin of it? As an example, take the act of murder. Now do we mean by this term in common usage, to denote simply the external act of killing? Clearly not. This may be by accident, or in obedience to a divine law.—Do we mean simply the external act, together with the specific volition, to perform the act? Clearly not; for there must be such a volition, though the act were performed in obedience to a divine command. It is only when the circumstances and manner of the action evince a selfish or malicious purpose,—a state of mind in which the perpetrator of the deed shows a preference of some private selfish interest to the life of a fellow-being, and to the will of God, that we call it murder. So true is it, that we regard this state of mind as constituting the sin of the action, that could we ascertain independently of external action, the existence of

such a preference, we should, as the Bible does, pronounce it murder. This preference then of some private interest, object or end, rather than God, common sense decides to be the sin of all that we call sinful action, and strictly speaking, the sum total of all sin.

But common sense decides the question in another form. And here we come to what I regard as the turning point of the whole controversy. So far as I know, the only argument in support of the opinion, that sin pertains to something which is not preference, is based in a supposed decision of common sense. The decision claimed is, that all particular or specific sins, as fraud, falsehood, injustice, unbelief, envy, pride, revenge, result from a *wicked heart*,—from a *sinful disposition*, as the cause or source of such sinful acts.—To this fact, I yield unqualified assent, as “the dictate of the universal sense & reason of mankind,” and by this universal judgment, I wish the present question to be decided. Let us then look at the fact in its full force and just application. There is a man then, whose course of life is wholly that of a worldling, his heart and hand shut against human woe, living without prayer, without gratitude, unmindful of God, and rejecting the Saviour of men, devising all, purposing all, doing all, for the sake of this world.—Why is it? You say, and *all* say, and say *right*, it is owing to his love of the world—to his worldly disposition—to a heart set on the world.—Now while all say this, and are right in saying it, we have one simple question to decide, viz. what do all *mean* by it? Every child can answer. Every child knows that the meaning is, that this man does freely and voluntarily fix his affection on worldly good, in preference to God; that the man has chosen the world as his chief good, his portion, his God. He knows that this is what is meant by a *worldly heart*, a *worldly disposition*, which leads to all *other* sins.—So when we ascribe the sins of the miser to his

avaricious disposition, we mean his supreme love of money ; or the crimes of the hero or conqueror to his *ambitious disposition*, we mean his supreme love of fame, a state of mind which involves *preference* for its object. And whatever previous tendency, or if you will, previous disposition, there is to this state of mind ; this state of mind itself and not any previous thing as the cause of it, is the *wicked heart*—the sinful disposition of men. They love the creature more than the Creator, when they can and ought to love the Creator most. This forbidden choice of worldly good, this preference of the low and sordid pleasures of the earth to God and his glory—this love of the world which excludes the love of the Father,—*this—this* is man's depravity. This is that evil treasure of the heart, from which proceed evil things ; this is the fountain, the source of all *other* abominations—man's free, voluntary preference of the world as his chief good, amid the revealed glories of a perfect God.

Having attempted to show in what the moral depravity of man consists, I now proceed to show . . .

II. That this depravity is by nature. This I understand the Apostle to assert when he says, “and were by nature the children of wrath.”

What then are we to understand, when it is said that mankind are depraved *by nature* ?—I answer—that *such is their nature, that they will sin and only sin in all the appropriate circumstances of their being.*

To bring this part of the subject distinctly before the mind, it may be well to remark, that the question between the Calvinists and the Arminians on the point is this—whether the depravity or sinfulness of mankind is truly and properly ascribed to their *nature* or to their *circumstances of temptation* ? And since, as it must be confessed, there can no more be sin without circumstances of temptation, than there can be sin without a nature to be tempted, why as-

cribe sin exclusively to nature ?—I answer, it is truly and properly ascribed to *nature*, and *not* to circumstances, because all mankind sin in all the appropriate circumstances of their being. For all the world ascribe an effect to the nature of a thing, when no possible change in its appropriate circumstances will change the effect ; or when the effect is uniformly the same in all its appropriate circumstances. To illustrate this by an example : Suppose a tree, which in one soil bears only bad fruit. Change its circumstances, transplant it to another soil, and it bears very good fruit. Now we say, and all would say, the fact that it bore bad fruit was owing to its situation,—to its circumstances ; for by changing its circumstances, you have changed its fruit. Suppose now another tree, which bears bad fruit place it where you will ;—change its situation from one soil to another, dig about it and dung it, cultivate it to perfection—do what you will, it still bears bad fruit only. Now every one says, the fact is owing to *the nature* of the tree,—the cause is in the tree, in its nature and *not* in its circumstances. So of mankind, change their circumstances as you may ; place them where you will within the limits of their being ; do what you will to prevent the consequence, you have one uniform result, entire moral depravity. No change of condition, no increase of light nor of motives, no instructions nor warnings, no any thing, within the appropriate circumstances of their being, changes the result. Unless there be some interposition, which is not included in these circumstances, unless something be done which is above nature, the case is hopeless. Place a human being any where within the appropriate limits and scenes of his immortal existence, and such is his nature, that he will be a depraved sinner.

When therefore I say that mankind are entirely depraved *by nature*, I do not mean that their nature is *itself*

sinful, nor that their nature is the *physical* or *efficient* cause of their sinning ; but I mean that their nature is the occasion, or reason of their sinning ;—that *such is their nature, that in all the appropriate circumstances of their being, they will sin and only sin.*

Of this fact, I now proceed to offer some of the proofs.

1. I allege the text. It is here to be remarked, that the Apostle does not say, nor can he mean, that the nature of man is itself sinful. He is assigning the cause of all sin, and says it is *by nature*. If you say that he teaches that the *nature* itself is *sinful*, then as the cause must precede its effect, you charge him with the absurdity of asserting that there is sin, before sin.

The Apostle doubtless conforms his phraseology to common usage, and must mean just what every plain man, using the same language in any similar case would mean. His language too, must be understood with such restrictions as the nature of the subject and correct usage require. How then do we understand one another when using such language ? We say the lion by nature eats flesh ; the ox by nature eats grass ; the tree by nature bears bad fruit ; and so in a thousand cases. Now we mean by this this, that the *nature* of the thing is such, that uniformly in all its circumstances, it will be the cause or occasion of that which we assert ;—that the lion, for example, is of such a nature that he will eat flesh. So when the Apostle asserts, that mankind are by nature sinners, he must mean simply that such is their nature that uniformly in all the appropriate circumstances of their being, they will sin. He can no more mean that the nature itself is sinful, than we can mean in the example, that the nature of the lion is the same thing as the act of eating flesh, of which it is the cause. Still less can we suppose him to authorise the inference that the act of man in sinning, is not in some most important re-

spects widely different from the act of a lion in eating flesh ; so different that the one is sin, and the other not. This difference, the known nature of sin obliges us to suppose, it is intended not to deny, but to assume. The resemblance is simply in the *certainty* of the two things, and that which occasions this certainty ; though in every other respect, especially in regard to the moral freedom and moral relations of man, the very nature of the acts spoken of, and the *mode* in which the certainty of them is occasioned, they are so diverse that the one is a moral act and has all the requisites of a moral act ; the other cannot be a moral act.* The Apostle then, using language as all other men

* With respect to the difficulty in which the doctrine of depravity *by nature* has been supposed to involve the free-agency of man, it may be remarked, that it can result only from a misapprehension of the terms. When we speak of the depravity or sinfulness of man *by nature*, no one, who correctly interprets the language, can understand us to mean that *nature* is the *physical* or *efficient cause* of sin, operating by absolute and irresistible compulsion. All that can be properly understood is, that *nature* is the *occasion* of sin, as a free act. The very nature of the predicate, *sin*, requires the restriction of the phrase to this import. Who ever supposes when we speak of God as *by nature* holy, or of angels as *by nature* holy, that we intend that their nature is a *physical cause* of which holiness is a *physical effect* ? or imagines that we intend to assert that which every one knows would annihilate the very nature of holiness ? The known nature of the predicate and common sense of the speaker forbid such an interpretation. So in the present case, the Apostle cannot be understood to mean, nor can any one merely from using similar phraseology be properly or fairly understood to mean, that nature is a *physical cause* of which *sin* is a *physical effect*. The known nature of sin, the predicate, as a free act, is utterly at war with such a notion ; we have a right to presume that no one can be so wanting in good sense as not to know this ; or so uncandid as to suppose that we do not know it and assume it, or as to impute to us the opposite and palpably absurd view of sin. And as none ought ever to attribute flagrant absurdity to a writer or speaker whose language, according to correct usage, and just interpretation, expresses truth and good sense, (they pervert his language if they do,) they are obliged by the laws of interpretation, to understand *nature* in the present case, to denote simply the *occasion* of sin.

use it, traces the universal depravity of men to *their nature*, and thus most explicitly teaches, contrary to the Arminian view, that it is *not* owing to circumstances. If this be not his meaning he uses language as no one else uses it, and the world, critics and all, may be safely challenged to tell what he does mean.

2. The Scriptures in many forms, teach the universal sinfulness of mankind in all the appropriate circumstances of their being.

First. They declare that "the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." And I need not cite passages from the word of God to show in how many forms it declares, that there is none that doeth good, no not one ; that all have gone out of the way ; that all depart from God and yield themselves to sin from the first moment of accountable action—sinning so early, that in the figurative language of the Scriptures they are said to "go astray as soon as they be born speaking lies." Thus God in his testimony, from the beginning to the end of it, asserts this appalling fact,—the absolute uniformity of human sinfulness, throughout the world and throughout all ages. Not a solitary exception occurs. Even those who become holy through grace are not noted as exceptions, and doubtless, because the object is to describe the char-

But if *nature* is not a *physical cause* of sin, but simply the *occasion* of sin, then since nothing but *physical* influence or efficiency can be supposed in the present case to be inconsistent with moral freedom, the consistency between sinning *by nature* and sinning freely, is apparent.—Let not an objector ask, how can even this be consistent with the moral perfection of God? He starts *another* objection, and one, to answer which belongs to him as well as to me. One thing then at a time ; and the question now is, if nature is simply the *occasion* of man's sinning, why may he not sin freely?—Why not, as well as if *circumstances* or *motives* were the occasion? Why not, as well as God or angels be *holy by nature*, and yet be free?

acter which without grace, is common to all. One character then, if God's record be true, prevails with absolute unvarying uniformity, from the fall in Eden till time shall be no longer. Let the circumstances of men be what they may, the eye of God sees and the voice of God declares that "there is no difference,—all are under sin." Now I ask, why is not the exception made—why, without intimating a single exempt case through favourable circumstances, or tracing sin in a single instance to adverse circumstances, why through all the tribes of men, is *all—all sin—all depravity*, in all the circumstances of their existence, according to God's testimony?—If then the absolute uniformity of an event proves that it is *by nature*, then does this uniformity of human sinfulness prove that man is depraved by nature.

Secondly. The Scriptures teach the same thing, by asserting the universal necessity of regeneration by the Holy Spirit. "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Now I ask, how can the interposition of this Divine Agent be necessary to produce holiness in man, if light and truth and motives will do it? God send the Holy Ghost to perform a work, and declare the necessity of his mission for the purpose, when it might as well be done, were there no Holy Ghost? No, Brethren. Without the transforming grace of this Divine Agent, we are all 'dead men' for eternity. It follows therefore that man is such a being, or has such a nature that he will sin in all circumstances of his being, if God does not interpose to save.

Thirdly. The *reason* assigned by our Lord for the necessity of the Spirit's agency, is equally decisive.—"That which is born of the flesh is flesh."—If the phrase "is flesh" is equivalent to the expression, *is sinful*, then this passage is a decisive testimony on the point under consi-

deration. Be this however as it may, one thing is undeniable from this conversation of our Lord with Nicodemus, viz. that the first birth of a human being is an event, which involves the necessity of another birth by the Divine Spirit.—Say if you will, that what our Lord asserts in the passage cited is, that what is by natural birth is simply a man—a human being, thus intending to teach that none were the better for being born of Abraham ; still our conclusion remains, viz. to be born once,—to become a human being, is to come under the necessity of being born again of the Spirit. As then we can be at no loss, concerning what it is to be born of the Spirit, it follows that to be born once, involves the certainty of sin—to become a human being is to become a sinner, unless there be a second birth of the Spirit.

Fourthly. I add but one more out of many other scriptural testimonies,—the express declaration of the inefficiency of all truth and motives ; or of all that is called *moral suasion*. Saith the Apostle “I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase ; so then neither is he that planteth any thing, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.”—But who are the men that can preach better than Paul and Apollos ?—Who can make the arrows of conviction thrill in the conscience, and bring the terrors of guilt and of God into the soul, as did the great Apostle of the Gentiles ?—Who by telling of a Savior’s love, or of heavenly glories can do more to charm sin out of the human heart, than Apollos that ‘eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures ?’ And yet Paul was nothing, and Apollos nothing, without God. Let then human eloquence do its best, (and it is not to be despised unless it be put in the place of the Holy Ghost)—let the powers of oratory to persuade, to allure, to awe be exhausted ; such is the nature of man, that no accents

of a Saviour's love, no lifting up of the everlasting doors, no rising smoke of torment, will save a human being from the character and the condemnation of a depraved sinner.

“The transformation of apostate man
From fool to wise, from earthly to divine,
Is work for Him that made him.”

3. I appeal to human consciousness. In making this appeal, I am aware that some may think I am not warranted. They seem to imagine, that sin in its nature and its cause, is something quite mysterious, and hidden from human discovery or comprehension. But, is this so?—God charge *sin* upon a world of accountable subjects,—provide through the blood of his Son redemption from *sin*,—summon all on pain of his wrath to repent of and to forsake *sin*,—foretell a judgment of *sin*,—award to some eternal salvation from *sin*, and to others eternal perdition for *sin*—in a word, give a law by which *is* the knowledge of *sin*, and not a soul of them be able to know or tell what *sin* is, or why he commits it!!—God surely charges sin upon the world as an intelligible reality. He charges it, in the matter and the cause of it upon human consciousness, and human consciousness must respond to the charge in a judgment going beforehand to condemnation. And if men do not know what that is, of which, if the charge of God be true, they are conscious, I beg leave to ask what do they know? What then are they conscious of? They are conscious that in all sin, they do freely and voluntarily set their hearts, their supreme affections on the world, rather than on God; they are conscious that this supreme love of the world is the fountain and source of all their *other* sins.—They are also conscious, that they are led to set their hearts on the world

by those propensities for worldly good, which belong to their *nature*. They know this as well as they know why they eat when they are hungry, or drink when they are thirsty. A man choose the world as his chief good, fix his whole heart upon it, and pursue it as if God were unworthy of a thought, and not know why he does so? He knows he does so, for the good there is in it,—for the gratification of those natural propensities for this inferior good, which he ought to govern. He knows that it is not for want of knowledge; that it is not for want of motives to an opposite choice, that he thus makes light of God and everlasting glory. I say, he *knows* this, and I speak to the consciousness of all who hear me. All know, that propensities toward the good which the wealth or honour or pleasure of the world affords,—that desires of happiness from this world in some form, have led them to set their heart upon it, rather than on God. Yes, yes, we all know it, and not a man of us dares deny it.

4. I appeal to facts. And here the question is, making the proper exception in respect to those whose character has been changed by grace, what is the moral history of man since the first apostasy? It begins with a brother's imbruing his hands in a brother's blood—it terminates in the character that qualifies for companionship with the devil and his angels. What (the grace of God excepted) has ever been adequate to restrain man from sin?—We pass by pagan nations, and merely glance at the utter inefficacy of even the miraculous interpositions of God to prevent sin and reclaim to duty. What was the character of men warned thus for a hundred and twenty years by Noah, God's commissioned servant? Its guilty millions swept to perdition by a deluge of waters, tell us. What the character of those under similar warnings, whom God destroyed by a storm of fire and brimstone on the cities

of the plain? This emblem of the tempest of eternal fire, answers.—On mount Sinai God descended amid thunders and lightnings, and with his own voice promulged his law to the hosts of Israel; and yet as it were, in this very sanctuary of his awful presence, they made a molten calf and said ‘these be thy Gods, O Israel.’ In their future history, what a course of apostacies, rebellions, idolâtries, amid the warnings of indignant prophets, and a series of miracles by which God shook heaven and earth, at almost every step of his providence? When all else was in vain, when prophets and holy men had been stoned and murdered for their faithfulness in reclaiming men to allegiance to their Mâker, see God sending his own Son! Him, though speaking as never man spake, doing the works of God, and proving that in him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead—him, they nailed to the cross. Look at the persecutions that followed. See how religion doomed to the rack and the fire, stands lifting her streaming eyes to heaven, with none but God to help,—how kings and emperors like tigers, can feast as it were only on Christian blood.—See how every shrine is demolished where weakness can pray, and penitence can weep—how every thing is done, which human malice can invent, to blot out Christiânity, name and memorial, from under heaven. And if you think that modern refinement and civilization have alleviated the picture, look at Paris in the French revolution—that city, the seat of art, of taste, of refinement, of every thing that can grace human nature short of religion, is converted as in a moment into a den of assassins, and her streets crowded with scaffolds raining blood on the gloomy processions of death, that pass beneath them.— But we need not look to other ages or other countries. In this land on which the Sun of Righteousness sheds his clearest, brightest day—here where

the light of salvation, with all its motives, with all the love and grace of the Savior, with the glories of heaven and terrors of hell, is concentrated and poured burning and blazing upon the human heart,—here in this assembly, what do we find? Assassins and highwaymen, murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers? No. But we do find, despisers of the Lord that bought them. We find every one whom grace has not made to differ, an enemy of God. And when the veil of eternity shall be drawn, and the light of eternity reveal the results—when the sinner's place in hell shall be fixed and the measure of his woe be full, then shall he know what that depravity is, which now tramples under foot the Son of God and does despite unto the Spirit of grace.—These are the stubborn things, called facts; facts which show how dreadful is the depravity of man under the most perfect efforts of God to prevent it; facts which show into what depths of guilt and woe, the creature man will plunge, if the arm of grace does not hold him back; facts which show that he is depraved, not for want of light or motives, but depraved *by nature*. Especially, what other account can be given of the depravity which prevails, amid the splendours of Gospel day?

REMARKS.

1. It is consistent with the doctrine of this discourse, that infants should be saved through the redemption of Christ. They belong to a race who by nature and in all the appropriate circumstances of their being, will sin. The very birth of a human being is an event which involves the certainty of entire moral depravity, without the supernatural interposition of God to prevent it.—Do you ask, when he will begin to sin? I answer, I *do not know*, the precise instant. The Scriptures do not tell us,—and I can see no possible use, in saying that we *do* know, what it is most palpably evident we *do not* know.* Is it then said, that we sin before we are born? But there is no such thing as sinning without acting; and an Apostle has told us of two infants, who, while “not yet

* The ignorance of the writer on this point is not absolutely peculiar to himself. Says Dr. Emmons in a volume of his Sermons published in 1825, “It is certainly supposable, that children may exist in this world, some space of time, before they become moral agents; but how long that space may be, whether an hour, a day, or a month or a year, or several years, as many suppose, *we do not presume to determine*. But during that space, whether longer or shorter, they are not moral agents, nor consequently accountable creatures in the sight of God or man.”—p. 257.

President Edwards, speaking of the commencement of *actual sin* in men, expresses himself thus, they “commit sin immediately without any time intervening *after they are capable of understanding their obligation to God and reflecting on themselves*;”—“no considerable time passes *after men are capable of acting for themselves as the subjects of God's law*, before they are guilty of sin; because if the time were considerable, it would be great enough to deserve to be taken notice of.”—Works, Vol. VI, p. 161.

The reader will perceive that the views of the writer, respecting the point of time when men first commit sin, are to say the least not more *indefinite* than those of Dr. Emmons and President Edwards.

born" had done "neither good nor evil." Do you say they begin to sin at their birth? But some knowledge of duty is requisite to sin, and we know, for the inspired historian has told us, of some children who had "no knowledge between good and evil." Do you say it must be so, for they die and death among human beings proves sin. But children die before they are born, and perhaps also some children die who have no knowledge between good and evil. Do you say they are proper subjects of baptism, and this proves sin. How do you know, that baptism is not administered to infants simply as a seal of the covenant, exhibiting and ratifying its promises of good respecting them? Do you say, the language of the Scriptures, is *universal*, that *all* have sinned. The language too is universal, that we are to "preach the Gospel to *every creature*." Of course, if your mode of interpretation is right, we are to preach the Gospel to infants,—and to animals also !—to *every creature*.

Instead then of attempting to assign the precise instant in which men begin to sin, we choose to say they sin as soon as they become moral agents—they sin *as soon as they can* ; and who will affirm that this is not soon enough? If it be asked how soon, can they sin? I answer very early ; even *so early*, that they are justly represented as sinning from their youth—and in the figurative language of the scriptures, from their birth, and even before birth ; *so early* that the literal interval, if there be such an interval, between birth and the commencement of sin is either so short or unimportant, that the Spirit of inspiration has not thought it worthy of particular notice.

If then you ask, what becomes of an infant if he dies, while yet an infant?—I answer, he may be saved ; in my belief he is saved, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. If you ask, how can this be? I reply, he belongs to a race who by nature, in all the circumstances

of their immortal being without the grace of this redemption, will sin. Place an infant then from his birth under the influence of the most perfect example and instructions,—yea place him amid heaven's purity and heaven's songs, and who shall say that he will not, without the supernatural grace of God's Spirit, be a depraved sinner and fall under condemnation?—When made meet therefore for the celestial paradise and admitted there, *his* song may tell of the grace that brought him to its glories.

2. That sin or guilt pertains exclusively to voluntary action, is the true principle of orthodoxy. We have seen that the older orthodox divines assert this principle, and that they abundantly deny that God is the creator or author of sin. By some strange fatality however these writers, are not believed by many, on these points; and we are told, as the ground for discrediting these unequivocal declarations, that they also constantly affirm that men are *born* with a corrupt and sinful nature, and with guilt upon them. True, very true. But now to the real question—how in the view of these writers, does this nature with which they are born become corrupt and sinful?—By being so created? No such thing: for this they constantly and vehemently deny; and give as we have seen this reason for denying it,—that it would make God the author of sin. How then is it, that in their view each has a corrupt and sinful nature when born, and yet that God does not create it? Why, by the *real act* of each—by each one's corrupting his nature, just as Adam did his. But how can this be? They tell us how; viz. that Adam and his posterity were in God's estimation and were thus truly constituted, ONE BEING, ONE MORAL WHOLE;—so that in Adam's act of sin, all his posterity *being* ONE *with him*, also acted as truly as Adam himself; and so, each and all corrupted their nature as freely and voluntarily

as Adam corrupted his nature. The question is, not whether this is not very absurd, but what did these men believe and teach? And I say they *did* believe and *did* teach that all Adam's posterity *acted* in his act, 'sinned in *him* and fell with *him*, and are considered truly and properly as sinning *in manner and form*, just as Adam sinned; and every one who has read his catechism or his primer must know it.—This class of divines then never thought of predicating sin or guilt, except in cases of free voluntary action. So far as *they* are concerned therefore the doctrine of physical depravity is a theological novelty.

The history of this peculiarity, shows the same thing. The process has been this. The doctrine of imputation being rejected, as it has been in New England for many years, and with it *our personal identity with Adam*, there was no way left in which we could be viewed as the older divines viewed us; the criminal authors when born, of our own corrupt and sinful nature. Still the doctrine of a corrupt and sinful nature *as such* has been retained by *some*, and thus what the older divines made every man *as one in Adam* the author of, God must now answer for as its author by a creative act. Hence some have so professed and so preached, and have talked much of their own orthodoxy and of the heresy of others, and yet after all the outcry, not a theological writer of eminence has ventured to this hour to publish to the world such a doctrine. The entire annals of orthodoxy do not contain the doctrine that *God creates* a sinful nature in man. Those men who have fought the battles of orthodoxy from the reformation to the present day, and who have been esteemed its successful defenders, have held most firmly and asserted abundantly, that all sin or fault must belong *to the acts of the mind*—to the *evil will*, or belong to nothing at all. Brethren, were these men heretics for this? Is

the man who believes and teaches the same thing, a heretic?*

3. The view of sin or moral depravity maintained in this discourse, cannot be justly ascribed to mental perversion, or to any sinister or selfish design. For, what possible motive or object, can be assigned as the cause of perverting truth and evidence in such a case?—If popularity were the object, the charges of having departed from the true faith by renouncing former opinions, repeated from one end of the land to the other, show at least in respect to some of us, how ill-judged has been this expedient to gain popularity. Nor is this view of sin adopted for the sake of rejecting any one doctrine of orthodoxy, or of setting up any anti-orthodox peculiarity. For, they who adopt this view, as fully believe in the certainty of the universal and entire sinfulness of mankind—they as fully believe this sinfulness or depravity to be *by nature*—they as fully believe in the inefficacy of moral suasion and in the necessity of the Holy Spirit's agency in regeneration, as any other men. They no more deny that infants are sinners from their birth, that infants are saved

* So far as the views of the Orthodox are understood, it would seem that we are reduced to the alternative of renouncing orthodoxy on this subject, in every *supposable* form of it,—or of adopting some one of the following forms; either that Adam's posterity are ONE AND THE SAME BEING with Adam, and so guilty of his first sin by sinning *in him*,—or that God *creates* in us a sinful nature or something else, which deserves his wrath,—or that at the very moment of birth we sin with the knowledge of duty and as voluntary transgressors of known law,—or that we sin without the knowledge of right and wrong even in the lowest degree,—or that as free moral agents, we sin knowingly and voluntarily when we become capable of thus sinning. Those who reject all these specific forms of the doctrine of depravity, must relinquish even the pretence to orthodoxy on this topic, and those who reject the last form of it, and adopt either of the preceding forms, will it is hoped favor the world with some better arguments on the subject than have hitherto been furnished.

through Christ, nor that they must become holy (if at all) by divine influence, than other men. And although they do deny that God creates the sin in them, and that sin pertains to any thing but voluntary action, yet the denial of either position is not an anti-orthodox peculiarity, for the ablest orthodox divines have ever denied both. The charge then of adopting this view of sin, for the purpose of opposing any doctrine of orthodoxy, is a slanderous charge.

Can any cause then of mental perversion be fairly charged? The human mind pervert truth and evidence for the sake of believing that to be sin, which as it is agreed on all hands, imparts to sin its most malignant aspect, and reveals its fellest tendencies? Men believe that to be sin, which deserves the deepest damnation which any thing can deserve, merely because they wish to believe it! You may as well suppose that for a similar reason, a man should believe his doom already fixed in hell itself. If there be any view of sin which human selfishness will resist to the last, it is this which so embodies all its guilt and all its terrors; it is this which as we all know, makes the conscience of the wicked writhe in anguish, and an ungodly world hate the servant as it hated the Master whom it crucified. Such a view of sin, is not a device to obtain popularity, nor to corrupt the Gospel of God.

4. The universal depravity of mankind is not inconsistent with the moral perfection of God. It is not uncommon to ask, (and I admit the facts on which the objection rests)—how could a God of perfect sincerity and goodness bring a race of creatures into existence, and give them such a *nature* that they will all certainly sin and incur his wrath?—It is also added, to increase the weight of the objection,—why render this universal sinfulness of a race, the consequence of one man's act—why

not give to each a fair trial for himself? I answer, God does give to each a fair trial for himself. Not a human being does or can become thus sinful or depraved but by his own choice. God does not compel him to sin by the *nature* he gives him. Nor is his sin, although a consequence of Adam's sin, in such a sense its consequence, as not to be a free voluntary act of his own. He sins freely, voluntarily. There is no other way of sinning. God, (there is no irreverence in saying it,) can make nothing else sin, but the sinner's act.—Do you then say, that God gave man a nature, which He knew would lead him to sin?—What if He did?—Do you know that God could have done better, better on the whole or better, if he gave him existence at all, even for the individual himself? The error lies in the gratuitous assumption, that God could have adopted a moral system, and prevented all sin, or at least, the present degree of sin. For, no man knows this—no man can prove it. The assumption therefore is wholly unauthorised as the basis of the present objection, and the objection itself groundless. On the supposition that the evil which exists is in respect to divine prevention, incidental to the best possible system, and that notwithstanding the evil, God will secure the greatest good possible to him to secure, who can impeach either his wisdom or his goodness because evil exists? I say then that as ignorance is incompetent to make an objection, and as no one knows that this supposition is not a matter of fact, no one has a right to assert the contrary, or even to think it.* Suppose then God had adopted

* The difficulties on this difficult subject as it is extensively regarded, result in the view of the writer from two very common but groundless assumptions—assumptions which so long as they are admitted and reasoned upon, *must* leave the subject involved in insuperable difficulties.

The assumptions are these; First, *that sin is the necessary means of the*

a different system, who is competent to foretell or to conjecture the results,—or even the results of one iota of change in the present system? Suppose God had made you just like Adam or even like Lucifer, and placed you

greatest good and as such, so far as it exists, is preferable on the whole to holiness in its stead. Secondly, that God could in a moral system have prevented all sin or at least the present degree of sin.

In further explanation of the ground taken in answering the above objection, the following enquiries are submitted to the consideration of the candid.

Is not the assumption that the degree of sin which exists, or even any degree of sin, is on the whole preferable to holiness in its stead, inconsistent alike with the benevolence and the sincerity of God? With his benevolence. If such be the nature of God, of man, of holiness, of sin, of all things, that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good, ought it not to be made the subject of precept—would it not be, by a benevolent moral Governor? For how can it be consistent with the benevolence of a moral governor, to require of his subjects that moral conduct which is not on the whole for the best?

If it be said that it is on the whole for the best that *he* should *require* it, but not on the whole for the best that *they* should *perform* it—what is this but to say that it is on the whole for the best that he should practice deception on his subjects? And what then becomes of his *sincerity*?—Let us take an example or two. Who would regard the command of a parent as *sincere*, it being known that he prefers on the whole the disobedience of the child to his obedience? Who would regard the invitation of a friend as *sincere*, being fully apprised that he prefers on the whole its rejection to its acceptance?—If it be said that no subjects of God have such knowledge of God's preference of sin to holiness in their own case, then the question is whether their ignorance alters *the fact*; and whether he is truly *sincere*, when he would be justly pronounced *insincere* if *the real fact were known*?—Besides, after the commission of sin, the fact of such a preference, if there be one, is known. How then does the *sincerity* of God appear when it is placed beyond a doubt by the event, that he did prefer on the whole, the sin committed by the subject to the holiness required in his law?—Is it then possible that God should be sincere in his commands and invitations, unless holiness in man be on the whole preferable to sin in its stead?

Further, it is extensively maintained that virtue is founded in utility, i. e. that such is the nature, relations and tendencies of things, that greater hap-

in similar circumstances, do you know that you would not have sinned as he did? How do you know that had you commenced your immortal career with such aggravated guilt, God would not have found it necessary to send you

piness will result from virtue or holiness than from vice or sin. How then can sin in the nature of things be the necessary means of the greatest good?

“ Again, if sin be *the necessary means* of the greatest good, who can reasonably regard the commission of it with sorrow or even regret? What benevolent being duly informed, can ingenuously regret that by sin he has put it in the power of God to produce greater good, than God could otherwise produce? Ought it not rather to be matter of grateful praise that he has sinned, and thus furnished, by what he has done, the necessary means of the greatest possible good? Surely the act considered simply in the relation of the necessary means of such an end, is not a matter for regret; this being the very reason, why God himself is supposed to prefer it.

Is it then said, that *the intention* is selfish and sinful? Be it so. Had the subject however been fully apprised of the utility of the deed, and the real preference of God, (as in the case of the destruction of the Canaanites,) his own interest and his duty would have been coincident; and how does it appear that in this case he had not performed the act from a *benevolent* intention? And how great is the guilt of a selfish intention which, for aught that appears, is occasioned by deception on the part of the lawgiver? Is it said that the selfish intention is necessary to the action as the means of good? But where is an instance in which the good educed from a sinful action is dependent on the selfish intention of the agent? Is it said, that otherwise God could not shew mercy in its forgiveness? Does God then deceive his subjects in regard to the true nature and tendency of moral acts, and thus occasion their sin that he may have the glory of forgiving it? Is this the glory of his mercy? Besides, how does it appear that the subject did not really *intend* good? The law of God, according to the assumption, is no proof that transgression is not on the whole for the best; indeed the subject knows that all sin will prove to be the necessary means of the greatest good; how then does it appear that with this knowledge he was not truly benevolent in performing the deed? What reason then for sorrow or regret remains?

The second assumption now claims our notice; viz. *that God could have prevented all sin, or at least the present degree of sin, in a moral system.*

If holiness in a moral system be preferable on the whole to sin in its stead,

to hell without an offer of mercy, and that you would not have sunk in deeper woe than that which now awaits you?—How do you know that what might have been true respecting yourself, had not been true of any other pos-

why did not a benevolent God, were it possible to him, prevent all sin, and secure the prevalence of universal holiness? Would not a moral universe of perfect holiness, and of course of perfect happiness, be happier and better than one comprising sin and its miseries? And must not infinite benevolence accomplish all the good it can? Would not a benevolent God then, *had it been possible to him in the nature of things*, have secured the existence of universal holiness in his moral kingdom?

Is the reader startled by an enquiry which seems to limit the power of God? But does not *he* equally limit the power of God by supposing, or rather affirming, that God *could* not secure the greatest good without the existence of sin? On either supposition there is what may be called a limitation of the power of God by *the nature of things*. In one case, the limitation is supposed to result from *the nature of sin*; in the other, from *the nature of moral agency*. If then one of these suppositions *must* be made, which is the most honourable to God?

Further, does not he who is startled by this supposition, limit *the goodness* of God? Undeniably he does, if it be conceded that holiness is on the whole preferable to sin in its stead. For he who admits this, and maintains that God *could* have secured the existence of holiness instead of sin, must also admit that God is not good enough to accomplish all the good in his power; not good enough to prevent the worst of evils.—And who does most reverence to God, he who supposes that God *would* have prevented all sin in his moral universe, but *could* not, or he who affirms that he *could* have prevented it, but *would* not? Or is it more honourable to God to suppose that such is the nature of sin, that he *could not* accomplish the highest good without it, than to suppose that such is the nature of *free agency* that God *could not* wholly prevent its perversion?

But the main enquiry on this point remains,—does the supposition that God could not prevent sin in a moral system, limit his power at all? To suppose or affirm that God cannot perform what is *impossible in the nature of things*, is not properly to limit his power. Is there then the least particle of evidence, that the entire prevention of sin in moral beings is possible

sible system of accountable beings? How do you know, that had God ordered things otherwise than he has, this very world now cheered with the calls of mercy and brightened with the hopes of eternal life, yea that heaven

to God in the nature of things? If not, then what becomes of the very common assumption of such possibility?

All evidence of the truth of this assumption must be derived either from *the nature of the subject*, or from *known facts*. Is there such evidence from *the nature of the subject*? It is here to be remarked, that the prevention of sin by any influence that destroys the *power to sin*, destroys moral agency. Moral agents then must possess the *power to sin*. Who then can prove *a priori* or from the nature of the subject, *that a being who can sin, will not sin*? How can it be proved *a priori* or from the nature of the subject, that a thing *will not* be, when for aught that appears, it *may* be? On this point, is it presumptuous to bid defiance to the powers of human reason?

Is there any evidence from *facts*? Facts, so far as they are known to us, furnish no support to the assumption, that God could in a moral system prevent all sin, or even the present degree of sin. For we know of no creature of God, whose holiness is secured without that influence which results either directly or indirectly, from the existence of sin and its punishment. How then can it be shown *from facts*, that God could secure any of his moral creatures in holiness, without this influence; or to what purpose is it to allege instances of the prevention of sin *under* this influence, to prove that God could prevent it *without* this influence? Rather, do not all known facts furnish a strong presumption to the contrary? If God could prevent all sin without this influence, why has he not done it? Be this however as it may, since God has not, so far as we know, prevented sin in a single instance without this influence, how can it be proved *from facts*, that he could have prevented all sin, or even the present degree of sin in a moral system? Had his creatures done what *they* could, then indeed there had been more holiness and less sin. But the question is, what could *God* have done to secure such a result? Had he prevented the sins of one human being to the present time, or had he brought to repentance one sinner more than he has, who can prove that the requisite interposition for the purpose, would not result in a vast increase of sin in the system, including even the apostacy and augmented guilt of that individual? In a word, who is competent to foretell, or authorised even to *surmise* the

itself would not now be trembling under the thunders of retributive vengeance? Man,—man in his ignorance, alter the plan and procedure of his God! How dare he think of it? Beware, ye insects of a day, ye are judging Him “whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain.”

consequences of the least iota of change in the present system of influence to produce holiness and prevent sin? If no one, then all assumptions on the subject, like that under consideration, are wholly unwarranted. It may be true, that God will secure under the present system of things, the greatest degree of holiness and the least degree of sin, which *it is possible to him in the nature of things* to secure. Neither the *nature of the subject*, nor *known facts*, furnish a particle of evidence to the contrary. The assumption therefore, that God could in a moral system have prevented all sin or the present degree of sin, is wholly gratuitous and unauthorised, and *ought never to be made the basis of an objection or an argument*.

As an apology for this note, the writer would say that the objection alluded to in the discourse, so commonly rises in the mind in connexion with the subject, that it was thought proper to notice it; and while he knows of no refutation except the one given, he was desirous of attempting still further to free the subject from distressing and groundless perplexity. This is done in his own view, simply by dismissing from the mind the two assumptions which have been examined. The mode in which the mind will in this way, be led to view the character and government of God may, it is believed, be shown to be shown to be free from embarrassment by an example.

Suppose then the father of several sons to have foreknown with minute accuracy the various propensities and tendencies of their nature, and *all the possible* conditions or circumstances in which he might place them, with all the results of each condition. Suppose him also to foresee with absolute certainty, that to place them at a public seminary, although he knows it will be, unavoidably to himself, attended with a temporary course of vice on their part, will nevertheless result in greater good than he can secure by placing them in any *other* condition or circumstances. Suppose it to be true, and known to him, that their uniform good conduct at the seminary would be far better on the whole or in every respect than their misconduct. Suppose him now to send them at the proper age, to the place of their education with solemn and unqualified injunctions of uniform good conduct; and all the results to be as foreseen.—Now can the procedure of this father be impeached in any

Now think of this, fellow sinner. God in adopting the present system with all the sin incidental to it, may have adopted the best possible. In giving to you the nature which he has, and in placing you in the circumstances in which he has, he may have done the best he could even for you.—Say then is your existence a curse, for which your Maker is to be reproached? Is it a curse at all, unless *you* make it so? Does not his preference of holiness to sin on your part, evince toward you, perfect benevolence? Listen to his calls and entreaties and say if this is not the voice of sincerity and truth. Listen to his oath, ‘that he has no pleasure at all in your death,’ and say if he would regret your return to duty and to life? Look around you and see what proofs of love, what intimations of grace and glory provided for you, gladden every mo-

respect whatever? Does he not evince wisdom and benevolence in every part of it? Does he not evince the most absolute and perfect sincerity in his injunctions of right conduct? Does he not at the same time furnish by what *he* does, adequate and decisive ground for acquiescence in view of the incidental evil; and is there not equally decisive ground for repentance to his disobedient children in what *they* do? If these things are so in the procedure of this father, why are they not so in the procedure of God?

The writer hopes he shall not be charged *without proof*, with denying what he fully believes—that the providential purposes or decrees of God extend to all actual events, sin not excepted. God may really purpose the existence of sin, whether he purpose it for one reason or for another; he may, as the example shows, as really purpose sin though wholly an evil, considered as *incidental*, so far as his power of prevention is concerned, to the best moral system, as purpose it considered as so excellent in its nature and relations as to be the necessary means of the greatest good. And while the theory now proposed exhibits the providential government of God as the basis of submission, confidence, and joy, under all the evils that befall his dependent creatures; it also presents, as no other theory in the view of the writer does present, the Moral Government of God in its unimpaired perfection and glory, to deter from sin and allure to holiness his accountable subjects.

ment of your being. Think what God has done to save you ; how he has laid his wrath on one for your sake, how he has cleared away the darkness and tempest around his throne and with smiles of mercy invites you to himself,—how he bade angels sing in rapturous song “ good will ” to the guilty and the lost—how under his commission the swift messenger bears these tidings to you and to all,—how mercy with tears points you to that crown of life—how God himself with the earnestness of a suppliant father,—with the sincerity of a God entreats you to receive his great salvation. Say now, is he not good ; is he not sincere ?—What ‘ child of wrath,’ will not trust in such a God to save him ?

5. We see the importance of this view of man’s depravity, compared with any other, in its bearing on the preaching of the Gospel. To what purpose, do we preach the Gospel to men, if we cannot reach the conscience with *its charge of guilt and obligations to duty* ? And how I ask can this be done, unless sin and duty be shown to consist simply and wholly in acts and doings which are their own ? Can this be done if we tell them and they believe us, that their sin is something which God creates in them ; or something done by Adam thousands of years before they existed ? I care not what you call it, taste, disposition, volition, exercise, if it be that which *cannot* be unless God creates it, and cannot but be if he exerts his power to produce it, can we fasten the arrows of conviction in the conscience, and settle on the spirit the forebodings of a *merited* damnation ? Can men be induced to make an effort to avoid sin which is thus produced in them, or to perform duties which must with the same passivity on their part, be produced in them ? Does God charge on men, as that which deserves his endless indignation, what Himself does ? Does God

summon men to repentance with commands and entreaties, and at the same time tell them, that all efforts at compliance are as useless, as the muscular motions of a corpse to get life again ? Does this book of God's inspiration, shock and appal the world, with the revelation of such things, respecting God and respecting man ? Will the charge of *such sin* on man, touch the secret place of tears ? Will the exhibition of such a God, allure the guilty to confide in his mercy. If so, preach it out—preach it consistently,—preach nothing to contradict it,—dwell on your message, that God creates men sinners and damns them for being so.—Tell them such is *their* nature and such the *mode* of his interposition, that there is no more hope from acting on the part of the sinner than from not acting ; tell them they may as well sleep on, and sleep away these hours of mercy, as attempt anything in the work of their salvation ; that all is as hopeless with effort as without it. Spread over this world such a curtain of sackcloth, such a midnight of terror, and how as the appropriate effect, would each accountable immortal, either sit down in the sullenness of inaction, or take his solitary way to hell in the frenzy of despair !

But such is not the message of wrath and of mercy, by which a revolted world is to be awed and allured back to its Maker. The message we are to deliver to men is a message of wrath, because they are the perpetrators of the deed that deserves wrath.—It is a message of mercy to men who by acting, are to comply with the terms of it, and who can never hope to comply even through God's agency, without putting themselves to the doing of *the very thing* commanded of God.—And it is only by delivering such a message, that we, Brethren, can be “workers together with God.” Let us then go forth with it ; and clearing God, throw all the guilt of sin with its des-

ert of wrath, upon the sinner's single self. Let us make him see and feel that he can go to hell only as a self-destroyer—that it is this fact, that will give those chains their strength to hold him, and those fires the anguish of their burning. Let us if we can, make this conviction take hold of his spirit, and ring in his conscience like the note of the second death. If he trembles at the sound in his ears, then let us point him to that mercy which a dying Jesus feels for him, and tell him with the sympathies of men who have been in the same condemnation, that he need but to love and trust Him, and heaven is his inheritance. Without derogating from the work of God's Spirit let us urge him to his duty—to *his duty*—to *his duty*, as a point-blank direction to business now on hand and now to be done. With the authorised assurance that 'peradventure God may give him repentance,' let us make known to him the high command of God "*strive to enter in at the strait gate*"—and make him hear every voice of truth and mercy in heaven and on earth, echoing the mandate.

Then shall the ministers of reconciliation be clad with truth as with a garment, and delivering their message not only in its substance but in its true manner and form, shall commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. Having his strength perfected in their weakness, they shall go forth 'as archangels strong,' and bidding the wide earth receive God's salvation, the bands of hell shall break, and a redeemed world return to the dominion of its God.

Finally, I cannot conclude without remarking, how fearful are the condition and prospects of the sinner. His sin is his own. He yields himself by his own free act, by his own choice, to those propensities of his nature, which under the weight of God's authority he *ought to*

govern. The gratification of these he makes his chief good, immortal as he is. For this he lives and acts—this he puts in the place of God—and for this, and for nothing better he tramples on God's authority and incurs his wrath. Glad would he be, to escape the guilt of it. Oh—could he persuade himself that the fault is not his own,—this would wake up peace in his guilty bosom. Could he believe that God is bound to convert and save him ; or even that he could make it certain that God will do it,—this would allay his fears,—this would stamp a bow on the cloud that thickens, and darkens, and thunders damnation on his guilty path. But his guilt is all his own, and a just God may leave him to his choice. He is going on to a wretched eternity, the self-made victim of its woes. Amid sabbaths and bibles, the intercessions of saints, the songs of angels, the intreaties of God's ambassadors, the accents of redeeming love, and the blood that speaketh peace, he presses on to death. God beseeching with tenderness and terror—Jesus telling him he died once and could die again to save him—mercy weeping over him day and night—heaven lifting up its everlasting gates—hell burning, and sending up its smoke of torment, and the weeping and the wailing and the gnashing of teeth, within his hearing,—and onward still he goes.—See the infatuated immortal !—Fellow sinner, —IT IS YOU.

Bowels of divine compassion—length, breadth, height, depth of Jesus' love—Spirit of all grace, save him—Oh save him—or he dies forever.

6.

REVIEW

OF

HIGH CHURCH AND ARMINIAN

PRINCIPLES.

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REVIEW, &c.

IN examining the history of the church in past ages, we find but two grand divisions, in respect to the momentous subject of man's salvation. Before the reformation, these divisions consisted of those who held to justification through the merits of Christ *alone*, and those who mingled with the doctrines of grace, what they denominated the "freedom of the will," ecclesiastical observances, and personal exertions, as sharing in the work of securing our acceptance with God. The Waldenses and the Lollards once composed the former, and the countless hosts of Papacy the latter. Since the reformation, when protestantism arose to the partial extinction of the papal order, this same distinction has appeared more generally, under the denomination of Calvinists and Arminians. Not that all who belong to the former class subscribe to every sentiment of Calvin, or that the great body of the latter class, have confined themselves within the limits prescribed by the cautious policy of Arminius. The fundamental principles of a system are one thing, the mode of defending them is quite another. With the progress of biblical criticism and mental philosophy, the controversy has repeatedly changed its aspect on minor points. Proof passages have been abandoned on both sides, which were once contended for, as "*articuli stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ*." Numerous philosophical explanations of the two opposing systems, which in the eagerness of debate had been considered as of equal importance with the systems themselves, have gradually sunk into oblivion before the progress of mental and moral science. Since the days of Edwards, particularly, those in this country, who maintain the doctrines of grace, have given increased precision and clearness to their statement of these doctrines. Technical terms have been employed with greater accuracy; sweeping declarations of a general nature have been more carefully guarded by the proper qualifications; and some doctrinal positions which were once thought indispensable to the support of the whole system, have been found of no advantage—mere buttresses erected by the hands of men, to sustain the rock of ages. Thus for example, the doctrine of limited atonement; of our participation in the act or criminality of Adam's sin; of special grace as in any other sense irresistible, than that it is not *actually* resisted; or of any want of freedom or ability in man, except such as consists in his intense *aversion* to holiness,—although designed by their inventors to support the doctrines of grace.—have to a great extent, been rejected

by Calvinists in later times. But the great and fundamental difference between the friends and the enemies of the doctrines of grace, remains unchanged. The former believe in the utter alienation of the human heart from God, and its entire destitution of holiness, in a state of nature; the latter reject this doctrine with indignation and maintain that a portion of divine influence is imparted to each individual of our race to restore his "lapsed powers," which principle of grace, as they term it, will under the cultivation of human effort, ripen into the maturity of holiness, and secure eternal life. The former consider God's choice of men to eternal life, as a choice to make certain individuals holy or believers, and thus to *prepare* them for heaven; the latter contend that this choice or determination results solely from God's *foreseeing* that these individuals *will* be holy or believers, and that his gracious purposes are *dependent* on this contingency. The former hold, that spiritual regeneration is the result of a *special* operation of the Holy Spirit; the latter ascribe this change to the *ordinary* influence of that divine agent, enjoyed in equal degrees by all, and made effectual, whenever it becomes so, by the choice of the individual to yield to that influence—thus securing the favorite point, that it is the man himself, and not God, "who maketh us to differ." The former maintain the unchanging love of God to those whom he has brought to repentance: that carrying them forward in the progress of his merciful moral cultivation here, he will present them in full and final justification at the last day; the latter believe in successive fluctuations, from a state of holiness and acceptance, to a state of sin and condemnation. We will only add, that the former consider man as a complete moral agent in *himself*, aside from all divine influence; as capable, in every respect, of performing his whole duty; and deterred from doing it by no other cause than his intense aversion to holiness. They of course maintain, that those individuals whom God does not choose to eternal life, or renew by his special grace, have no ground of complaint, since they are under no *necessity* of continuing in sin, or falling short of salvation, but might all in the exercise of their own capacities as moral agents, return to their allegiance and receive the mercy offered equally to all. The charges of fatalism, of making God a hard master, etc. which are so often urged against those who maintain the doctrines of grace, are therefore without foundation, and derive all their plausibility from the grossest misrepresentation.*

In no part of christendom has the contest between the friends and enemies of the doctrines of grace, been maintained with more spirit and determination, than in the church of England. But from

*See this subject discussed in our last No. Review of methodist doctrines.

the time of Charles II. to the latter part of the last century, the doctrines of Arminius were generally prevalent in that communion, owing to the low state of public morals, the deadening influence of a religious establishment, and the natural tendencies of the human heart. Connected with these doctrines in the English church, we usually find what are denominated **HIGH CHURCH PRINCIPLES**. By these is meant, the assertion of some peculiar and mysterious efficacy in the ordinances performed by an episcopal priesthood. In the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for example, the communicant is brought near to his Savior in a manner, which no ardor of love or aspirations of faith, could in themselves secure. The infant presented at the baptismal font is instantly "born again in this regenerating ordinance," is "translated from a state of condemnation to a state of grace," and "obtains a *title* to the influences of the Holy Spirit, and the forgiveness of sins."* According to these principles, too, where there is no prelatical bishop, there is nothing which can be acknowledged as a church of Christ, and no covenant or promise known to exist, of eternal life. The simple want of subjection to a prelatical priesthood, turns men over to the uncovenanted mercies of the heathen, with the accumulated guilt of rejecting the means which God has himself appointed for their salvation. The followers of the late Dr. Hobart unite with that gentleman in declaring, that "none *can* possess authority to administer the sacraments, but those who have received a commission from the bishops of the (Episcopal) Church"—that "great is the *guilt*, and imminent the *danger* of those, who negligently or wilfully continue in a state of separation from the authorized ministrations of the church, and participate of ordinances administered by an irregular and *invalid* authority; wilfully rending the peace and unity of the church, by separating from the administration of its authorized priesthood; obstinately contemning the means which God has prescribed for their salvation. They are guilty of *rebellion* against the Almighty Lawgiver and Judge: they expose themselves to the awful displeasure of that Almighty Jehovah, who will not suffer his institutions to be contemned, or his authority violated, with impunity."† Some high churchmen there are indeed, who do not

* Grant, the high church historian, states the doctrine thus. "This opinion supposes a charm, a secret virtue, by which, to state an extreme case, a vicious minister of the church of England can confer something *necessary to salvation*, as a sacrament is, while the same office performed by a pious sectary, who has in his heart devoted himself to God, is an absolute nullity." Yet, strange as it may seem, after stating the case thus strongly in the form of an objection, he declares that the fact is so. "*Truth* is sacred and immutable, and must be received, whatever inconveniences attend its reception." *Grant's English Church. Vol. II. p. 7—8.*

† Companion for the Altar, edition of 1814, pp. 193—200, 203—204. Since this article was written, we have looked into the last edition of this work, and

go the full length of these statements. They do not *positively* unchurch all other denominations, they only do it *negatively*. They will not *admit* any church but their own to exist; they see no *reason* whatever to believe it; they "are yet to *learn*," in the words of bishop Ravenscroft, "where a promise to fallen man is to be found, that is not *limited* on the previous condition, that he be a member of the visible (Episcopal) Church on earth." Now this negative exclusion—this refusal to acknowledge any other communion as a church of Christ—though not so presumptuous or offensive as the positive declarations of bolder men, amounts to precisely the same thing in all its *practical results*. He who *sees* no authority for the rites of other denominations, must act as if there were none; and in a matter which he deems of so much importance, must use all his endeavors to make others act so likewise. Indeed, with the final and perfect revelation of God's will in our hands, to say *we see no authority* for any church ordinances but our own, *we are yet to learn* where any promise is made except to those of our communion—what is it but to say in more modest terms, "we do believe there *is* none?" To make any nice distinctions between *un*-belief, and *dis*-belief in such a case, does seem to us extremely idle. It is a subject on which the scriptures are very far from being silent, on which all antiquity, if we may credit high churchmen, has spoken in the most decided manner; and if with all these means of knowledge we *are yet to learn* where any covenant or promise for fallen man can be found, except within the boundaries of a single church, it is vain to hope that a coming eternity will disclose any thing but unmingled wrath, for those who, under all this light, have rejected the most sacred institutions of their Maker. Here, in a condition worse, we apprehend, than that of the heathen, the high churchman leaves thousands of protestant churches, which have been walking in faith and love from the time of the reformation to the present hour; while the church of Rome, that mother of abominations, is freely recognized as a part of Christ's mystical body, a pillar in the temple of the living God *

find that some of these expressions have been altered in a manner to strike the mind less offensively, but no one, we suppose, will contend that Dr. Hobart ever changed his sentiments on this subject. We have here the plain exposition of his views as always maintained by him, and as now maintained by his followers; and we are therefore fully authorized to appeal to the statements quoted above. If there were reason to believe that in softening or generalizing the expressions, Dr. Hobart meant to give up any part of the ground taken, the case would be different. But this we presume, no one will say.

* "I do believe the church of Rome," says archbishop Laud, "to be a true church. Were she not a true church, it were hard with the church of England, since from her the English bishops derive their apostolic succession." "It is obvious from our acknowledging as valid the orders of its (the Roman Catholic church.) apostate clergy, that we have a still stronger affinity towards that

And so great is the importance attached to these sentiments, that candidates for holy orders as well in this country as in England, have actually been held back from ordination, for venturing to express the contrary opinion.

Far be it from us to intimate, however, that such are universally the sentiments of Episcopalians. The church of England, our readers are aware, has witnessed a gradual revival of religion, within the last thirty years. Among the most active promoters of this revival, were the two Milners, Dr. Scott, Mr. Wilberforce, Mrs. H. Moore, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Leigh Richmond, and the great body of writers, who were associated in support of the Christian Observer. To these persons, under God, the English church is indebted for nearly all the spiritual religion, which now exists within her ample boundaries; and for the share she has taken in those noble efforts of christian benevolence, the abolition of the slave trade, the establishment of bible, missionary, and tract societies, which are the glory of the present age. Actuated by such a spirit, it was impossible for them to lay any stress on outward rites and ordinances, as constituting an important part in a title to eternal life. They were, indeed, strongly attached, to their own modes of worship; many of them believed the Episcopal form of government to have prevailed in the primitive churches; and all were naturally desirous, that spiritual religion should be revived, not by the progress of dissent, but by restoring a decayed establishment to its earlier and better principles. With these views, while they labored to promote the cause of evangelical religion in their own church, they extended the hand of christian fellowship and affection to the pious of every communion. Mr. Gisborne for example, totally disclaims the *jure divino* principle; affirming that the apostles "left no command which rendered episcopacy universally indispensable in future ages." In like manner, the Christian Observer, (speaking undoubtedly for those of its own sentiments,) says, "Episcopalians found not the merits of their cause on any express injunction or delineation of church government in the scriptures, *for there is none.*" vol. iii. page 155.* Many there are in *this* country of the same principles, and with such we have no contention. It is nat-

church, than to other bodies of professing christians, who hold a doctrine nearly as pure as our own; thus making the form rather than the faith, the constituent and vital principle of a church." Such is admitted by Grant to be the high church sentiment. Vol. II. p. 7.

* One of the principal conductors of the Christian Observer remarked, not many years since, to one of the conductors of this work, "I have not for ten years seen the man who was so utterly foolish, as to claim any exclusive divine right for our ordination or ordinances, or who hesitated to acknowledge other communions as churches of Christ." The remark only shows perhaps how little the evangelical of that church, mingle with their opponents in their own church.

ural for men to feel a strong preference for the modes of worship in which they have been early educated. Their love for religion itself becomes in some degree identified with an attachment to the forms, with which it has always been associated. And if any who have been educated in *our* modes of worship, can find more spiritual improvement in substituting a liturgy for extemporaneous prayer, with all our hearts we bid them God speed in the change, while we utterly condemn the spirit, that even by a look would give them pain in making it. Feeling this, we feel likewise that we have a right to demand similar treatment from others. When, therefore, on public occasions, we hear the principles and institutions of our churches pointedly condemned as a departure from the ordinances established by Christ; when such sentiments are zealously inculcated in conversation and through the press, in almost every part of our country; when those who would wish to join our communion, are repressed with the most solemn admonitions, that they are departing from the appointed way of salvation; and when all this is associated with the severest reprobation of the doctrinal sentiments maintained in our churches, we think ourselves called upon, at times, to speak in our own defense, and to examine the principles of those who are thus unsparing in their condemnation of ours.

It is not our design, however, at present to inquire into the foundation of these high pretensions. Their utter futility has been too often demonstrated to call for any remarks from us. It is, indeed, a striking fact, that they have never been put down with a stronger hand, or trampled more triumphantly in the dust, than by Episcopal writers, especially by Bishop Stillingfleet and Sir Peter King. Leaving this part of the subject, therefore, in their hands, we shall offer some remarks of a more general nature, on the system of High Church and Arminian principles, more especially as maintained by the followers of Dr. Hobart.

I. This system, we conceive, is a *departure from the original principles of the Episcopal Church of England*, as established at the era of the reformation. In reference to ecclesiastical discipline, no historical fact is more certain than this, that all the reformed churches renounced the principle of any divine right of Episcopal ordination. As a single instance, we may mention the Smalcaldic Articles in 1533, which strenuously assert the identity of bishops and presbyters, and their equality by divine right, in the power of ordination. These were signed by nearly eight thousand ministers, among whom were Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, etc. To a similar effect was the declaration of the *Function* of the English Church about the same period, which states, that "in the new testament there is no mention of any degree or distinction of orders, but

only of *deacons* or ministers, and of *priests* or bishops.”* This declaration was signed by thirty-seven distinguished civilians and divines, and by thirteen bishops. Nor was this subject, as some have insinuated, hastily decided on by the English reformers. On the contrary, it was regarded as one of the cardinal points of the reformation, and was examined by them with great care and deliberation. It was one of a number of queries propounded to a large council of the most distinguished divines and bishops, under Henry VIII. As a specimen of the answers which were then given, we transcribe the following.

CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury. “The bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both *one* office, in the beginning of Christ’s religion.”

DR. COX, afterwards bishop of Ely under Elizabeth. “By scripture (as Jerome saith) bishops and priests be *one*. Yet bishops as they are now, were *after* priests, and therefore *made* of priests.”

DR. REDMAN. “At the beginning, were both *one*—wherefore one made the other indifferently.”†

To a similar effect were the decisions of Dr. Day, Dr. Edgeworth, The Bishop of London, and generally of the most distinguished friends of the reformation. Accordingly, these principles were embodied by the bishops in the Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man, which was approved by a vote of both houses of parliament in 1543, and prefaced with an epistle by the king himself. In this it is declared, that “priests and bishops are by God’s law *one and the same*, and that the powers of ordination and excommunication belong equally to *both*.” These were the principles of the English Church during the whole reign of Edward VI. Foreign churches were recognized by the reformers as in the fullest sense churches of Christ. A large number of foreign divines were invited by Cranmer from abroad to aid in the reformation, and were instantly employed in clerical duties without one hint of re-ordination.‡ On the restoration of the English church, on its present

* Bishop Burnet’s Hist. of Ref. I. 321 fol.

† Burnet I. 223.

‡ Among these was the celebrated John Knox, who was chaplain to the king, and was sent also by the privy council to preach at Berwick, see Strype’s Annals III 235. Martyn Bucer was another, who officiated, says Strype, at St. Martins Cambridge do. do. II. 207. At the death of Bucer, a funeral sermon was preached by Parker, afterwards the most active in establishing the church on its present footing, as first archbishop under Elizabeth. In this sermon he terms Bucer a “chief master workman” placed there by God; and dwells with much feeling on the loss sustained by the church, and on the certain *happiness* to which Bucer had departed. Strype’s life of Parker, 29. How little does all this look like *doubting* whether the “promises” of the gospel belong to those who are out of the Episcopal church!

footing, under Elizabeth, it was enacted by parliament ‘that the ordination of foreign churches should be held valid, and that those who had no other orders, should be of like capacity with others to enjoy any place of ministry in England.’* That these were the sentiments of the clergy at this time, is most evident. “The first who solemnly appeared in vindication of the English hierarchy,” says Bishop Stillingfleet, “was archbishop Whitgift, a sage and prudent person, whom we cannot suppose ignorant of the sense of the church of England, or afraid or unwilling to defend it. Yet he frequently against Cartwright asserts ‘no form of church government is by the scriptures prescribed to, or commanded the church of God.’ And so Dr. Cosins his chancellor, ‘it cannot be proved that any certain particular form of church government, is commanded to us by the word of God.’ Dr. Loe, ‘no certain form of government is prescribed in the word.’ Bishop Bridges, ‘God hath not expressed the form of church government.” “They who are pleased but to consult the third book of the learned and judicious Mr. Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity,” adds Stillingfleet, “may see the *mutability* of church government, largely asserted and fully proved.”† Iren : part II. c. vii. § 3.

The learned Whittaker too, professor of divinity in Cambridge at the same period, and who was chiefly employed in the controversy with the papists, declares as the doctrine of the reformed, (in his controversy with Bellarmin and Dureus) that “presbyters being by divine right the *same* as bishops, they might warrantably set other presbyters over the churches.” It was on this ground, that speaking in behalf of the English Church, he defended the validity of ordination, as performed by Luther, Zuingle, Bucer, etc. Little did he or his associates imagine, that protestants would ever unite with papists, in calling that ordination in question. When this was first done by Dr. Brancroft, in his sermon at Paul’s cross, towards the close of Elizabeth’s reign, it excited so much surprise, that Sir Frances Knolls wrote to Dr. John Reynolds one of the translators of the bible, and universally regarded as the most learn-

* Strype as quoted by Neal, 1. 366.

† The only attempt which we have ever heard of to evade these testimonies, is by saying that “church government” here, may not have referred to the different orders of clergy in the church, but merely to other ecclesiastical constitutions. But Stillingfleet, with the originals before him, did so understand them, and cited them to establish his position, that there is no unalterable divine right in the clergy. These declarations too, were made against Cartwright the puritan, who asserted the exclusive divine right of *presbyterial* ordination. Whitgift and the rest therefore, if they spoke to the point in debate, meant to deny what Cartwright maintained, viz. that the scriptures had laid down one immutable constitution for the *orders* of the clergy, discipline, etc. of the church.

ed man of the age, for his opinion on this subject. Reynolds replied that even Bellermin acknowledged the weakness of Dr. B's. pretension. "It may be added" he says "that they who for five hundred years have been industrious in reforming the church, have thought, that all pastors, whether called bishops or presbyters, have according to the word of God *like* power and authority." He then appeals in confirmation of his statement, to the Waldenses, Wickliff and his followers, Huss and his disciples, Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger and Musculus; to many English bishops as Jewell, author with Cranmer of the articles and homilies, Pillington and others; and to Bradford, Lambert, and many more of the early confessors of the English church. He adds, that this was the common doctrine of the reformed churches in Switzerland, Savoy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary and Poland. It was not until forty years after, in the time of Archbishop Laud, that high church principles gained much footing in the English church, and even long after that, Stillingfleet says, "It is acknowledged by the stoutest champions of episcopacy, before these *late* unhappy divisions, that ordination performed by presbyters in case of necessity, is valid; which I have already shown doth evidently prove that episcopal government is not founded on any unalterable *divine right*."*

It is equally certain, that Arminian principles, which are now commonly associated with High Church pretensions, were a total departure from the original doctrine of the English Church. In the year 1595, these principles were first preached in the University of Cambridge, by William Barret, fellow of Gonville and Caius College. So great was the offense given by his sermon to the heads of the colleges, that they resorted to measures of great severity on the subject. In reporting their proceedings to the Chancellor of the University, they say, "This sermon being so offensive to the church, and so strongly savoring of the leaven of *popery*, and contrary to the doctrine, nature, quality, and condition of faith, as set forth in the *articles* of religion, and *homilies* appointed to be read in churches, and that hath been taught *ever since her majesty's reign*, in sermons, and defended in public schools, and open commencements, without contradiction in the universities; we thought it meet to repress these *novelties* of doctrine by such means as our statutes do appoint." They then proceed to state the crime of Barret, viz. his "impudent challenging of Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, and others, of error in the doctrines of faith, in most bitter terms, *whom we never knew in our church heretofore, to be touched in that matter*." They therefore required

* Iren : part II. chap. viii. § 7.

of Barret a public recantation, which was accordingly made in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge. "He revoked what he had preached there *ad clerum*, according to the sense, which was afterwards called *Arminianism*, about predestination, faith, perseverance," etc. and added, "I do beseech you to pardon this my rashness, also that I uttered many bitter words against Peter Martyr, Theodore Beza, Jerome Zanchius, Francis Junius, and the rest of the same religion, *being the lights and ornaments of our church.*"*

Nor is it wonderful that these novelties produced so much excitement, for during this reign the Institutes of Calvin, says Stapleton, "were so greatly esteemed in England, that the book hath been accurately translated into English, *and even fixed in the parish churches for the people to read.* Moreover in each of the universities, after the students have finished their circuit in philosophy, as many of them as are designed for the ministry, *are lectured first of all on that book.*" Accordingly Heylen, the friend of Laud, and an avowed adversary of Calvinism, says of the reign of Elizabeth, under whom the English Church was settled on its present foundation, "Predestination and the points depending thereupon, were received as the established doctrines of the Church of England. It was safer for a man, in those days, to be looked upon as a hearthen or publican, than an anti-Calvinist." *Life of Laud.*

That these were the principles of the early fathers of that church, during the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. is equally certain. Their choice of Peter Martyr and Bucer, (confessedly of the same sentiments with those of Calvin,) as the first professors of *theology* at Cambridge and Oxford, are the strongest possible demonstration of this fact. In their writings, too, we find the doctrine of election, of the saints perseverance and kindred points, continually insisted upon, as cardinal doctrines of the gospel. A few passages may suffice as specimens.

TINDAL. "God's elect *cannot so fall that they rise not.*" "Paul teacheth God's predestination, whence it springeth altogether, *whether we shall believe or not believe.*"†

CRANMER. "This article speaketh of the *elect*, in whom finally shall no fault be, but they shall *perpetually continue and endure.*" "We wretched sinners do not *prevent* God, or *go before him* in the

* See a full account of this transaction given by Dr. Scott, author of the Commentary on the Bible, in his remarks on Dr. Tolmin. Vol. II. p. 752.

† The reader will remark how careful the reformers were to cut off the evasion, afterwards resorted to by Arminians, viz. that men are elected or predestined on account of their *foreseen faith*. The very *existence* of faith itself, they state, is the thing contemplated in predestination. Men are chosen to be *made* believers, not because they *will* become believers.

work of our justification; but it is God that layeth the *first* foundation of our salvation."

BRADFORD, the Martyr. "Faith is the *work* and *gift* of God, given to none other than those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath *predestinated* in Christ to eternal life."

JEWELL, one of the authors of the homilies and articles. "His election is *sure forever: ye shall not fall from grace, ye shall not perish.*"

HOMILY for Whitsunday. "Man of his own nature is sinful and disobedient, *without one spark of goodness* in him, without any virtuous or godly motion."*

ARCHBISHOP PARKER. "The elect may waver and be troubled, but they *cannot utterly be deceived and overcome.*"

Testimonies of this kind might be swelled to the size of volumes; indeed they already fill six large octavo volumes, as collected by the Rev. Leigh Richmond, in his *Fathers of the English Church*, from which the above extracts are taken. No historical fact can be clearer than this, that the men, who in these latter days insist so strongly on High Church and Arminian principles, as the standard of churchmanship, are chargeable with a departure from the early principles of the Episcopal Church. In exposing what we deem their errors, therefore, we are not only defending ourselves against that spirit which unchurches every other denomination under heaven; but we are speaking in behalf of those in the Episcopal Church, who are reviled and persecuted, for adhering to the faith and catholic principles of CRANMER, LATIMER, JEWELL, and RIDLEY.

II. The tendency of High Church principles is, in our view, *hostile to the peculiar institutions of our country*. There is certainly nothing dangerous to a republican government, in the mere fact that clergymen are ordained by a bishop, rather than by "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." If the power thus delegated is felt and acknowledged to be exercised as a matter of mere expediency, and is liable to be recalled when abused to evil purposes, we can see no possible objection to such a constitution of things, in any community which may think best to adopt it. But when this power is claimed by a few individuals, as centering in their persons by a *divine right*; and when our obedience to this power is demanded under the most awful penalties of God's displeasure, it is a serious question, what must be the consequences of yielding to such a claim.

* This Dr. Tolmin, the great Arminian authority of the day, directly contradicts. "We can by no means allow, that of our own nature we are *without any spark of goodness.*" And yet he has subscribed to the articles and is bound by the homilies.

Religious institutions and ordinances are indispensable to our social, civil, and national existence. Hence, we must have men set apart for religious purposes; and these men, from their station and employment, will exert on the public mind and morals a prodigious influence. But, on high church principles, what kind of men are they? Just such as a small number of bishops may please to commission and send among us. The newly appointed prelate of New-York, for example, holds directly from God himself, the only power which is known or can be acknowledged, of commissioning the ministers of the gospel for nearly two millions of souls. No one can be recognized, in this immense multitude of rational and immortal beings, as authorized to engage in the ministry of reconciliation, in any way, or under any ecclesiastical regulations, until he has gone to that gentleman, subscribed the articles of *his* faith, and taken from *his* hands, as the delegated agent of God, the power to preach the gospel of his Son! Every minister within a territory as large as all New-England, on whose head the hands of a bishop have not been laid, must at once leave his people, repair to the altar of prescription, or never again presume to preach the love of God, or break the bread of life. What a scene would be opened in this country by high church principles, carried out into full operation, as they unquestionably ought to be, if resting on the authority of God! The whole body of our ten thousand clergy, with the exception of less than six hundred, thrown out of the sacred office forever, unless their consciences and their faith could be made to quadrate with the standard set up by a small body of men among us! What man on this continent would possess any thing like the power of an American bishop? What power is so controlling as religious supremacy—what grasp so unyielding as that of individual authority, rendered fearless by popular submission, and awful as death by the presumed appointment of God? Such must inevitably be the power of those who hold the only authority known or believed to exist, of commissioning the ministers of religion for twelve millions of people—of saying who shall, and who shall not, preach the gospel of Christ. And how shall the body of the people resist the abuse of this power to the worst of purposes? Shall they withdraw from the church, like our puritan fathers, and seek religious liberty under the protection of our free institutions? But this is “rebellion against Almighty God;” or at least there is the utmost reason to believe so, and none to believe otherwise. It cuts off the soul, at once, from all known covenanted title or hope of eternal life; and, as we are now supposing the whole community to be fully enlightened on this subject, no one can be weak enough to sacrifice the salvation of his soul, for the poor recompense of maintaining his rights as a freeman. Let high

church principles be universally embraced in this country, (as they ought to be if they are correct) and we have at once an ESTABLISHED CHURCH, resting not on the weak basis of human enactments, but on the immutable command of God himself. For the clergy of this church, we are bound in conscience, and by divine injunction to provide a full and honorable support. "Let him that is taught in the word, communicate with him that teacheth in all good things." This support must all go to such religious teachers as a small body of bishops, think proper to appoint and ordain. The people have no option in the case but this, they may arrange among themselves how to *dispose*, in the most satisfactory manner, of the individuals whom the bishop shall designate for the care of their souls.

The power of the men thus designated, too, is tremendously great. It lies with them to administer or withhold those sacraments, which, in the words of the High Church historian, "are necessary to salvation." It is madness to hesitate for a moment in yielding implicit obedience to those who have the awful prerogative of granting or withholding a "covenant title" to eternal life; or to array ourselves in "rebellion" against our Maker, by refusing to receive the rites of his religion, on those conditions, which his "regularly ordained clergy" may think proper to prescribe. But what will be the consequence of such power in the clergy? Unless we shut our eyes on all the past history of our race, and suppose that God has conferred an absolute *infallibility* on the priesthood which he has placed over us, with such awful sanctions to enforce our obedience, we know and are certain, that this authority will be abused, in a manner totally inconsistent with our rights and privileges as freemen.

And who is ignorant of the practical operation of high church principles, where they have acted without restraint? What principles created and supported the court of High Commission? Who advocated the arbitrary measures of the house of Stuart? "Who opposed the glorious revolution of 1688?" "And who were the enemies of our own *more* glorious revolution?" "*High churchmen, the world knows.*" In the language of one of the ablest men of our age, we declare, "on the other hand, in all these instances, low churchmen and dissenters, united heartily and co-operated vigorously." "The faithful records of history afford on this subject, a series of most instructive facts, and warrant the strongest conclusions as to the tendency of high church principles."

A bishop in this country, has it in his power to a great extent, to secure the prevalence and succession of his own sentiments and practices, whatever they may be; for he ordains the clergy of his diocese, and they are such and only such, in sentiment and character, as he is pleased to commission. These are the men, who with associated laymen of their own vestries, are to elect a

successor, to *him*, who has thus created *them*. It is not difficult, to see how certain this succession may be made, and how long the influence of error and religious intolerance may be perpetuated. And now, we ask, have not power and influence established by these means, been already exerted in this country, with very great and unsparing effect? Have not the noblest designs of christian charity, the exalted enterprise of giving the bible to every family in our land, the most generous efforts for the instruction of oppressed christian nations, or of the heathen world "lying in wickedness," been repeatedly shut out from nearly the whole of a diocese, by a single word? 'The BISHOP does not approve of these efforts, he thinks it improper for any one to solicit our aid for such objects!' A hundred churches are instantly closed, and ten thousand hearts are steeled against those men, who are pleading perhaps for the very charities, which originated in the zeal and piety of the evangelical of the English church. We call in question no man's motives. We undertake not to decide whether any individual has acted right or wrong, in the exercise of the power thus assumed. But we do ask, must not that *system* be wrong, hostile to our liberal institutions, and pernicious to the interests of true religion, which thus tends to place the consciences of a whole diocese under the control of a single man, and to make our religious charities, the noblest characteristic of the present age, dependent on his will? "Religious principles will be felt every where. No circle of private life, no department of government, but must feel them. They belong to the mind itself." What then must be the effect on freedom of mind among us, on the exercise of private judgment, and above all on the rights of conscience, if such a system should ever become predominant in this country? The history of the world gives but one answer.

While, therefore, we see nothing hostile to our free institutions in the catholic spirit of those, who acknowledge every other evangelical communion to be equally with themselves a part of the church of Christ, we do believe that nothing but a standing miracle could save us from the consequences of a general prevalence of High Church principles; giving as they do to a few men, chosen for life, the only known power on earth of commissioning our ten thousand clergy, and cloathing that clergy with the awful prerogative of granting or withholding these sacred ordinances, without which there is no known covenant of mercy, or promise of eternal life. If this be truth, and if these principles must generally prevail among us, we can only say, that the less must yield to the greater, the freedom of our country to the salvation of our souls.

III. *The conditions of salvation*, as laid down by the high church writers, are in our view, (and with pain we say it) *diametrically opposed to the declarations of the word of God*. The scriptures di-

vide the whole human race into two great classes, those who are in a state of condemnation, and those who are in a state of grace or favor with God. The former are described as "children of wrath," the latter as "children of God;" the one as "alienated and enemies in their minds by wicked works," the other as "reconciled" to God, and members of Christ's body; the one as "having no hope, and without God in the world," the other as "partakers of the promises," and made "heirs of the kingdom" of his dear Son. The most important question, then, which can be asked on this side of the eternal world, is this, What is that change in man, which translates him from a state of condemnation into a state of grace or favor with God? The followers of Dr. Hobart answer, BAPTISM: and in this sentiment we suppose most high churchmen coincide. "In this regenerating ordinance (baptism) fallen man is born again from a state of *condemnation* into a state of *grace*."* "Our church," says Dr. Hobart in his volume of sermons, "in all her services, considers *baptized* christians (i. e. baptized persons) as regenerate; as called into a *state of salvation*; as made *members* of Christ; *children* of God; *heirs* to the kingdom of heaven." Now, we ask, is it possible to affirm more strongly, that the simple act of baptism *prepares the soul for heaven*? It makes its subjects "heirs of the kingdom," "children of God," "in a *state of grace or salvation*." True, they must continue in this state, must go on to repent of sin when committed, and to put their trust in Christ, to the end of life. But that great change in their character and condition, without which no man can see the Lord, is effected by baptism! This makes them in a moment "children of God," and should any individual among them die at that moment, he must of course be saved. Now, we ask, is this the doctrine of the New Testament? Can the act of a fallible man thus remove the condemning sentence of God, and secure the salvation of the soul? The supposition, all will agree, is impious, unless the renewing influence of the Spirit, does *invariably* attend the administration of the ordinance of baptism. But where in the whole bible have we any intimation of such a fact? What too, is the testimony of experience on this subject? Do all baptized persons in the Episcopal church give evidence of that great spiritual change, which is so entire and absolute, as to be termed "*life from the dead*?" Are they without exception crucified to the world, and the world crucified to them? The utmost stretch of charity will not authorize the supposition.

The apostles too—did they act like men who believed the rite of baptism to be invariably followed by deliverance from condem-

* Comp. for the Altar, p. 186.

nation, and the renewal of the heart from on high? Why, then, all their labors, reasonings, exhortations, and entreaties to bring their hearers to Christ, when they had only to baptize them at once; and by "this regenerating ordinance," instantly to place them in a "state of salvation?" No! In all the directions which the Apostles gave to sinners, as recorded in the Acts, baptism is never alluded to but once, and then as *following*, not leading to a change of heart. This outward rite they uniformly represented as the mere *symbol* of a spiritual change, which was supposed *already* to have taken place.*

"Can any man forbid water," says Peter, "that these should not be baptized?" But why baptize these men? To place them in a "state of grace"—to give them "a title to the influences of the Holy Spirit?" No, but because they "*have* received the HOLY GHOST as well as we." Acts x. 47. How could the Apostle more directly contradict the high church principles? Considered in this light, as a mere *symbol* of a change already experienced, it is not surprising that so little stress was laid on baptism by the apostles. "Christ," says Paul, "sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." How different would have been his language if he imagined, that baptism was invariably followed by renewing influences from on high! Regarded in this light, the power of administering it, is the most awful and momentous prerogative ever conferred on man. Armed with such power, the apostle had only to persuade men to receive the washing of water at his hands, and they were instantly converted, made "children of God," and "heirs of the kingdom."

But these pretensions reach still farther. The followers of Dr. Hobart declare, that "the *only* mode through which we can obtain a title to those blessings (of the gospel) is the sacrament of baptism." "Repentance, faith and obedience, will not of *themselves* be effectual to our salvation." Other high churchmen know and believe nothing to the *contrary* of this, and the practical effect therefore is precisely the same. Now here too, we apprehend, is if possible a still more direct contradiction of the word of God. "REpent, that your sins may be blotted out." "Thy FAITH hath saved thee." "BELIEVE on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." "The gospel is the power of God unto salvation to *every one* that believeth." "In every nation, he that *fear*eth Him, (God,) and *worketh righteousness* is accepted of Him." Such are the conditions of salvation as pointed out in the scriptures. Not one word is said of baptism as indispensable to salvation, and as if

* Children were baptized on the ground of their parent's faith. In this they solemnly *dedicated* their children to God, and gained for them the privilege of a relation to the visible church.

to silence all pretensions of this kind, in a single sentence, God has added, "Circumcision (to which baptism succeeds as a different form of the same rite,) is *nothing*, and *un-circumcision* is *nothing*, but a NEW CREATURE;" proving demonstrably, that the new birth is not only something entirely distinct from any outward rites, but wholly independent of them. Such are the contradictions to the word of God involved in the sentiments in question!

IV. We shall now turn, for a moment, to consider the influence of such doctrines, *on the spiritual state of those who are educated in their belief*. Nothing can be more certain than this, that all the scriptural representations of the condition and character of men by nature, are deeply humbling and painful. Their direct tendency is to alarm the sinner, to lay him low in the dust before God, and to drive him to utter despair of relief from any human intervention or aid. They urge him to instantaneous and unreserved submission to God. Even in the most distinguished saints, we see the evidence of this humbling tendency. "I abhor myself," says Job, "and repent in dust and ashes." "I was shapen in iniquity," says the psalmist, "and in sin did my mother conceive me." "Oh, wretched man that I am," exclaimed Paul, in view of the deep depravity of his heart. Now we ask, is there not the utmost danger, that impenitent sinners, under the influence of the sentiments in question, will fall entirely short of any such views of their character and condition? Is there no one whose eye now rests on these pages, to whom the language just quoted from the scriptures, seems strange and unaccountable? Is it not the tendency of the views in which multitudes are educated, to make them believe that their depravity is trifling, since it requires only such easy expedients to remove it? Do they not feel that it is removed, and its curse avoided by the simple reception of ordinances—that they have only to be baptized, confirmed, and to continue in the observance of stated rites, and they are regenerated, their sins washed away, and themselves made children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven? They enter on a course of religious duty; they have been made christians by baptism; they observe the services of the church; they hold a constituent part in divine worship;—all along with which, they are told, the grace of God is connected, and that by it, they are cultivating their good feelings or religious natures—"nourishing that grace which is given to every man to profit withal." At length they are confirmed, at which time, it is announced to them, that the Holy Ghost is imparted, and as they rise from the rite of confirmation, they are saluted as "children of the kingdom and heirs of heaven." Having taken on themselves the vows of their godfathers and godmothers, and received the last ordinance of consecration from one professedly delegated to open the kingdom of heaven, they are re-assured of "a title to all the privileges and blessings of Christ's purchase."

Now what is the influence of all this on the unsuspecting disciples of this system? Do they not imagine that they are sure of salvation, if they simply persevere in the course on which they have thus entered? As they have been baptized, they think of course, and they are taught to believe so, that they "*have a title to the kingdom of heaven.*" Every repetition of prescribed devotional service, becomes an advancing step in their sanctification. The responses and observances of the sanctuary, rise every sabbath, as additional securities of God's favor—to be acknowledged at the day of judgment, as preparing a soul of his own new creation, for his endless service. The writer of these remarks, has had too much experience in this kind of service and in these sentiments, not to be fully persuaded of the certainty and baneful effects of this influence. A righteousness was created in his soul, which was neither borrowed from the Redeemer's merits, nor purified by the Holy Spirit. It was a righteousness wrought out by the simple and easy service of church prescription. Here he rested his hope; and was told on authority which he had no wish to question, that while repentance, faith and obedience, will not of themselves be effectual to salvation, this is "the mode" and the "only mode" of securing a "title to the blessings and privileges of Christ's purchase." Who under the belief of such a system, would not feel sure of salvation, in proportion to the multiplication of prescribed ordinances? If pressed with the necessity of a spiritual regeneration, their answer is ready, "It has already commenced, and we are advancing cheerfully forward to its full completion." How is it possible for such persons to listen with any but indignant feelings, to pointed statements of their guilt and danger as sinners? What necessity can there be, in their view, of any of that violence spoken of in the scriptures, with which men are to press into the kingdom of heaven? Where is the need of that armor of Paul, the panoply of God, to meet and conquer the powers of hell? Such things they are prone to consider as belonging to a different state of the church, and as having no just or natural application to themselves. We appeal to every man who has preached to such persons, with a seriousness and pungency borrowed from the word of God, whether he has not found his instructions fall utterly powerless on their minds? and whether the whole tendency of this system, is not to lock up the soul in a state of dreadful insensibility to their real condition, in the view of Him who searcheth the heart?

We do not wish to say it invidiously, but we are entirely unable to discover how the thorough going High Church doctrine on this subject, differs from that of the Papists. An exclusive divine right to confer a "title to salvation," is claimed equally by both. It is the *opus operatum*, the outward act, which in the view of both secures

this title. "There is no salvation out of the Catholic church," is the axiom of the one; and we find much the same in the declarations, "Baptism is the *only* mode," etc. and, "I have yet to learn where a *promise* to fallen man is to be found, that is not *limited* on the previous condition, that he be a member of the visible (i. e. Episcopal) church upon earth." We have no disposition to run the parallel farther. It is with pain that we have alluded at all, to these remains of the "old doctrine" amongst any members of a venerable protestant church.

We now turn to consider the influence of Arminianism, under the sanction, and in connection with the usages, of the high church. The Arminian system has an endless diversity of appearances and numberless varieties of influence. As Mosheim justly remarks, "it is a kind of medley, which can have no fixed and stable form or system of doctrine." Its ramifications are ever springing forth, fresh and vigorous; and it is impossible to specify all the results, which rise in some form or other from this fruitful system of protean theology. We shall therefore only say, that *the opinions and practices under review, seem to us to destroy that broad distinction between sin and holiness, the righteous and the wicked, which enters so deeply into man's present character and future prospects.* Their advocates address their hearers alike; presupposing in all, that infusion of grace or principle of moral goodness, which only requires a careful cultivation in all, to ripen to the full maturity of holiness. They do not admit that there is any *radical* distinction among men, which has been created by a change of their moral natures. They are not accustomed therefore, to bring home the searching truths of inspiration, and lay them, with the authority of the Almighty upon the consciences of men; and we are not aware, that the preaching of this class of divines is calculated to disturb the conscience of the sinner, or to create a belief in that *plague of the heart*, which God pronounces to be *desperate wickedness.* All men are supposed to have some goodness from the beginning, and are all along treated as the gospel treats those only, who are new creatures in Christ Jesus. "The preachers of this school," says the Christian Observer, "address their auditors almost promiscuously as christians, because professedly and by the sacrament of baptism they are such. Our view, on the other hand, is, that a large portion of them, are not christians, except in name; and should, therefore be addressed, not merely as needing to be exhorted to higher advances in goodness and virtue; but to *become* christians in the spiritual sense of the term." These remarks were called forth by the following passage in a work under review. "*No limit* can be prescribed to all persons, beyond which, indulgence in pleasure is sinful. The variety in the constitution of human character, and the difference of strength in the passions of different individuals, pla-

ces at different degrees, the point, where indulgence becomes sinful." Well does the Christian Observer add. "We are alarmed at the oversight, that gave birth to this passage and the consequences to which it might lead, especially in the volume in which it appears. We see nothing in all the bible warranting allowance in pleasure, (we know not of what kind) according to the strength of passion in different individuals."*

To what does this want of discrimination in preaching directly lead? As it arises from a want of discrimination in regard to truth and religious experience, it leads to a want of discrimination in respect to christian character and communion. It is saying to all, except those who are too grossly wicked to believe it, that they are christians. Is it not a fact indeed, that most of the congregation are, at some period of their lives, invited and urged to partake of those ordinances, which are the divinely appointed seals of experimental piety? And thus, under a fatal delusion, how many indulge in those pleasures of life which the gospel forbids, and in a conformity to the world, wholly inconsistent with the piety it enjoins! We know, that the preachers of whom we now speak, sometimes allude to a future and endless retribution of misery. But surely the heirs of the kingdom of heaven," "the children of God," cannot consider themselves as exposed to such a doom. Such are the accustomed addresses and instructions of these preachers, that few, if any, are found sufficiently depraved, within the circle of their ministrations, to feel that they deserve such tremendous punishment, as any evil must be that is eternal. If we mistake not, their congregations as a body feel like one common family, moving on together, under the saving culture of their religious services and the grace of God, with the assurance of his everlasting complacency.

It is a belief in native grace, or a remnant of moral goodness in the heart, together with the supposed efficacy attached to baptism, which leads to this indiscriminate treatment of the mixed multitudes of a worshipping assembly. And this of necessity destroys the scriptural distinction between the righteous and the wicked; for it will be remembered, that most, if not all, have adopted "*the mode*" and "*the only mode*" of securing "*a title to the blessings and privileges of Christ's purchase,*" and have those native and nurtured principles of resemblance to God, which are to expand into the perfection of holiness. How natural is it, that a confidence and hope should thus be engendered, which rest not on a distinct sense of a union of soul to Christ, not on a feeling of unreserved submission to the law and government of God, against whom

* Review of Bishop Hobart's Sermons.

we were conscious of having stood forth in the attitude of rebellion, but on a hope built upon man's native and cherished fitness for God's eternal presence and favor, which at once sets aside the fear of eternal wrath, from every soul that has been brought under the protection of High Church ordinances. It is owing to this fact, we conceive, that Unitarianism has always made so little progress, in a community where High Church and Arminian principles, are prevalent. There is no *demand* for Unitarianism in such a community. Are any offended with that kind of preaching which shows man his utterly depraved and ruined condition, and which sends him for relief to an almighty Savior? they can find a refuge from such humbling and painful admonitions, under the soothing messages of those, who treat all their hearers as made "heirs of God" in baptism, and as needing only the steady culture of inherent grace, to prepare the soul for heaven. It is not, to any great extent, the speculative question of the Trinity, which makes men Unitarians: it is a settled disgust for the doctrine of man's entire want of holiness by nature, and his dependence on special and distinguishing grace for the renewal of the heart. Where these doctrines can be escaped on easier terms, few will find any inducement to become followers of Arius or Socinus.

V*. We shall advert to only one topic more. *High Churchmen refuse in general to unite with christians of other denominations, in every benevolent design of a religious nature.* All their efforts of this kind are avowedly directed to a single object, that of building up their own sect. And so far do they carry these exclusive principles, as to stand aloof even from the efforts to promote temperance and other kindred objects. Now we do not question their *right* to act as they please in this matter; but we wish to remind them, that they exercise this right under the most solemn responsibilities. For nearly fifteen centuries, the great enterprise of publishing the gospel to every creature, has stood still amidst the guilty contentions of sects and parties, within the bosom of the church. A better spirit has dawned on the present age. A WILBERFORCE and TEIGNMOUTH in England, and a JAY and MILNOR in this country, have been foremost among those, who have laid down all sectarian feelings, at the altar of our common faith. In doing so, have they not acted in the true spirit of the great apostle of the gentiles, who could rejoice to see the gospel proclaimed at Rome, even by those Judaizing teachers, who sought "to add affliction to his bonds?" And now, when we have the *pure* word of God in our hands, when our Savior calls on us to publish it to every creature,

* The remarks under this last head were excluded from the review, as it originally appeared, for want of room.

when the whole protestant world are waking to this long neglected duty, and seem ready in their love of the bible, to lay aside all minor differences, and take away the reproach of their enemies, "see how these christians *hate* one another"—what shall we say of that spirit which stands aloof from so noble a union, and cannot trust the bible to speak its own language, unless accompanied by a Confession of Faith, a Manual of doctrine and discipline, or the Book of Common Prayer? Let the example of high church men on this subject, be followed in each of our denominations (and it is already followed much too far) and all our religious charities will be turned into vast engines of mutual attack, and the wealth of the church, which might convert the world, will be wasted in a guilty strife for sectarian aggrandizement. The phantom of *uniformity* in religious rites, has deluded the church for more than twelve centuries. The better spirit of the present age calls upon us to learn, at last, to differ on minor points, in a spirit of kindness; and to unite all our efforts for the extension of our common faith. Great is the responsibility of those, who resist such a spirit; and who seek to perpetuate, those exclusive principles of sect, which by filling all christendom with mutual animosities, would forever prevent, while they are cherished, the approach of the millennial glory.

We have already intimated, that the foregoing remarks are applicable not to the Episcopal church *as such*, but to a portion of its members, who have departed from the catholic principles, and self-abasing doctrines, of its original founders. Concerning this defection, many of the most pious and devoted members of that church, both in England and America, have publicly spoken in terms far stronger than any which we have used. Believing the principles in question to be unscriptural and dangerous, we cannot be expected to see them urged industriously on those of our own communion, without occasionally expressing our sentiments. But the present remarks, prepared as they were originally some months since, and at quite a distance, have no reference to any recent events or discussions, in the vicinity of their publication. They were made, we are well assured, with feelings of entire kindness towards those from whom the writer differs. It is against principles, and not men, that he has spoken; and our earnest prayer is that all parties, on this subject, may feel with the excellent Hooker, that "ten words spoken in the spirit of meekness, are better than volumes of controversy."

* The bible, said an American bishop, echoing the words of an English prelate, the bible without note or comment, may make good christians, *but it makes bad churchmen*. Such is an undisguised exhibition of high church principles.

A

REMONSTRANCE

ADDRESSED TO THE

TRUSTEES OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY,

ON THE

STATE OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY UNDER THEIR CARE;

SEPT. 1849.

BY DANIEL DANA, D. D.

BOSTON:
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1853.

PREFATORY OBSERVATIONS.

IT is with a reluctance not to be expressed, that the writer gives publicity to the following Remonstrance. Nothing, probably, would have reconciled him to the measure, but the decided opinion and advice of ministerial brethren of the highest respectability, who have thought that he owed it to himself, to the religious public, and to the cause of God, and His truth.

In the sacred Seminary brought to view, he has ever felt the profoundest interest. To witness its best prosperity, and in his humble way to promote it, has been his delight. These objects have been, and are still, very near his heart. Should any suggest an *inconsistency* between these avowals of feeling, and the present publication, he has a brief and simple reply. He has been able to discover no more natural and efficacious method of promoting the prosperity of the Seminary, than steadily and vigorously to befriend the great *principles* on which it was established, the known *designs* of its noble Founders, and the *sublime objects* to which they devoted their aims. If there is a mode of accomplishing the object more direct and unequivocal than this, let it be pointed out.

To his Brethren of the Board of Trustees, he has aimed to manifest all due respect; and this is still his aim. He hopes he

has never departed from this line. While painfully constrained to say that their course, for some years, has been to him mysterious and inexplicable, he has never denied that they have been governed by their own convictions of duty. While freely remarking on the tendency of their measures, he has never impeached, nor has he wished to impeach, the purity of their motives.

Nor does he intimate that his Remonstrance has been treated by them with entire neglect. But since the Report upon it, made and accepted after a period of two years from the time of its presentation, was, in his view, entirely unsatisfactory, and since his suggestions have been followed by no correspondent action on their part, he has felt himself justified in this form of appeal to the Christian community.

D. D.

REMONSTRANCE.

To the Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy :

MY RESPECTED BRETHREN,—Having been honored, for forty-five years, with a seat in your Board, I have ever appreciated highly the importance of the place. Since the annexation of the Theological Seminary to the Academic establishment, my responsibilities as a Trustee have appeared to me as greatly enhanced. With the venerable Founders of the Seminary I was intimately acquainted; I knew their favorite objects and designs; I have carefully pondered their Constitution and Statutes; and I have watched, with deep solicitude, the course of things in the Institution, from its first inception to the present time. These circumstances, it will perhaps be conceded, authorize me to address you on the subject at large, with a degree of plainness and freedom; and this I shall now attempt.

The questions which for years have pressed with inexpressible weight on my mind, are such as these: Has the Seminary answered the just expectations of the public, and the churches? Has it fairly carried out its own distinctive and avowed principles? Does it bear the very stamp which its Founders designed to fix upon it? Does it exercise the precise influence which they intended it should exercise?

These are questions, my Brethren, of vital importance, and of profound interest. They merit, as you will readily admit, the most solicitous attention from us all. To assist your minds, as far as in my power, in forming a just judgment in the case, I will simply

remind you, in the first place, of some leading provisions of the Constitution and Statutes.

The Constitution provides that every Professor in the Seminary shall be a man of sound and orthodox principles, according to the system of doctrines denominated the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. Every Professor must, on the day of his Inauguration, publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in divine Revelation, and in the doctrines of the Assembly's Catechism. He must solemnly promise to defend and inculcate the Christian faith as thus expressed, in opposition to all contrary doctrines and heresies. He must repeat the declaration and promise at the close of every five years; and should he refuse this, or should he teach or embrace any of the proscribed heresies or errors, he shall be forthwith removed from office.

Such, as you well know, are the provisions of the Constitution. The Associate Statutes are in perfect accordance. They provide, indeed, an additional Creed, but a Creed in entire harmony with the Catechism, and no-wise designed to supersede or invalidate it.

Such was the design of the venerable Founders of the Seminary—a design, not only easily understood, but impossible to be misunderstood. If there are words in the English language which can make any thing plain, the Founders have made plain and undeniable their intention, that the doctrines of the Assembly's Catechism, which they viewed as the doctrines of the Bible—that these, and no other doctrines should be maintained, defended and propagated through the instrumentality of their Seminary.

Our duty, then, as Trustees, is made plain, as with a sun-beam. And if, through our faithful care, the doctrines stated have been uniformly maintained, and distinctly taught in the Seminary, and, through its Alumni, given in their purity to the churches, then has our duty been performed. If these objects have failed of accomplishment, *we*, too have failed, in duty, or in success; and the great object of the Seminary is lost.

Here, a wide field of inquiry is opened. This inquiry shall be limited, at present, to the latter stages of the Seminary. Has the orthodox character which, for many of its first years, it maintained, been subsequently preserved? Have the preachers whom in recent time it has sent forth, been signalized and acknowledged as

champions of the doctrines of the cross? Have their sermons embraced the great principles of the creed of the Seminary? Have they presented distinct and lucid exhibitions of human depravity, of regeneration, of the atonement, of justification by faith, of the nature of experimental and saving religion? That numbers have thus preached, is cheerfully conceded. But they are in the minority. And this minority has been still decreasing from year to year. This is familiarly declared by the most judicious members of our churches. Nor is it uncommon for spiritual Christians to complain that under the preaching referred to, they are not fed with the pure truths of the gospel.

On this subject I am constrained to bear an unwilling personal testimony. As a member of the Presbyteries of Londonderry, and of Newburyport, I have been called to take part in the examination of some scores of candidates educated in the Seminary. Many of these have appeared well; but the greater part have failed in some essential points; particularly that of native depravity. And you know, my Brethren, that this is a point so vital and pervading in the gospel scheme, and in experimental religion, that the minister, the Christian, who essentially fails here, can scarcely be right any where.

It is remarked by the great Roman Orator, that the liberal arts are all connected by a common bond, or chain—*commune vinculum*. The remark applies most emphatically to the doctrines of the gospel. Nor is it less true, that if from this sacred chain you strike out a single link, you mar, not to say, destroy, the whole system. And if this is true as it regards doctrines at large, what shall we say of a doctrine which, from the very nature of things, is prime and fundamental in the structure?

It may be said, that all which I have stated proves no unsoundness in the instruction of the Seminary. It may be said, too, that the Professor of Christian Theology, during most of the period referred to, has been of confessedly orthodox principles. This last is readily admitted. And had his instructions—free from opposing influences—been permitted to operate with their full force on the minds of the students, the effect on their theological views, and their subsequent preaching, might have been most salutary. But the reverse of this has been the fact. Doctrinal collisions between

different Professors have been, for years, but too well known to the students. These collisions have occupied even the pulpit of the Seminary. And doubtless, in multiplied instances, the students have received their views, less from the Theological Professor, than from some other Professor, more popular, and more splendid. Will it be denied that this is a most serious evil?

The present Professor of Christian Theology has, agreeably to the Constitution, solemnly declared and subscribed his assent to the doctrines of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and solemnly engaged to teach them, to the exclusion of all opposing doctrines and errors. That Catechism recognizes the doctrine of *original sin*. Is it consistent in the Professor to hold and teach that our nature is not sinful, and that original sin is not sin? What though it be admitted, in the case of infants, that they need atonement and regeneration, in order to enter heaven? Are not atonement and regeneration, where there is no sin, obviously super-numerary and absurd?

The Catechism recognizes a Regeneration, involving a real renovation by the Holy Spirit, and a restoration of the divine image. Is it consistent to hold and teach that Regeneration consists in a *change in the balance of the susceptibilities*; or in a change from sinful action to holy action; or even in a change from a *nature* [not sinful] inclining to sinful acts, to a nature [not holy] inclining to holy acts?

The Catechism brings distinctly to view a Covenant made by God with Adam, the father of the race; a covenant including all his posterity. This doctrine has ever been viewed by the greatest divines, as a kind of corner-stone in theology; absolutely essential to explain many things in the gospel system, which otherwise would remain forever dark and inexplicable. It is therefore perfectly natural that the avowed enemies of religion should assail it, as they have actually done, with inveterate hostility, and with blasphemous ridicule. But can it be consistent, in a Professor who has taken the Catechism as his creed, to explode the doctrine, by teaching that there is no evidence of any covenant of works between God and Adam, as the father of the race; or with Adam, including his posterity?

The Catechism declares an Atonement, such as involves a full satisfaction made by the Redeemer to the offended law and justice of God. It speaks of Christ as "undergoing the wrath of God," (meaning, the *manifestations* of his wrath,) "and the cursed death of the cross." With what consistency can a Professor, who has declared his adhesion to the Catechism, maintain that it cannot be said that Christ's passive obedience frees us from punishment; and that in the case of the penitent, the demands of the law are *evaded*, or *waved*?

In fine; the Catechism declares most explicitly, that we are justified by the righteousness of Christ, imputed to us, and received by faith. Where, then, is the consistency of maintaining that Christ needed obedience for himself, and could not perform a work of supererogation for others; that if Christ obeyed the law for us, we need not obey it ourselves, for that the law does not require two obediences; neither in this case, is there any grace in our pardon; that Christ's obedience being imputed to us, involves a double absurdity, etc.

Here, by the way, one is strongly tempted to remark; If, in one sentence, or rather the *limb* of a sentence in the Catechism, there is found a *double absurdity*, what a *mass of absurdities* must be chargeable on the whole system. Yet the Professor has solemnly received it as his creed.

These are only *specimens* of the doctrines now taught in the Seminary. But they are specimens which comprehend the whole range both of doctrinal theology, and experimental religion. The doctrines are at irreconcilable war with the genuine doctrines of the gospel. To maintain, as it has become fashionable to maintain, that there is no difference between these doctrines and the accredited orthodoxy of New England, is one of the grossest mistakes. It is impossible, for instance, not to see that the new doctrines completely subvert and nullify the long received doctrine of Justification—a doctrine which Luther pronounced (and in this he is not alone) *the article of a standing or falling church*.

The simple and undeniable fact is this: If the views thus detailed are true, the Catechism is false. If the Catechism is true, these views are false; and if false, awfully dangerous. The teacher who inculcates them may be truly said (as was said by Dr.

Johnson, of the writings of Priestley) *to unsettle every thing, and settle nothing.*

I remark here, that there are many mistaken views of the Professor, which have come to my knowledge, which I have not specified. Such are the following: that there was a period when Christ *began* to be the Son of God—that if he was a man, and if he was a *holy* man, he must have had ability to sin—that temporal death makes no part of the penalty of the law, nor is it, properly speaking, the punishment of sin—that it is in the power of human beings to hinder the execution of some parts of the divine decrees. Assertions such as these, I must declare—begging the Professor's pardon—are very reckless, and very dangerous.

My brethren may possibly recollect that on the morning of the Inauguration of the Professor of Christian Theology, I declared myself constrained to consider that act as conclusively stamping the Seminary with a character entirely diverse from its standards, and from the declared and well understood intentions of its Founders. At the present moment, I am equally constrained to express the full conviction that my melancholy apprehensions have been but too literally realized.

And now, my Brethren, are we prepared to give account to God of our stewardship?—Here is a Seminary committed to our hands, most richly endowed, solemnly consecrated, from the first, to the defence and the diffusion of sacred truth—of the doctrines of the gospel; of the great Reformation; of New England in its best days; of the excellent Westminster Summary. Have we been faithful, and are we now faithful to the precious and sacred deposit? Were its Founders now present, would they acknowledge our fidelity in the execution of their plans and wishes?—True-hearted and generous men! They poured out their wealth like water, for God's truth; and they fondly hoped that in their cherished Seminary, it would be maintained and transmitted, undulterated and pure. And where, let me ask, is our warrant to disappoint that hope? Said the venerable Bartlet to me, but a short time before his death—and this I stated to you when we assembled on this spot, to pour our grateful tears to his memory—“I consider,” said he, “the doctrines of the Assembly's Catechism as lying at the very foundation of the Institution.”

But suffer me to array before you, for a moment, the original Founders. "Confiding," say they, "in the wisdom and fidelity of the Trustees, and their successors in office, and in the pleasing hope and expectation that they will religiously appropriate" our bequests, "and all future donations, for the same pious purpose, to the great object of supporting a Theological Seminary . . . *agreeably to the principles and regulations of our Constitution*, we do now, under God, cheerfully commit this our Foundation to their pious and watchful care."

The Associate Founders speak a similar language. "Confiding," they say, "in the prudent and faithful inspection of our Visitors, and in the wisdom and fidelity of the Trustees, and with the pleasing hope that they will religiously appropriate the income of our Fund to the great object of this Foundation, agreeably to the Statutes, we do, under God, cheerfully commit this our Foundation to their pious care, trusting that no exertion will be wanting to the success of an Institution so intimately connected with the salvation of men, and the glory of God."

It is much to be desired that these dignified and impressive admonitions may never be effaced from our minds, nor ever cease to influence our measures.

Here arise questions of deep and distressing interest. Shall a Seminary, destined by its Founders, and hailed by the churches, as the support of pure gospel truth, become the instrument of adulterating and undermining that truth? In an age when error rushes in like a flood, shall such a Seminary, instead of breasting the torrent, lend itself to increase its ravages? Shall the youth who resort to its halls for instruction, endued often with pure and sound principles, find those principles not strengthened, but impaired and undermined? When those youth go forth to the churches, will it be found that the accomplishments of Greek, or Roman, or German literature supply the place of the pure gospel, or atone for its absence? Shall the plain, truth-loving Christians of New England ask for bread, and shall they receive a stone? Shall this enlightened community be amused and deceived by terms and phrases once employed as the vehicles of truth, but now used as the mask and the recommendation of error? Shall those doctrines be inculcated through the land, which God has never yet

blessed, and never will bless to men's salvation, and which tend rather to banish, than to invite the influences of his Holy Spirit? Shall we send forth to India, to the Southern Isles, to China, not the pure and saving gospel, but its opposite, or its counterfeit?

Will it be denied, my Brethren, that in our own New England, it has become common for members of churches called orthodox, to manifest disgust at hearing from the desk the very doctrines which they once solemnly professed to believe? Will it be denied, that *unbelief* is the grand and fatal malady of the day? The distinguishing doctrines, and the very *inspiration* of the Bible are vanishing from the minds of men, and a real though disguised infidelity is occupying their places. Shall we tamely yield to these tremendous evils? Or shall we, to the utmost of our power, erect and strengthen the barriers which may arrest their progress?

I know it may be said, that inasmuch as the doctrinal views both of ministers and churches are greatly changed since the Seminary came into being, the articles of our creed should not be punctiliously enforced, but somewhat modified and relaxed. I reply, the fact stated is readily admitted, but the inference drawn is utterly inadmissible. The Founders themselves clearly perceived, in their day, powerful tendencies to the very changes indicated. These changes they viewed as corruptions. They planted their Seminary for the very purpose of precluding or resisting them. The argument, then, confutes itself. Or rather, it pleads with irresistible power on the contrary side. It would be a signal treachery to our trust, should we so shape our measures as to meet the degeneracy of the times.

Here I am constrained to ask, May not the present low state of religion, and of morals, which all confess, and which the pious deplore, be traced, too probably, to the prevalent defection from sound doctrine? If it is the *truth* which sanctifies, will error sanctify too? Will God bless to a community by the influences of his Holy Spirit, the very doctrines which his word denounces as false? That Sacred Spirit, by the confession of all, is for the present, sadly withdrawn. Would we hail his return, must not we ourselves return from those doctrinal errors and defections, which, combined with our practical wickedness, have awfully grieved him away?

Here arise two most interesting questions. First: would it not be lamentable if a Seminary reared at an immense expense, for the express purpose of defending and diffusing pure gospel truth, should become the instrument of corrupting that truth, and of spreading destructive error through the churches, and the community? Secondly: is there no reason to fear that the Seminary under our care has performed, and is performing, this very office?

My Brethren will permit me to say, that would we guard the Seminary from its dangers, and disencumber it of its evils, we must adopt a new system respecting *creeds*. That there have been departures from the creed of the Seminary, I might, instead of laboriously proving, have safely taken for granted; for the Trustees themselves have declared it in one instance, though I grieve to say, they took no effectual measures to restrain the evil. The departure must have been viewed as essential, for it was the subject of solemn and recorded votes. Some of the deviations which I myself have brought to view, are certainly essential; for they are not only *erroneous explanations* of doctrines previously assented to, but contradictions and denials. Witness the cardinal doctrines of *original sin*, of *justification*, and of the *Covenant with Adam*.

Should such deviations continue, and become habitual in the Seminary, must not the evils resulting be great and incalculable? Must not the minds of students be disgusted, or if not disgusted, *depraved*, while they witness *insincerity* in those regarded not only as Instructors, but Exemplars? Can pure and vital religion breathe in such an atmosphere? Can the churches look with confidence to a Seminary whose *creed* is not a true exponent of its *system of instruction*? Will they, *ought* they to receive their ministers from such a source?

It may be asked, Are the Professors bound to be evermore confined to their creeds? Have they, in taking them, precluded themselves from deep and broad investigation, and from original thought? The answer to these questions, if, in some respects, difficult, is, in others, easy. The Founders had assuredly a right to determine what doctrines should be taught in their Seminary.

The individuals invited to fill Professorships, are all bound to decide for themselves, whether they can conscientiously embrace those doctrines, and conscientiously teach them. Suppose, then, that after having, for a time, occupied their stations, they are led to embrace a system essentially different from that which they have solemnly promised to teach. Shall they remain, and make war, open or secret, on that system? Or shall they retire, and leave those duties which they cannot conscientiously discharge themselves, to others who can conscientiously discharge them? This last is the only course that offers in the distressing case brought to view. If a contrary course is pursued, let creeds and promises be abandoned; for they are unmeaning and useless, and even worse than useless. Nay, let the Constitution be nullified *in form*; for it is already nullified *in fact*.

It may, perhaps, be asked, Do not the preachers from the Seminary acquire a character for ability and learning? Are not some of them admired for their talents and eloquence?—It may be asked, too, If an artist is seen to employ much labor and skill in polishing and adorning the external superstructure of an edifice, while yet the foundation is neglected, or perhaps undermined, what will be the durability, and what the value of the building? Assuredly the religion which is preached and embraced when the essential doctrines of the gospel are denied, or concealed, or explained away, is a worthless religion; and its worthlessness will be manifest in the great day of trial.

There is, my Brethren, one point of fundamental importance, yet untouched. This Board, a few years since, passed an act by which the Professors on the Associate Foundation, comprising the greater portion of the Professors, were excused from taking the Assembly's Catechism, as a part of their creed. It may possibly be recollected that, at the time, I expressed the opinion that this was a wound in the vitals of the Constitution. That such is the real fact, there is the most conclusive evidence, to which I now beg your attention.

The Constitution, in its eleventh and twelfth articles, provides that *every professor in the Seminary* shall declare and subscribe his belief in the doctrines of the Catechism, and solemnly promise

to teach accordingly. There is no evading this, unless it can be made to appear that the Associate Professors are not *Professors in the Seminary*. And this has never been pretended.

Farther; there are still living two highly respectable men (Dr. Woods and Mr. Farrar) who had the entire confidence of the Founders; with whom the Founders consulted in framing the Constitution; who took an active part in framing it; and who, of course, must have known the Founders' views and intentions. These individuals have uniformly and confidently declared that the Catechism was intended for all the Professors in the Seminary, without distinction or exception.

Be it further remembered, that this point was never questioned in the Board for more than thirty years. And it is a notable fact, that when, a few years since, one of the Associate Professors objected, at the recurrence of the usual term, to assent to the Catechism as a part of his creed, his objection was overruled, and he was required to give this assent, because, in the view of the Trustees, the Constitution plainly required it.

We have, then, three distinct and independent proofs of the true meaning of the Constitution. And we have equal evidence that the Constitution has been violated in its most essential provision—a provision designed, more than any other, to stamp the character of the Seminary.

Here, my Brethren, I offer a remark, the justness and force of which you will duly appreciate. We have received from the Founders ample funds, together with a Constitution, Statutes and Creed. If the latter be preserved inviolate, the former remain with us of course. If they are violated, or disregarded, the funds are forfeited. and may be lost.

In proof of this momentous point, I refer to the Constitution itself, in which the Founders explicitly declare that they give to the Trustees their buildings and fund, "*on the express condition that the Institution be forever conducted and governed by them and their successors, in conformity to the principles and regulations of their Constitution.*"

Let me then entreat that you will candidly review the whole subject, that you will hasten to heal the deep wound in the

Constitution, and thus restore to it its primitive character and energy.

I have addressed you, my honored Brethren, on subjects of the greatest moment, and with a freedom and explicitness which those subjects demand. If, in any act of my life, I have deeply felt my responsibility to my final Judge, and earnestly supplicated his guidance, it is in this. In one point, I am confident you will do me justice. If the convictions I have uttered are real and sincere, they could not have been warrantably suppressed. They could not have been suppressed without a guilty treachery. However, then, they may be received, I think I can never regret to have imparted them. The act may bring down upon me reproach from Professors and students; it may expose me to public odium; it may greatly embitter the closing years, or rather days, of my life; it may possibly lose me *your* friendship, my Brethren. Still, I can never regret it; for I have carefully counted the cost. In the cause of my Saviour, and his truth, I am willing to suffer, and I humbly hope, willing to die. Compared with these objects, peace, comfort, reputation, life itself, ought to be trifles with me.

And now, having performed what has long appeared to me a most solemn and imperious duty, I shall, from this moment, feel my heart lightened of a burden which has oppressed it for many an anxious and painful year. Should you give to my suggestions a kind and candid consideration, I shall be gratified and grateful. Should I be denied this privilege, I can only refer these momentous affairs to the period when we must stand together before the bar of God. I have honestly endeavored to view the whole scene in the light of eternity. It is my earnest prayer that you, too, my Brethren, may view it in the same awful and instructive light.

In fine; were the question put to myself, at this moment, What shall be done? What *can* be done?—I should be somewhat appalled, and somewhat perplexed. Yet one reply would be altogether safe. Resolve that the Constitution and Statutes of your Seminary shall, from this moment, and at all events, be preserved sacred and inviolate. As to ulterior measures, let God and a faithful conscience give direction.

Whatever intricacies may attend some of the *theological* points touched in this communication, there is one question of infinite moment—a GREAT MORAL QUESTION—the answer to which is perfectly plain. Shall we the Trustees, and shall the Professors, faithfully discharge the duties we have respectively *sworn* to discharge—*ourselves*, implicitly; *they*, explicitly and directly. This question, once settled, settles every thing. My prayer is, that we may all so meet it now, that we may meet it with joy, when it shall come to us *in another form*, before our common and final Judge.

I am, my Brethren, with great regard, sincerely yours,

DANIEL DANA.

Andover, Sept. 1849.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

February 15, 1853.

HAVING had occasion, at this distance of time, to re-peruse the preceding Remonstrance, in view of its publication, I find myself met by certain facts and reflections, some of which are too significant to be passed in silence.

The conviction is now rapidly spreading in the community, that in the Andover Seminary the doctrines of the Catechism, so rigidly prescribed by the Constitution, are not taught; that is to say, not taught from the chair of the Professor of Theology. This is well known and frequently declared, even by members of the Seminary. Indeed, the fact is indisputable. And by numbers the measure is defended on the ground that if the doctrines of the Catechism are not taught according to their proper and original meaning, they are taught in a mode which is more agreeable to the principles of philosophy, and to the improved taste of the times. But one important point is here left wholly unconsidered. For though it should be even proved that the new teaching is *as good* as that of the Catechism strictly considered, it would not meet the inexorable demands of the Constitution, that it should be the *very same*.

To make the matter, however, perfectly plain, I will propose a few simple questions. They are such as these:

1. Does the theory which holds that infants of our race are born with a nature *inclining* them to sinful action, but not in itself sinful—does this theory meet the orthodox and Scripture doctrine of *native depravity*, or *original sin*?

2. Does the definition of Regeneration as consisting in a change from a nature not sinful, to a nature not holy, but simply inclining to holy action—does it agree with the Scripture?

3. Does the definition of Justification, which excludes the righteousness of Christ from constituting its proper foundation, and denies the *proper merit* of his obedience, as imputable to believers, because necessary to himself as a man—does it agree with the Scripture?

The true answer to these questions is but one—that of *denial*. Still there is too much proof that the *affirmative* is the very soul of the Theological instruction of the Seminary. It is equally undeniable, that should these views, which are now fashionable, and rapidly spreading, ultimately prevail, they will sweep away all true religion from our churches. Who, for instance, does not perceive that the views here given of Justification tear from the bosoms of Christians their only hope of acceptance with God, and of eternal life, and leave them in a state of absolute despair?

I would here state a singular fact. Though in my Remonstrance to the Trustees, the aberrations of the theological Professor constituted the burden and substance of my complaint, and several distinct specifications were introduced, the Committee's Report, which was accepted by the Board, scarcely touched the subject. It simply intimated that there was *liability to mistake* in the case. But not a particle of evidence of any particular mistake was produced.

But though entirely convinced that my allegations were correct, I feel perfectly strong without them. This strength, I candidly admit, has been directly furnished by the Professor himself. In his Convention Sermon, and in the debate with Professor Hodge, he has distinctly avowed and defended what constitutes the substance of my most serious charges. He has done more. He has directly attacked the most important articles of that Catechism, of which he has repeatedly declared his belief, with his solemn engagement to teach its doctrines. And more still, he has repeatedly stamped these articles with ridicule, and exposed them to public scorn.

It is with real pain and grief that I make these statements. I have not a particle of personal enmity against the Professor. Far, far, rather, would I employ my pen in commending his fine talents. But if these talents are employed in opposition to fundamental truth, and in defence of dangerous error, their influence is only to be dreaded and discountenanced.

I have now finished a most distressing task. I have stood up in defence of unwelcome and old-fashioned truth, against plausible and dangerous error. I have felt myself bound to expose the defects and aberrations of one singularly popular, not only with the fashionable, but in part, also, with the religious world. Nor am I unaware of the consequences which may follow my attempt, nor of that shower of reproach which what I have written may bring upon me from certain quarters. But this will little disturb me, so long as I have the approbation of my own conscience. And I know assuredly that I have contended, not for the Shibboleths of a party, but for those great and fundamental truths which have been dearer than life to the pious of every age and clime. I might add, too, that I have pleaded the cause of honesty and uprightness. I have entered my solemn protest against trampling on the memory of the dead, by perverting their munificence to the support and propagation of those errors which they dreaded, and to the trampling down of that truth which was dearer to them than thousands of gold and silver. I have endeavored, likewise, to guard the churches against the intrusion of fatal error, under the garb of philosophy falsely so called, and of a religion which is either the opposite, or the mere counterfeit of gospel piety. Having enlisted under the banner of truth, I am perfectly calm and fearless ; for *truth is not afraid of giants*. Humbly, but fearlessly, would I commit the whole cause to God, beseeching Him to pardon the weakness with which I have defended His truth, and to honor a feeble instrument with success against the bold and threatening assaults of error and irreligion.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILE the preceding pages have been going through the press, some points have been presented to my mind, which my discussions have but slightly touched, or imperfectly elucidated.

Very much pains have of late years been employed to convince the public that the Westminster Catechism, in its full extent, was not designed by the Founders to be the creed of the Professors; certainly not of all of them. I am grieved to add, that the Report of the Committee, accepted by the Trustees, aims at the same object. With all due deference, I must declare that no idea could be more unfounded. Let any intelligent reader peruse the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth articles of the Constitution, and he will find that its object was undeniably to lay the Catechism as the basis of the Seminary. In the eleventh article, it is signified that "every Professor in this Seminary" shall be a man of sound and orthodox principles in Divinity, according to the system drawn from the Scriptures, and denominated the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism.

In a subsequent article it is declared that every Professor shall, on the day of his inauguration, publicly make and subscribe his assent to the doctrines of the said Catechism; and solemnly promise to teach them, in opposition to all contrary doctrines and errors. Finally, it is ordained that every Professor shall repeat the declaration at the close of every five years; and that should he refuse this, or should he teach or embrace any heresies, or errors, opposed to this declaration, he shall be forthwith removed from office.

It would be a waste of words to attempt to make these declarations plainer than they stand in the Constitution. They prove, beyond all controversy, that the original Founders intended to make the Westminster Catechism the basis of their Seminary, and of its theological instructions.

In opposition to this idea, it has been contended that the Associate Statutes, coming after the Constitution, inasmuch as they propose another creed, virtually repeal the articles which have been mentioned. But what if these Associate Statutes are totally silent on the subject? Shall the three fundamental articles of the Constitution, expressing the whole mind and heart of the Founders, be repealed by mere inference, or mere conjecture? The idea is absurd—monstrous, indeed; and cannot be a moment admitted.

The conception entertained by some, that the Associate Founders erected a kind of independent Institution, is an egregious mistake. They had no such desire. They made no such pretensions. On the contrary, they require each of their Professors solemnly to declare that he will religiously conform to the Constitution and Laws of the Seminary. Do not the requisitions respecting the Assembly's Catechism constitute an essential and vital part of such Constitution and Laws?

It has been fancied, however, that the first Article of the "Additional Statutes" of the original Founders militates with the principle now stated. But let this matter be carefully considered. In the Article referred to, the Founders distinctly recognize the provisions of their Constitution respecting the Catechism; but without a remote intimation of any intention to annul, or weaken them. And this, it must be confessed, amounts to little less than a re-enactment of them. They, however, ordained that every Professor in the Seminary shall receive and adopt the Associate Creed before mentioned, in addition to the Catechism.—IN ADDITION. Who does not see, that until the term *substitution* shall take the place of *addition*, this Article perfectly confirms the Articles of the Constitution already referred to? Thus the very provision, which has been relied on to prove that the Catechism has lost the right to retain its place in the Seminary, proves the direct contrary.

It has, however, been declared in the Report adopted by the Trustees, that for a long period after the commencement of the Seminary, the Catechism was not introduced at the inauguration of the Professors. And hence it is argued that, from the first, the Catechism *in extenso* was viewed as an unessential matter. But this reasoning proves too much. We confidently oppose to it the undeniable fact that, during the early periods of the Seminary, the duty of the Professors at large to declare their assent to the Catechism was never seriously brought into question. If then the omission suggested actually took place, what does it prove?—Suppose a law, regularly passed by the Legislature, very soon fails of being carried into accomplishment, what does that prove? Does its inexecution prove its non-existence?

Only a few topics remain for illustration, and they shall be treated very briefly.

It has been extensively reported that, at the time of Professor Park's election to the station he now holds, his predecessor, Dr. Woods, strongly testified to his strict orthodoxy. It has even been reported that, previously to this, he was desirous to have him introduced to give lectures, with himself, on Christian Theology. Nor can it be doubted that these reports had an important influence in attracting the public confidence to the newly elected Professor. But this whole affair is a tissue of gross mistakes; and it is time that the public mind should be disabused. Perhaps it is probable that, in his forth-coming history of the Seminary, Dr. Woods will set this matter in its true light. And whatever he shall declare on the subject will doubtless command the public confidence.

In my statements of the deviations of the present Professor of Christian Theology, I have spoken with plainness and freedom, as was my duty. But I humbly hope this painful task has been performed without prejudice, and without coloring, or exaggeration. Nor have I specified all the particulars of his system and teachings, which appear to me fraught with dangerous error. His favorite maxim, that *all sin consists in action*, is equally opposed to sound philosophy and Scripture. Nor, while the world retains its common sense, will this position be likely to obtain general credence. If admitted, it would sweep away almost every doctrine of the Bible. Who sees not, for instance, that it completely

nullifies the cardinal and fundamental doctrine of *native depravity*?

His views of *human ability* are extravagant and extreme. They obviously tend to foster in men a spirit of pride, of self-sufficiency, of independence on God, and, emphatically, of *procrastination*. Is there no reason to fear that, in this very way, too many have found their eternal ruin? Is there no reason to fear that the unconcern, the irreligion, and the false religion, which so sadly prevail at the present day, may be traced to the same source?

But I have done. Should what I have written be successful, under the blessing of God, to promote true and pure religion; to send a salutary alarm to the churches; to check the progress of fatal error; to induce Christians to grasp with new ardor the holy and saving doctrines of the Bible, and to *contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints*, my object will have been attained, and I shall regard myself as the most favored of men.

Newburyport, Feb. 24, 1853.

THE ANDOVER FUSS:

OR,

DR. WOODS *VERSUS* DR. DANA,

ON THE

IMPUTATION OF HERESY,

AGAINST

PROFESSOR PARK,

RESPECTING THE DOCTRINE

OF

ORIGINAL SIN.

BOSTON :

TAPPAN AND WHITTEMORE.

1853.

DR. WOODS *VERSUS* DR. DANA.

It is well known that for some time grave charges have been made, and widely circulated, against the character of the instruction given by Professor Park, the successor of Dr. Woods in the chair of Christian Theology, in the Seminary at Andover. For a while, doubts, suspicions, surmises, insinuations, and fears of intangible somethings, operated to create and spread the belief that all was not exactly as it had been and should be in that School of the Prophets. From time to time, and from place to place, the efficacy of rumors was left to depend, as occasion might require, on their vagueness, their secrecy, their subtilty, or their more venturous audacity,—their versatile accommodation to the genius, temper, and position of whomsoever they might possibly influence.

All these diverse operations contributed to prepare the way for a more open and direct attack—a bolder and more violent blow from a responsible hand—a sturdier and more sanguine stroke, which the instigators of it hoped the Christian public would feel, and the Seminary fear. The charge of “HERESY,”—a word of terror, often the most alarming where least understood

—became audible, distinct, emphatic; as if confidently expecting that boldness would finish what timidity had begun. It rested on the authority of a responsible name—the name of a venerable divine, the oldest member of the Board of Trustees, who had held that honorable office from the foundation of the Seminary, in 1807—nearly half a century. The presumption was strong, and all but conclusive, that the accuser knew whereof he affirmed. It had every thing on its side but truth, and it seemed incredible that this one thing needful could be absent from such a quarter.

Nor was it the directness, the confident tone, or the responsible source of the accusation, aided by the broad rumor which had prepared its way, that alone gave assurance of its ready reception by the Christian public, and of their grateful regard for the zeal of the accuser. With these natural helps to conviction, so often sufficient of themselves to condemn the innocent, there was considerably mingled the pathos of woful alarm—a plaintive melancholy, and a boding sadness so tristful and touching, that pity's self seemed to plead for the condemnation of the accused, to relieve the distress of the accuser.

The specious accusation, at once so bold, so plaintive, so alarming, and so responsible, beside these winning characteristics, had other auxiliaries, neither impotent nor unanticipated. It was by no means left to work its unaided way to the jealous sensibilities of the Christian public. Funds were secretly raised to defray the expense of its large, gratuitous publication, and busy hands were not wanting to sow, in the dark, the broadest field

with the bitter seeds of jealousy and strife. Throughout New England, and wherever, beyond her limits, a rancorous resentment had, for long years, cast its bleared and spiteful eye on New England Orthodoxy, and especially on the teachings of Andover, from its beginning, there were the pamphlets of Dr. Dana scattered, in hope of a harvest more sudden and plentiful than has yet been reaped.

While these schemy operations were going on for the expected overthrow of *a perjured heretic*, (we forbear to name the reverend author of this form of crimination,) the accomplished Professor was steadily and successfully devoting his genius, learning, and piety, with energetic zeal, to the advancement of the honor and true interests of the Seminary, in the responsible office to which he had been consecrated, with more than the bare acquiescence of his predecessor—his solicitous and effective influence, in circumstances peculiar to each.

But leaving these less important, though not useless preliminaries, we proceed to state and review the substance of the alleged complex offence of Professor Park, as declared by, or through, Dr. Dana, who, in its publication, is confessedly urged forward, for an effect on the “Christian community,” by those who were prudently shy of leading in so responsible an enterprise. It would, however, be exceedingly difficult, in stating the complex offence charged, to combine the various fragments of the complaint so as to present it comprehensively, in its author’s own language, as they are scattered up and down over a pamphlet, composed at different periods, consisting of four disjointed parts, with their several titles, of

“*Prefatory Remarks*,” “*Remonstrance*,” “*Additional Remarks*,” and “*Postscript*.”

The offence charged against Professor Park, and involving heretical error, is, comprehensively and for substance, *Nonconformity*: viz., in not believing and not teaching Christian Theology in perfect and entire agreement with the Westminster Assembly’s Shorter Catechism, as exacted by the Constitution and Statutes established, for an everlasting ordinance, by the founders of the Seminary; and as declared and subscribed to by himself, at his induction into office; and, yet more especially, as conformed to with complete, constant, and exemplary fidelity, by his immediate, sole, and model predecessor in office, Dr. Woods, who with so commendable integrity thereby fulfilled the trust, and represented the faith of the contemporaneous churches of New England, in their unswerving conformity to the faith of the Pilgrim Fathers, and to the teachings of the Bible, as received by the Christian church in all ages.

Having thus stated, as briefly and clearly as we could, the substance of the complex accusation preferred by the venerable Trustee, it will hardly be expected, in our review of it, that we recite the varied forms in which the delinquency is set forth, or examine the several specifications of heresy which are presumed by the accuser to involve each other. Neither our own inclination, nor the patience of our readers, will allow of so dilatory a process, provided the main fact and principal truth can be reached by a shorter route. Happily for all concerned, this abridgment of labor is suggested by no casual remarks of Dr. Dana himself, who has carefully provided a *mas-*

ter key, by which may be readily unlocked the combined apartments of Orthodox theology, to ascertain what is safe, and what is missing.

Dr. Dana has studiously given special prominence to one doctrine, as a test of others, which he characterizes as “*a kind of corner-stone in theology*,”—“*a doctrine prime and fundamental*,”—“*a point vital and pervading*”—the especial safety “link” of the “*commune vinculum*,” “*the sacred chain*.” He is intensely anxious for the perpetuity of this doctrine as officially guarded, defended, and transmitted by Dr. Woods, the predecessor of Professor Park, and as held by the Orthodox churches in New England, in common with the Founders of the Seminary, at the time of, and for years after its establishment, for the preservation of the then current Orthodox faith.

This paramount doctrine, the touchstone of New England orthodoxy for the period fixed upon and eulogized as the golden age of Andover, and the blessed reign of Dr. Woods, is the doctrine of ORIGINAL SIN—its proper character and effect—including the personal guilt of each and every individual of the human race, in all successive ages to the end of time, for its commission; and the just desert of, and liability to everlasting punishment in hell, by one and all of the posterity of Adam, for their violation of the law of God, imputed to them as their own transgression, done by them in him, their antecedent representative and covenant head.

As, therefore, the venerable accuser of Professor Park has made so distinct and tangible an issue, and as the separation of it from minor and inferential considerations will help to avoid confusion, and thus lead to a more

definite and satisfactory result, it will be well to discharge, for the time, all other considerations, and confine our attention to the declared test and touchstone of orthodoxy, the paramount doctrine of original sin, as held in New England at the establishment of the Theological Seminary at Andover, as provided for by the founders of that Seminary, and as taught with such exemplary scrupulousness and fidelity by Dr. Woods, its first and model Professor of Christian Theology.

Having, then, this distinct and sole object directly in view, the natural and necessary inquiry suggests itself at once, *How shall the immediate question at issue be best reached, and conclusively settled?* And the ready answer is not less plain, that a question of historical fact must be settled by reliable historical testimony, written or oral, or both. If such testimony can be adduced, the unambiguous, direct, plenary, and consistent testimony of a competent, unexceptionable and uncontradicted witness, whose testimony was responsibly given and recorded at the period contemplated by the issue, and before the present controversy had its beginning or could have been dreamed of, then all who look for truth, and desire the settlement of the immediate question by its just authority, will of course be gratified by its presentation, and cheerfully abide its decision. Fortunately, or rather by a good providence, equally remote from blind chance and human foresight, such testimony is not wanting, the history and identical substance of which are as follows:—

In the spring of 1819, the late Dr. Channing delivered, at Baltimore, a Discourse at the ordination of the Rev.

Jared Sparks, late President of Harvard University, in which he animadverted — with how much wisdom or folly the world is not yet agreed—on various doctrines regarded by him as identical with the Orthodox faith, so called. The eloquence and the prominent topics of the Discourse, together with the time, place, and other circumstances of its delivery, concurred to give it a fame, and insured for it a wide circulation.

At that period of religious controversy in New England, when the fervent heat of many years was but little, if at all, abated, it was extensively felt, among the orthodox there and elsewhere, that the tendency, if not the actual influence of Dr. Channing's Discourse, should be counteracted, and its real or reputed errors exposed by some skilful hand. While this feeling was prevalent, Dr. Woods, then Professor of Theology at Andover, assumed, or consented to undertake the desired work—a work which it was certain he would not enter upon carelessly, or pursue without tasking his best powers, nor without the considerate use of his hoarded learning, whether theological or historical. The presumption was strong—perhaps we may say universal—that whatever theological bias might warp his logic, his *ecclesiastical facts*, pertaining to his own time, denomination, and section of the country, would be reliable and above suspicion.

To effect the desired purpose, Dr. Woods, in the spring of 1820, after the gestation of a full year, published a series of "Letters to Unitarians," in which he deemed it important to fix with care and precision certain landmarks of the controversy, and, especially, to disabuse

those whom he addressed of inbred misapprehensions and radical errors respecting the views of their opponents, and to show to them the broad distinction between the genuine sentiments of New England Orthodoxy, and the spurious notions that had been palmed off at Baltimore as its veritable characteristics. He expressed an earnest and painstaking solicitude that the "real sentiments of the Orthodox in New England," then current and universal, should not be confounded either with an obsolete Orthodoxy here, or with its unseemly and repulsive monstrosities elsewhere. In all this Dr. Woods could not but foresee a double gain, or help feeling in advance, a comfortable relief. It would not only conveniently narrow the field of controversy, but would leave him unsailable at that vulnerable point which no former strategy had safely covered, and where stouter champions than himself had been disarmed, and pierced with their own weapons. His characteristic "discretion," so often "the better part of valor," was never more at home, than in that notable exigency, in which his shrewd wariness received the delighted commendation of those whom he assumed, or was selected, to represent. There was among them, and especially among the most discerning and influential, a deep consciousness that had he not put in his timely and well considered caveat, he would have left to his opponents a vantage ground far more formidable to his scrutinized position, than anything else which annoyed it.

The caveat which we mainly refer to, is that which relates to the doctrine of *Original Sin*, as set forth in the Assembly's Catechism—represented by Dr. Dana as "a

kind of corner-stone in theology," and as having been kept in its precise place, with a constant fidelity, by the official hand of Dr. Woods. The caveat with his own italics, is as follows:—

“In Scripture the word *impute*, when used in its proper sense, certainly in relation to sin, uniformly signifies charging or reckoning to a man that which is his own attribute or act. Every attempt which has been made, to prove that God ever imputes to man any sinful disposition or act which is not strictly *his own*, has failed of success. And as it is one object of these Letters to make you acquainted with the real sentiments of the Orthodox in New England, I would here say, with the utmost frankness, that we are not entirely satisfied with the language used on this subject, in the Assembly's Catechism. Though we hold that Catechism, taken as a whole, in the highest estimation, we could not with a good conscience subscribe to every expression it contains in relation to the doctrine of Original Sin. Hence it is common for us, when we declare our assent to the Catechism, to do it with an express or implied restriction. We receive the Catechism *generally*, as containing a summary of the principles of Christianity. But that the sinfulness of our natural fallen state consists, in any measure, in the guilt of Adam's first sin, is what we cannot admit.”—*Letters to Unitarians*, p. 44. 1820.

To the foregoing we subjoin another extract from the same work, which though very brief, is remarkably explicit and comprehensive. It runs thus:—“The Orthodox in New England at the present day, are not chargeable with the erroneous opinions held by their predecessors.

The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, in any sense which those words naturally and properly convey, is a doctrine which we do not believe."—*Idem. p. 44.*

The above-cited passages, written with the most cautious forecast and a justly presumed effect, are worthy of an equally deliberate consideration and careful analysis. If we do not misread them, they plainly teach—

1. That it is a matter about which Dr. Woods has no manner of doubt, but can affirm with entire *certainty*, that in the Bible, the word *impute*, in its relation to sin, never signifies charging any man with the sin of another; but always signifies reckoning to a man that which is *his own* attribute or act.

2. That every attempt, whenever and by whomsoever made, to prove, whether by reason or scripture, or both, that God ever imputes to any man any sinful disposition or act which is not strictly his own, *has failed of success.*

3. That the Orthodox denomination in New England, as a body, instead of being entirely satisfied with, *takes exceptions* to the statement of the doctrine of imputation *as expressed in the Westminster Catechism.*

4. That whatever may be the respect of the Orthodox in New England for the Assembly's Catechism *in general*, it nevertheless contains statements *in relation to the doctrine of Original Sin*, which they cannot subscribe to *without violating the dictates of conscience.*

5. That it is a fact which he (Dr. Woods) is authorized to state, and which, to correct injurious misapprehension, it becomes him to give assurance of *with the utmost frankness*, that when the Orthodox in New England *declare their assent* to the Assembly's Catechism, they

("WE") assent to it *only generally*, and *with an express or an implied*, and consequently and understood *restriction*—this being *the common way, the general practice* of the Orthodox in New England, in such cases.

6. That so far are the Orthodox in New England from giving their unqualified assent to the doctrine of Original Sin, as set forth in the Assembly's Catechism, that they not only *in fact* dissent from it, but that it is a doctrine which they ("WE") *can by no possibility admit*.

7. In fine,—and practically to eschew the doctrine of imputation from another quarter,—that *the Orthodox of the present day are not chargeable with the erroneous opinions of their predecessors*—a statement too simple and succinct for analysis, and a sentiment too self-evident for an honest doubt.

We do not feel at liberty to suspect that Dr. Woods himself would question the substantial justness of our paraphrase—its entire harmony with the scope and spirit of his own words. We will, then, assume that those seven propositions express what is meant by his own statement, above cited, respecting the doctrine of "*imputation*"—"Original Sin"—"*the sinfulness of our original fallen state*," as set forth in the Assembly's Catechism, and as dissented from by himself individually, and by the Orthodox, lay and clerical, collectively, throughout New England, in 1820, when the learned Professor had occupied the chair of Christian Theology, at Andover, twelve years.

That frank and unambiguous statement of Dr. Woods, is especially worthy of preservation as a reliable and sightly landmark in the ecclesiastical history of New

England, and the SAGE OF ANDOVER is well entitled to the grateful remembrance of all who take an interest in the peace of Zion, or who would be relieved from unfriendly suspicions and surmisings about the lapsed state of our first School of the Prophets. Those opportune and effective caveats, so carefully elaborated and so felicitously expressed, should not be left to the casualties of quickly vanishing pamphlets. Certainly they should have a prominent place and a conspicuous type in the collected works of their circumspect and far-seeing author. They are a history of the past, which the future will not fail to appreciate.

Those historical documents, brief though they be, have many claims for their wide diffusion, as well as careful keeping. They are even now needful, all abroad, to refresh the memories of the forgetful, and to restrain the rash hand of the jealous and unkind. If their own characteristics are too marked to be overlooked, their occasion, the character and position of their author, their effect on the past, the aspect of the present, and the liabilities of the future—in short, a crowd of circumstances contribute to give them an interest and a value not likely to be overrated. It would be the extreme of short-sighted and narrow vision, to look upon those condensed statements of Dr. Woods, as the expression of mere theoretical opinion, or the record of his own conscious belief, and personal, interior experience. They have a broader scope and a weightier bearing than the personal consciousness or private concern of any individual, however worthy of regard. Their chief and permanent value comes from their grave and solemn charac-

ter as TESTIMONY—the testimony of the most competent witness—one who had seen and handled, more than most others, the very substance about which he so considerably bears witness.

The position of Dr. Woods gave him *extraordinary opportunities* for ascertaining the facts about which many Unitarians had doubts and apprehensions, which he kindly and conscientiously desired to relieve them of. Nor was his position that of pre-eminent advantage merely. It was a position of at least equal *responsibility*—a responsibility of which he must have been profoundly conscious. It was no remote reckoning that met his careful forethought. He stood before the tribunal of immediate public sentiment, where he would be weighed in a just balance with a steady hand and a careful eye. His testimony, as to the fact before us, was to be scrutinized by the sharp-sighted of at least two intelligent and wakeful denominations—the one class of their sentinels looking hopefully for the precise truth, and the other on the watch for his halting.

And what was the result of this eager scrutiny? We are not aware that either friend or foe—that any noticeable individual, orthodox or heterodox, questioned the sincerity or the fidelity of Dr. Woods' testimony. Certainly, Dr. Ware, the applauded champion of his opponents, gave the most express credit to its truthfulness. Indeed, to have questioned its correctness would have argued extreme presumption either in the testimony or its impeachment. Between these extremes there is no middle ground for escape. When Dr. Woods penned and published his testimony, all felt its weight, and jus-

tified the decision with which he flung it into the scale of controversy. Having been brought up in the heart of New England from his birth; having been publicly educated in its most ancient seat of learning; having, after no inconsiderable time of pastoral office, become somewhat prominent among the Orthodox ministers of New England, he had already been, for many years, the sole theological professor in the only theological seminary in all that region. Besides his extensive personal acquaintance with the older and most influential Orthodox ministers in New England, a majority of the younger ministers had been trained, under his careful nurture, to believe what he believed, and to reject what he rejected. When, after no doubtful efficacy of his plastic hand, they left the feet of their Gameliel, he blessed them with his complacent Godspeed to their spiritual cures: and when having cherished and observed his parting counsel not to swerve from his and their common faith, they made their annual pilgrimage to Andover, to report, not their progress, but their stone-like steadfastness, it was to receive a fresh benediction from his approving lips.

The perfect knowledge of Dr. Woods of what he testified respecting the exceptions, by the Orthodox of New England, to the Westminster Assembly's doctrine of Original Sin, can hardly be doubted by any fair-minded man who considers the advantages of his education, profession, and position, as already set forth. But, conclusive as such facts ought to be, there are yet other facts, which, though to most minds they would be superfluous vouchers for the fidelity and credibility of Dr. Woods in such matters, we shall, nevertheless, venture to present,

since other minds may not regard them as a wasteful excess.

They should be considered with especial care, by such as have indulged an easy confidence in the ingratiating argument of Dr. Dana's Remonstrance—*his intimate acquaintance with the venerable Founders of the Seminary, their favorite objects and designs*—and who have presumed on the ignorance of Dr. Woods of those matters, as well as of the theology of New England, at the foundation of the Seminary, in 1807.

When the Theological Seminary at Andover was founded, the most prominent and leading Orthodox divines in New England, were Emmons, Dwight, Strong, Austin, Spring, Burton, Morse, Hyde, and Lyman. There were other ministers, of acknowledged strength and influence, but those named were, at and about that time, more clearly the confessed leaders of doctrinal sentiment, and educators for the ministry. Whatever separated them in other matters, they all dissented from the doctrine of Original Sin as set forth in the Assembly's Catechism, and as received by their early predecessors. Nor is their dissent from that doctrine a tale of rumor, or a foundling of tradition. It is not even dependent on the testimony of their yet surviving friends and coadjutors. Nearly all of them have left the clear evidence of that dissent in their published discourses, essays, and other writings. The most eminent and influential have left the most abundant proof. We do not remember one prominent minister in New England, at the period contemplated, who avowed his belief in that doctrine.

No one of those eminent men was more explicit or

more earnest in declaring,—perhaps none was more demonstrative and cogent in urging an opposite doctrine,—than was DR. SAMUEL SPRING, of Newburyport the confidential friend and the admired pastor of a majority of the Associated Founders of the Theological Seminary at Andover. His influence was second to none, but foremost of all, in establishing that Seminary. It was the very same Dr. Spring who marked and selected Dr. Woods to be its first Theological Professor. And for what? Not, surely, to thwart that system of theology, or that distinctive doctrine of it which was so dear to his heart, so earnest from his lips, and so constant in the labors of his life! Far, infinitely far from such a mockery of himself, was the purpose of such a man. The calm, unflinching chaplain of the expedition through the wilderness of Maine, against Quebec, in 1775, was neither a whiffler nor a hypocrite. Care, decision and stability were of and from his principles. They were the staple of his life—we had almost said, the fixtures of his original constitution. The characteristics of his theology were too considerate to be pliable. His early sentiments were his last sentiments. Respecting their character and their permanency, his biographer thought it enough to say, “In his theological views he accorded with Drs. Hopkins, Bellamy, and West, his teachers.”

But what Dr. Spring could not do in the light, he was sure not to do in the dark. He *knew* his man—at least for the time being, and so long as his presence was among men. The sentiments of Dr. Woods he could not fail to know. His quick, inveterate sagacity; his proximity to Dr. Woods as a fellow-pastor for years;

their personal and professional intimacy;—nay, his own direct influence and impress on the mind of Dr. Woods, who looked up to him with filial regard—all these give assurance that his wonted sagacity was not tampered with, and that what the many knew as common fame, was known to him by all his senses.

In what other way than that of the prevalent and general sentiment in New England on the subject of Original Sin, as testified to by Dr. Woods, and denied by Dr. Dana, can it be accounted for, that the missionaries who were sent out, in such numbers, by the churches of New England, into the wilderness of Western New York, and Northern Ohio, and other new settlements in the same and other States, were so much a *unit* in respect to that doctrine; and that the churches and theological seminaries established by their influence in those broad regions, were of the same theological type? No philosophy, sacred or profane, can account for such an effect, without such a cause.

Dr. Woods, with the Assembly's Catechism on his lips, and subscribing it with his hand, *in general*, but expressly or impliedly denying it *in particular*, first took his seat in the Theological chair at Andover; and he had, in like manner, twice professed the same fidelity, and was contemplating the repetition of that solemnity for the third time, when he gave his testimony to the common practice, by the Orthodox in New England, of exception to the Westminster Assembly's doctrine of Original Sin. Time continued to roll his silent orb, and for seven successive lustrums did Dr. Woods renew his restricted pledge, till, in the wise providence of God, he

was called on to resign his professional cares, and to enjoy his grateful *otium*. In calm retirement how rich the luxury of reflecting on that faithful past! How delightful the pastime of contemplating the fidelity of his successor—his allegiance to the Westminster Catechism “*generally*,” in close imitation of his own good faith to its time-hallowed, well understood, always expected, and commonly observed *limitations and exceptions*! But we must sadly turn from this enchanting scene, to others of a sombre hue. Need we say that we refer to the gloomy pamphlet of Doctor Dana, and the melancholy consequences of its publication to all concerned?

With what surprise and wonder—with what a rush of thought and tumult of emotions must the “*Unitarians*,” if their memories have not vanished away, gaze at the “Remonstrance” of Dr. Dana, an original and perpetual Trustee of the sacred Seminary at Andover! How will they contain their impatient spirits as they listen to his complaint, uttered in the anguish of his soul, against the successor of Dr. Woods, for subscribing, “*with an express or implied restriction*,” the doctrine of Original Sin set forth in the Assembly’s Catechism, and thus breaking the “*commune vinculum*” of New England Orthodox theology! With what amazement will they stare at the encomiums lavished on Dr. Woods, by the same venerable Trustee, for his punctilious and persevering care in keeping bright and unbroken every link of that “*commune vinculum*,” the Westminster “chain!” Will they not stand aghast at the strange and fearful apocalypse of Dr. Dana, as they contrast those lauda-

tions of Dr. Woods' fidelity to every jot and tittle of the Westminster doctrine of Original Sin, with his own *testimony*—his solemn assurance to them in 1820, reaffirmed in 1824, that “*The Orthodox in New England, at the present day, are not chargeable with the erroneous opinions held by their predecessors ;*” that “*We cannot, with a good conscience, subscribe to every expression it (the Westminster Catechism) contains in relation to the doctrine of Original Sin ;*” and that “*Hence it is common for us, when we declare our assent to the Catechism, to do it with an express or implied restriction!*” Whom will those “Unitarians” believe, in this open conflict of Dr. Woods with the grave and solemn assurance of the venerable Trustee, his yet confidential friend ?

But there is another aspect of the dilemma, which, though self-presented, should be looked at with a reverent decorum. What if the spirit of *Dr. Ware* could revisit this world of contradiction and controversy !—What if his disembodied spirit could resume the susceptibilities of flesh and blood, and with these fearful attributes witness the rapturous joy of the veteran and venerable Trustee, at the exemplary subscription of Dr. Woods to the doctrines of the Westminster Catechism, all and singular, but more especially to its “*fundamental,*” “*vital,*” “*corner-stone*” doctrine of *Original Sin*, with no loop or slip of exception ; and then listen to the wailings of the same sensitively conscientious Trustee, at the unscrupulous delinquency of Professor Park, in subscribing to the self-same Catechism “*with an express or implied restriction,*”—thus setting at naught the Orthodox faith of New England, his pledged loyalty to the Assembly's

Catechism, and the exemplary footsteps of his illustrious predecessor! Could that spirit believe in the justice of those laudations of Dr. Woods, and criminations of Professor Park, what unheavenly emotions might not rack its earthly frame! What impatient outbreak of indignation might not demonstrate his resumed terrestrial liabilities! What frown might not lower on his brow, what fire kindle his eye, what rebuke leap from his lips, at the mockery, the cheat, the villany with which Dr. Woods had beguiled him into the glad admission as true—a truth professedly declared “*with the utmost frankness*”—of what had been only sanctimoniously feigned, to proselyte the unwary, and to shun a dreaded blow on the broader field of controversy! But the spirit of Dr. Ware needs not to be disturbed, even in the imagination of his survivors on earth, for the fiction of Dr. Dana is incredible. No surer fact stands out before the world, than that to which Dr. Woods has testified with so much care and precision. It stands confirmed by a homogeneous mass of independent and incontestible proof.

How then must it afflict the guileless and sensitive heart of *Dr. Woods* to read the Remonstrance of Dr. Dana, his coeval, his companion, his early coadjutor; and to learn that he has been instigated to the “*distressing task*” of contradicting to the world his solemn testimony to the “Unitarians,” and that he has been urged thus to alarm the faithful, by certain unnamed “*ministerial brethren of the highest respectability!*” Will it not cut to the quick his soul of honor, to find his integrity so responsibly assailed before the world, though tenderly assured by Dr. Dana that he had no such purpose of his

own, but was wrought upon, in secret, by the “*declared opinion and advice*” of trusted friends? We cannot but imagine the mournful solicitude and oppressive anxiety of Dr. Woods—if such a man as he cannot certainly divine—to ravel the mystery of that stab in the dark—“the unkindest cut of all!” We can picture to ourselves the venerable Ex-Professor in vain trying to explore the darkness, and at last hastening to Dr. Dana, beseeching him to reveal the profound secret, and give his clandestine instigators “a local habitation and a name.” But it is often dangerous to pry into mysteries, and “better to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of.” How would it mortify and overwhelm the unsuspecting Ex-Professor, should his aged friend, the venerable Trustee, assure him, “with the utmost frankness,” that those clandestine advisers and crafty alarmists were no distant strangers—but that his foes were they of his own household—bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh! Perhaps—perhaps, the mystery, sad as darkness is, might be less gloomy even than the clear-shining light, and the revelation of such secrets bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave! But we turn to another picture, as from unrelieved to mitigated sadness.

What, then, shall we say of *Dr. Dana*—his visions of heresy and fountains of tears?—his eulogy of Dr. Woods, and crimination of Professor Park, for their contrasted virtue and delinquency respecting the Westminster Catechism, and its doctrine of Original Sin, vital only in its *entireness*? Is that eulogy merited? Is that crimination just? Is the one to be canonized for his West-

minster saintship, in advance of his transition, and the other doomed to the *odium theologicum*, for Westminster heresy, in his crescent manhood and spreading fame?

But the story of Dr. Dana is incredible. It rests on no responsible name but his own, and stands most plainly contradicted by the testimony of the most competent witness, Dr. Woods himself, in a deposition attested by the acquiescence of a third of a century, and confirmed by a mass of contemporaneous and decisive proof.

What then? Dr. Dana has been misled. He has unwittingly allowed himself to be used by men—at least by some one—of less simplicity and sincerity than his own. His position is indeed peculiar, and calls for more of pity than of blame. Doubtless he had once known better than he has now done. In our narrative we have hardly mentioned a fact which had not been known by him almost as intimately as the fingers with which he wrote his Remonstrance. He had known, he must have known, in the day of its freshness, the direct and conclusive testimony of Dr. Woods, published in the thirteenth, and republished in the ~~fourteenth~~ year of his professorship. His “Letters to Unitarians,” of which that testimony was a significant and a hinging part, was a phenomenon too eminent and too pervading to be unobserved anywhere in the latitude of New England. It was the special attraction of its day, to ministers of different denominations, and was talked of in every Orthodox ministerial gathering, as “the bright particular star,” the harbinger of a clearer sky. Whoever might be apt to disregard it, Dr. Dana, surely, was not that man. The well known habits of his mind as a scholar and a divine;

his position as President of a distinguished New England College, established for the promotion of learning and piety; and more especially his position as a responsible Trustee of the Theological Seminary whence issued those Letters as the evidence and defence of its doctrinal teaching, give assurance that the testimony of Dr. Woods is no novelty to Dr. Dana.

But, independently of the testimony of Dr. Woods, Dr. Dana could not have been at all ignorant that the prevalent sentiment of the Orthodox in New England was adverse to the doctrine of Original Sin as set forth in the Assembly's Catechism, and that the Orthodox ministers of New England, when they commended that symbol, approved of it only in the *general*, and not in *all its particulars*. Dr. Dana's knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs was too full for so broad a chasm. The sentiments of those leading divines whom we have named, instead of being secret, were as open as the day. With most of them, probably with all, he was personally acquainted, and with some of them, intimately. Their influence few better understood than Dr. Dana, who by his favorable position and practiced eye saw the definite stamp of their minds on the settled pastors and churches of New England, and on the missionaries, churches, colleges, and theological seminaries of the West.

What, then, can account for the romance of his eulogy on Dr. Woods for pertinacious adherence to the entire Westminster faith, in opposition to his own testimony; and for his dreamy accusation of Professor Park for not holding and not teaching the exact Westminster doctrine of Original Sin, as held and taught by Dr. Woods, and as

cherished by the Orthodox churches of New England? A stranger might say that if he is not mad, he is dishonest. But the sobriety of his mind, and the integrity of his purpose are not questioned by those who know him. Suspicion has never breathed on his fair and honorable fame; and the residue of life is hopeless of relaxing the virtue of fourscore years. To solve the question is not difficult for us, nor should it be wounding to him. Certainly we entertain too accustomed an esteem for his worth, and too earnest a wish for the comfort of his venerable age, to be willing to inflict a wound, or to disturb the serenity of his passing spirit.

All the faculties of the mind are a marvel to its possessor. Its accidents are better known, and the liabilities of one mind are the liabilities of every other. The moral habits retain their force, when the intellectual are losing it, and virtuous principles often outlive the memory of the most familiar facts. Dr. Dana, in his old age, has *forgotten* what he well knew in the vigor of earlier days and the freshness of recent events. Such frailty is incident to the strong, as well as to the weak. Two illustrious examples of this frailty belong to the Revolutionary and Constitutional history of our country.

We have seen the original letter of John Adams, written from Paris to Samuel Adams, soon after the war of Independence, reminding him of the authorship of that great preparatory measure of the Revolution, the appointment of Committees of ~~Safety~~, and telling him that the French were adopting a like measure; adding that their plan was *not original with them, but a plagiarism from you*. And yet, in later life, he wrote another letter

a Correspondence

to a relative of Gen. James Warren, ascribing to the latter the origin of that measure. Must it not be presumed that he had once known its origin, and that his earlier was the safer recollection ?

To the foregoing instance of forgetfulness relating to the act of another, we add the following in relation to the act of one's self. Late in life James Madison claimed, with great confidence, the authorship of several of the able letters in the *Federalist*, which the friends of General Hamilton as confidently claimed as his. The question was settled by the production of the originals in the handwriting of General Hamilton. These mistakes of memory were no stain upon the honor of the eminent statesmen and patriots who made them. So also will it be with Dr. Dana. That frail faculty, but not his integrity suffers. It is expected that memory will fade when virtue is brightening for a wiser world. Who so much as himself will lament having given a credulous ear to the subtle and designing disturbers of the peace of Zion !

On the whole, the publication, through Dr. Dana, of such a charge against Professor Park, as that of running a tilt against Dr. Woods and the Orthodox of New England, in subscribing to the Assembly's Catechism "*as a whole*," that is, "*generally*," and not to "*every expression which it contains*," but "*with an express or implied restriction*," and especially in thus subscribing to its "*doctrine of Original Sin*,"—is an accusation more than remarkable, and worse than a blunder. Whoever may be exempt, it is clear that blame rests somewhere. Nor is it too much to say, that among the busiest in giving wide currency

to the false statement of the Remonstrance, have been the immediate adjuncts of one who had perfect knowledge of its falseness, but whose close affinity, instead of hindering the process of cheating the Christian public, was an indispensable auxiliary to that pious fraud.

The pretext for giving currency, far and near, to the misrepresentation above stated, respecting the Westminster conflict between Dr. Woods and the Orthodox in New England, on the one part, and Professor Park, on the other, of course has a godly aspect—a taking, sanctimonious look of extraordinary goodness. It is, doubtless, to do God service—to prevent heresy—to save the Church from damnable error—to restore the simplicity of the gospel—to keep out wolves, and tend the lambs—to rescue the holy ark—in short, to do wholesale good and stop all manner of mischief. If we may interpret the expectation of the knowing ones, by the hope which lights up the gloom of the Remonstrance—its Prefix, Appendix, and more last words—it was confidently expected, by hook and crook, to work out “the righteousness of God.”

But in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird; and we trust that even the fledglings will not be caught with such chaff. We think that the Remonstrance itself, with its addenda fore and aft, will do much to discomfit its prime movers, and of course their subalterns. They have compassed sea and land to proselyte New England to a faith which it abhors, and which it shook off as offensive to the first principles of justice, and the most rooted convictions of common sense.

Those cast off errors, for which the Orthodox *would not be held responsible*, it requires no gift of proph-

ecy to foretell, *will never regain their ascendancy over New England*, or ever come out *barefaced* in many, if in any, of her churches. The causes which heretofore operated so surely to oust them from that quarter, in spite of tradition and habit, are still operating with progressive power. A more enlarged knowledge, a more skilful interpretation of the scriptures, a growing freedom from the trammels of antiquity, and the felt necessity of squaring systems of faith by the eternal laws of self-evident righteousness—these are ample guarantees that the Westminster doctrine of Original Sin, will never come back to the region from which it had been so considerably and decisively cast out.

It is true that a darling hope has been nurtured that the laws of light would be reversed, and the dial of Original Sin go backward; and they who have cherished that hope have felt strong to shut the gates of light, or to hoodwink the inquisitive vision of the age; but they will not be slow to learn, in the fast-coming experience which past and passing events foreshadow, that if the experiment is already "*a most distressing task*," its end will not be a less afflictive dispensation.

We only wonder that men of so much wisdom, should be men of so much folly. Their earnestness, their sanguine expectations, and their diligent efforts, are worthy of a better and more practicable scheme. If the triple force of cunning, secrecy, and combination, could insure success, theirs would not be doubtful. What arts have been spared to deluge the Orthodox churches of New England with a scholastic Catechism which it is hard to understand, and still harder to believe? What manoeu-

vres have been wanting to lay hold of every religious press, and turn its weeklies and quarterlies up the channel of time? What subtle scheming and patient assiduity have not attested the fond desire and fixed intent to overturn the platform of Congregationalism, and to foist into its place a system of disguised, but rank Presbyterianism? What inventions have not been plied to coerce the older theological seminaries in New England, to caress a doctrine which in 1820 was branded by Dr. Woods as a fugitive and a vagabond, or else to divert theological students to a seminary that was an Ishmaelite from its conception? What secret correspondence has not been carried on to extend over New England an ultraism of Orthodoxy which that region had lost sight of? What espionage has not leered at a freedom of thought that ranged over a field broader than the dogmas of Westminster, or indulged a moral sentiment at variance with its obsolete and preposterous doctrine of Original Sin? What vigilance has not been on the look-out for vacant pulpits, and vacant agencies of charity, and vacant offices of honor and influence in seminaries of learning, to manage into them candidates of stock-still fixedness in an *effete* creed, and to fly-blow such as ventured a step out of the magic circle of the Westminster faith?

Each and all of these questions should come home to the churches of New England. They should be looked after with sobriety of mind, and their just promptings be followed with a prudent, timely decision. We do not commend them to such consideration, or solicit for them such decision, because of any fear that a worn out and

cast off creed can ever regain a firm foothold in the region from which it has been so deliberately and harmoniously banished. On this score we have no misgivings, for such an experiment in the past, is a reliable pledge of the future. We cannot, however, say that there is no ground of alarm. That which cannot prevail, is often greatly mischievous in its abortive attempt. The churches of New England know something already of division and strife; and they must have learned but little to the purpose, if they have not yet found out that an antiquated ultraism, held on to with a dying grasp, has been as the fruitful mother of discord, confusion, and hopeless regret.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

GENERAL CONVENTION

OF

Congregational Ministers and Delegates

IN THE UNITED STATES,

Held at Albany, N. Y., on the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th of October, 1852.

TOGETHER WITH THE

SERMON PREACHED ON THE OCCASION,

BY REV. JOEL HAWES, D.D.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

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1852.

The Congregational Convention,

Held at Albany, on the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th days of October, 1852.

OFFICERS OF THE CONVENTION.

PRESIDENT,

REV. WILLIAM T. DWIGHT, D.D., OF PORTLAND, MAINE.

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REV. ASA TURNER, JR., OF DENMARK, IOWA.

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 Rev. Asa Bullard, do.
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 Rev. Jared O. Knapp, Hatfield.
 Israel Billings, do.
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 Pliny Pease, do.
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 Rev. David Sanford, Medway.
 Galen James, Medford.
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 Tyrus March, do.
 Rev. A. Eldridge, New Bedford.
 Rev. Paul Couch, North Bridgewater.
 Rev. L. F. Dimmick, D.D., Newburyport.
 Rev. Lyman Gilbert, D.D., Newton.
 Rev. Wm. S. Leavitt, do.
 Joseph N. Bacon, do.
 R. W. Turner, Newton Centre.
 Rev. W. H. Beaman, North Hadley.
 Rev. Isaac C. White, N. Abington.
 James Ford, do.
 Rev. Wm. Allen, D.D., Northampton.
 Rev. A. C. Pierce, do.
 Rev. H. Bardwell, Oxford.
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 Rev. Joseph Knight, Peru.
 Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D., Pittsfield.
 Rev. W. H. Tyler, do.
 Rev. John Todd, D.D., do.
 Thomas Gold, do.
 Rev. Samuel Harris, do.
 Theodore Hinsdale, do.
 Rev. Charles Livingston, Plympton.
 Rev. Nelson Clark, Quincy.
 Warren Loud, do.
 Ebenezer Alden, M.D., Randolph.
 Rev. Giles Pease, Sandwich.
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 Rev. Jas. P. Terry, South Weymouth.
 Rev. J. Jay Dana, South Adams.
 Rev. Samuel W. Strong, Springfield.
 Rev. R. H. Seeley, do.
 Geo. H. White, do.
 Rev. Theodore Cook, do.
 Rev. S. G. Buckingham, do.
 H. A. Robinson, do.
 Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., do.
 Charles B. Ball, do.

Henry L. Edwards, Southampton.
 Rev. Henry Cooley, Southwick.
 Rev. Porter H. Snow, S. Hadley Falls.
 Enoch Chapin, do.
 Rev. L. H. Sheldon, Townsend.
 Rev. Junius L. Hatch, Warwick.
 Rev. Theron G. Colton, Ware.
 John Tolman, do.
 Rev. E. Davis, D.D., Westfield.
 Rev. Leonard Luce, Westford.
 Rev. O. H. White, Westminster.
 Rev. A. Bigelow, West Needham.
 Rev. N. Lasell, West Stockbridge.
 George W. Kniffen, do.
 Rev. S. Bryant, do.

Rev. Jonas Perkins, } Weymouth and
 N. L. White, } Braintree.
 Rev. Lewis F. Clark, Whitinsville.
 P. W. Dudley, do.
 Rev. J. A. Hazen, Williamstown.
 Rev. A. Peters, D.D., do.
 Rev. John M. Steele, Winchester.
 Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, Winchendon.
 Rev. John H. Bisbee, Worthington.
 Rev. Edward Pratt, Wrentham.
 Rev. Horace James, do.
 Rev. George Bushnell, Worcester.
 Rev. E. Smalley, D.D., do.
 Elbridge G. Partridge, do.

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Rev. F. I. Comings, Globe Village.
 Rev. Samuel Beane, Little Compton.
 Rev. J. P. Cleaveland, D.D., Providence.
 William C. Snow, do.
 Rev. Jonathan Leavitt, do.
 Israel H. Day, do.

Rev. Leonard Swain, Providence.
 Rev. William J. Breed, do.
 Amos D. Lockwood, Slatersville.
 Rev. David Andrews, Tiverton.
 Joseph Coe, do.
 William C. Chapin, do.

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 Joshua Bird, Bethlehem.
 Rev. Charles Dickinson, Birmingham.
 George W. Shelton, do.
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 John Beach, Branford.
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 Rev. Charles B. McLean, Collinsville.
 Rev. Jarius Burt, Canton.
 Rev. Erastus Dickinson, Colchester.
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 Rev. Geo. A. Calhoun, D.D., Coventry.
 Rev. Geo. A. Bryan, Cromwell.
 John Stevens, do.
 Rev. William C. Scofield, Danbury.
 Nathaniel Barnum, do.
 Rev. J. Guernsey, Derby.
 U. H. Swift, do.
 Rev. D. W. Havens, East Haven.
 Rev. Dana Goodsell, do.
 Alfred W. Morris, do.
 Rev. Shubael Bartlett, East Windsor.
 Rev. Nahum Gale, East Windsor Hill.
 Rev. Burdett Hart, Fair Haven.
 L. F. Benton, do.
 Rev. Lyman H. Atwater, D.D., Fairfield.
 Rev. Noah Porter, D.D., Farmington.
 John E. Cowles, do.
 John Porter, Goshen.
 Rev. Caleb F. Page, Granby.
 Rev. Charles Bentley, Green's Farms.
 Rev. T. B. Sturges, Greenfield.
 Rev. Joel H. Linsley, D.D., Greenwich.
 Jonas Mead, do.
 Rev. R. M. Chipman, Guilford.
 Joel Canfield, do.
 Lyman Ford, Hamden.

Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., Hartford.
 S. Bourne, Jr., do.
 Rev. George W. Perkins, Meriden.
 Rev. Jas. T. Dickinson, Middletown.
 Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D., New Haven.
 Timothy Dwight, do.
 Rev. S. W. S. Dutton, do.
 H. M. Bidwell, do.
 Rev. William T. Eustis, Jr., do.
 Rev. Amos G. Beman, do.
 Rev. Edward Strong, do.
 Andrew W. Deforest, do.
 Rev. J. K. Brown, do.
 Rev. Samuel Johnson, do.
 Rev. Lewis Pennell, New Fairfield.
 Seelye Barnum, do.
 Lyman Hine, New Milford.
 Gerardus Roberts, do.
 Samuel Averill, New Preston.
 Rev. Joseph Eldridge, Norfolk.
 John Franklin, North Canaan.
 Rev. Charles P. Bush, Norwich.
 Rev. John P. Gulliver, do.
 Rev. Israel P. Warren, Plymouth.
 Henry Terry, do.
 Rev. N. A. Hyde, Plainfield.
 Rev. S. G. W. Rankin, Portland.
 Daniel Payne, do.
 Rev. James Kilbourne, Prospect.
 Rev. Horace Winslow, Rockville.
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Rev. Joseph D. Hull, Suffield.
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 Rev. Samuel H. Allen, Windsor Locks.
 J. H. Hayden, do.
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 Hon. Bradford R. Wood, do.
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 James E. New, do.
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 Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Brooklyn.
 Henry C. Bowen, do.
 Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., do.
 Joseph A. Sweetser, do.
 Rev. William H. Marsh, do.
 Willard Day, do.
 Rev. Dirck C. Lansing, D.D., do.
 Samuel Brush, do.
 Rev. Nathaniel H. Eggleston, do.
 William Vail, do.
 Rev. Timothy Atkinson, do.
 Thomas M. Sother, do.
 Rev. Henry W. Parker, do.
 D. O. Caulkins, do.
 Rev. John T. Marsh, do.
 Rev. O. E. Daggett, Canandaigua.
 Rev. Edward G. Tyler, do.
 Rev. A. Pryne, Cazenovia.
 M. A. Kingsbury, do.
 Rev. A. D. French, Center Lisle.
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 Lemuel Jewell, Columbus.
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 Rev. William Bement, Elmira.
 Rev. Charles O. Reynolds, Flushing.
 David S. Williams, do.
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 Rev. H. N. Dunning, Gloversville.
 Elisha Burton, do.
 Charles Mills, do.
 George Cripps, Greenport, L. I.
 John Foot, Hamilton.
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 Rev. Edward W. Gilman, Lockport.
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Rev. Felix Kyte, Lumberland.
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 Daniel Wardwell, Mannsville.
 L. D. Dana, Morrisville.
 Rev. Guy C. Strong, Moira.
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 Elijah Smith, do.
 Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, D.D., N. Y. City.
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 Rev. J. B. Grinnell, do.
 Edwin Stewart, do.
 Rev. Charles B. Ray, do.
 Rev. H. O. Schermerhorn, do.
 Samuel R. Miller, do.
 Rev. John Marsh, D.D., do.
 Thomas Ritter, M.D., do.
 Rev. Joshua Leavitt, do.
 Rev. Henry Belden, do.
 Lewis Tappan, do.
 Rev. William Patton, D.D., do.
 Jonathan D. Horton, do.
 William C. Gilman, do.
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 Rev. Pindar Field, North Pitcher.
 Andrew H. Calhoun, Owego.
 Rev. A. E. Everest, Peru.
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 Rev. L. F. Waldo, Poughkeepsie.
 T. Gregory, do.
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 Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, Williamsburgh.
 Fordyce Sylvester, do.

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 Rev. William Sutherland, Lodi.
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Ohio.

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Rev. John T. Avery, Cleveland.

H. B. Spelman, do.

Rev. E. H. Nevin, do.

Rev. E. P. Salmon, Fairfield.

J. W. Stanley, Fearing.

Rev. Thos. Adams, Thompson, Geauga Co.

Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, Hampden, do.

Rev. John C. Hart, Hudson.

Rev. Joseph Hurlbut, Litchfield.

Rev. Thomas Wickes, Marietta.

Rev. J. B. Walker, Mansfield.

Rev. M. E. Strieby, Mount Vernon.

Rev. John Keep, Oberlin.

Rev. John Morgan, do.

Rev. S. C. Leonard, Richfield.

James W. Weld, do.

Rev. E. F. Dickinson.

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M. B. Miller, Michigan City.

Rev. M. A. Jewett, Terre Haute.

Rev. Thomas S. Goodwin, Terre Haute.

Illinois.

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Rev. C. S. Cady, Barry.

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Philo Carpenter, Chicago.

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Rev. L. H. Parker, Galesburg.

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Nathaniel Coffin, Jacksonville.

Rev. J. Blanchard, Knox College.

Rev. Francis Leonard, Lyonsville.

Rev. David Todd, Providence.

Rev. G. S. F. Savage, St. Charles.

Rev. C. F. Hudson, Sycamore.

Michigan.

Rev. L. Smith Hobart, Ann Arbor.

Edwin W. Shaw, do.

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M. Israel Coe, Detroit.

Rev. Thos. Jones, Galesburgh.

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Rev. A. S. Kedzie, Kalamazoo.

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Wisconsin.

Rev. C. W. Camp, Genesee.

Lucius Field, Janesville.

Rev. Samuel D. Darling, Oakfield.

Rev. H. Freeman, Oshkosh.

Rev. Ira Tracy, Patch Grove.

Rev. John Lewis, Plattville.

Rev. E. G. Miner, Prairie du Sac.

Iowa.

Rev. E. B. Turner, Colesburg.

Rev. Julius A. Reed, Davenport.

Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., Denmark.

Rev. John C. Holbrook, Dubuque.

Rev. O. Emerson, Jr., Sabula.

Oregon.

Rev. Geo. H. Atkinson, Oregon City.

District of Columbia.

Rev. H. E. Rockwell, Washington.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

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Rev. John N. Campbell, D.D., do.	William Herrick, Cleveland, O.
Rev. J. R. Davenport, do.	Robt. B. Parsons, Flushing, L.I.
Rev. A. A. Farr, do.	Rev. T. K. Fessenden, Homer, N.Y.
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Rev. R. Jeffrey, do.	Dr. Joseph Kittridge, Nashua, N.H.
Rev. Duncan Kennedy, D.D., do.	David Baldwin, do.
Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, D.D., do.	John Bradley, do.
Rev. Henry Mandeville, D.D., do.	Israel Miner, New York city.
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Rev. S. F. Morrow, do.	Rev. Hiram Bingham, New Haven, Ct.
Rev. Henry N. Pohlman, do.	John Bradley, do.
Rev. Horatio Potter, D.D., do.	David Baldwin, do.
Rev. Sylvanus Reed, do.	Hon. Joseph Wood, do.
Rev. Samuel Salisbury, do.	Rev. Mason Grosvenor, do.
Rev. F. M. Schmidt, do.	Benj. Peabody, New Lebanon, N. Y.
Rev. Edward Selkirk, do.	John Kendall, do.
Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D., do.	Rev. T. S. Bradley, Pittsfield, Mass.
Rev. I. N. Wyckoff, D.D., do.	Rev. J. E. Blakesley, Poultney, Vt.
Rev. J. Leonard, do.	Anthony B. Arnold, Providence, R.I.
Rev. J. T. Arnold, do.	J. Stearns, Springfield, Mass.
Rev. Henry L. Starks, do.	B. P. Worcester, Washington, D.C.
Rev. E. S. Skinner, Andover, Mass.	F. N. Shaw, do.
Rev. William A. Benton, Aleppo, Syria.	Rev. Augustus Smith, Washington, Ct.

Of the Welsh Association.

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Rev. Morris Roberts, Remsen.	Rev. Evan Griffith, Utica.
G. O. Griffith, do.	L. D. Howell, do.

From Canada.

Rev. R. Robinson, Hamilton.	Rev. F. H. Marling, Montreal.
Rev. J. McKilligan, Indian Lands.	Rev. H. Wilson, St. Catharines.
Rev. Henry Wilkes, D.D., Montreal.	

Minutes.

IN accordance with a Call issued by direction of the General Association of New York, a Convention of Ministers and Delegates of Congregational Churches in the United States, assembled at Albany, New York, on Tuesday, the 5th day of October, 1852, at four o'clock, P.M.

Rev. D. C. LANSING, D.D., as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the General Association of New York, called the Convention to order. A temporary organization was effected by the appointment of Rev. EMERSON DAVIS, D.D., of Mass., as Chairman, by whom prayer was offered.

Rev. Messrs. LEONARD BACON, D.D., PARSONS COOKE, D.D., JOHN TODD, D.D., NAHUM GALE, JOHN H. BISBEE, T. S. CLARKE, D.D., and GEORGE A. OVIATT, were appointed a Committee to nominate Permanent Officers of the Convention.

Messrs. THOMAS RITTER, S. W. S. DUTTON, and B. R. WOOD, were appointed a Committee to prepare a Roll of the Convention.

Rev. Messrs. RAY PALMER, D.D., W. PATTON, D.D., and H. B. HOOKER, were appointed a Committee on Devotional Exercises.

The Committee to nominate Permanent Officers of the Convention, made their report as follows, which was adopted:

Rev. WM. T. DWIGHT, D.D., of Maine, *President.*

Rev. NOAH PORTER, D.D., of Conn.,
Rev. ASA TURNER, Iowa, } *Vice Presidents.*

Rev. R. S. STORRS, Jr., of New York,
Rev. J. C. HOLBROOK, of Iowa,
Rev. L. SMITH HOBART, of Michigan. } *Secretaries.*

Rev. Messrs. L. BACON, D.D., E. DAVIS, D.D., T. S. CLARKE, D.D., H. D. KITCHELL, J. A. REED, S. M. WORCESTER, D.D., IRA TRACY, J. P. CLEAVELAND, D.D., and Mr. T. DWIGHT, were appointed a Business Committee.

Rev. Drs. STORRS and PETERS, and Rev. Mr. STEELE, were appointed a Committee to examine the Rules of the General Association of Connecticut, and to report to-morrow morning such of said Rules as they shall judge suitable for the government of this Convention. The rules, as read, were adopted for the present session.

By vote, it was ordered that the sessions of the Convention be held as follows :—Commencing at 9 A.M., and closing at 1 P.M.; re-commencing at 3 P.M., and closing at 6 P.M.

The Committee on Devotional Exercises reported, in part, that there would be public worship in the evening, at 7½ o'clock, the sermon to be preached by Rev. J. HAWES, D.D., of Hartford; a prayer meeting, to continue one hour, commencing at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning, Rev. D. C. LANSING, D.D., to conduct the exercises; and public worship, also, to-morrow evening, at 7½ o'clock.

The Convention then took a recess till evening.

The Convention re-assembled at 7½ o'clock, P.M., for public worship. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. HAWES, from 1 Cor. 2 : 2. "For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." Rev. J. H. LINSLEY D.D., aided in the opening exercises, and Rev. L. BEECHER, D.D., offered the closing prayer.

The Committee to prepare the Roll asked that their number might be enlarged; and, by vote, Rev. Messrs. O. EMERSON, Jr., I. N. TARBOX, N. H. EGGLESTON, and Messrs. H. M. BIDWELL and A. W. DE FOREST, were added to the Committee.

The Business Committee reported, in part, the following items, for discussion in the Convention :—

1. The construction and practical operation of the "Plan of Union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists," agreed upon by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the General Association of Connecticut, in 1801.

2. The building of Church Edifices at the West.

3. The system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society.

The Convention then adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, Oct. 6th.

A Prayer Meeting was held at 8 o'clock, conducted by Rev. D. C. LANSING, D.D.

At 9 o'clock, the Convention was called to order by the President, and opened with singing, and prayer by Rev. S. BARTLETT. The Minutes of the last Session were read and approved.

The thanks of the Convention were offered to Rev. J. HAWES, D.D., for his Sermon before the body last evening, and a copy was requested for publication.

It was voted that a Committee of five be appointed, on Finance and Publication.

Rev. Messrs. J. P. CLEAVELAND, D.D., JOHN TODD, D.D., J. B. WALKER, and E. COLTON, and H. TERRY, Esq., were appointed a Committee to nominate such Committees as the Convention shall order.

The Committee on Rules recommended that the following of the Rules of the General Association of Connecticut be accepted for the government of this Convention, the terms being changed to correspond with its official titles;—and the report was adopted :

8. After the Convention is opened in the morning by prayer, the minutes of the preceding day shall be read by the secretaries.

9. The president shall preserve order and decorum in the body; and when he speaks to the merits of any question, he shall leave the chair and address himself to the vice-president.

10. Every member when he wishes to speak shall address the president.

11. No member shall speak more than twice to the merits of the question in debate, except by special permission of the body; nor more than once until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.

12. Every motion, except for adjournment, shall be reduced to writing, if the president or any two members desire it.

13. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be made except for amendment—or the previous question—to postpone—or for an adjournment. The previous question is, *Shall the main question now be put?*

14. No motion, except for reconsideration, shall be acted upon until seconded.

15. When any member, in debating or otherwise, shall transgress the rules of the body, the president shall, by his own authority, or at the request of any member, call him to order; and if a question shall arise concerning his being in order, it shall be decided by an appeal to the body.

16. When two or more rise at once, the president shall name the member who is first to speak.

18. No motion, committed to writing, shall be finally decided upon, until it shall have had three several readings, if any member require it.

19. In cases of equal divisions of votes, the president shall have a casting vote.

20. If three or more members object against the appointment of a committee by nomination, the committee shall be chosen by ballot.

The Business Committee recommended that the first item—the Plan of Union—be referred to a Committee, of two from New England, and one from each of the other States represented in this body; and, by vote, it was so ordered.

In relation to the second item, the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That a Committee of five be appointed, to take into consideration the subject of aiding feeble churches at the West, in building Church-edifices; and, if the Committee shall see fit, to report a plan for the same.

The Committee to prepare a Roll of the Convention made their report in part.

It was voted that the Committee be instructed to make out the Roll in strict accordance with the Call for this Convention.

It was voted that the Ministers and Delegates from those bodies in Ohio, now engaged in forming a General Association in that State, be considered as embraced within the terms of this Call.

It was voted, that the Evangelical Clergymen of Albany, and the Congregational Ministers present from Canada, be invited to sit with the Convention as Honorary members; also, that the Ministers and Delegates from the Welsh Congregational Association, be requested to sit with the Convention, and to take part in all its deliberations.

Rev. J. P. CLEAVELAND, D.D., was excused from further service on the Business Committee, and Rev. E. SMALLEY, D.D., was appointed to fill the vacancy.

A recess was taken for ten minutes; after which the Convention united in singing a hymn.

The Business Committee reported the following additional items of business, which were placed on the docket:—

4. The intercourse between the Congregationalists of New England and those of other States.

5. The local work and responsibility of a Congregational Church.

6. The bringing forward of Candidates for the Ministry.

7. The re-publication of the Works of our standard Theological writers.

The Business Committee recommended that the item of business No. 3,—concerning the system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society,—be referred to a Committee, of one from each State represented in this body; and that all resolutions respecting the withdrawal of aid from churches in the slaveholding States be also referred to that Committee.

The Committee on the Rules of the Convention, reported the following addition to the 11th Rule:—"And no speaker shall be allowed to occupy more than fifteen minutes at one time,"—which was adopted.

It was voted to take up for consideration, item No. 4, on the docket:—The intercourse between the Congregationalists of New England and those of other States. Upon this subject, the following preamble and resolutions were introduced:—

Whereas, for several years, insinuations and charges of heresy in doctrine, and

of disorder in practice, have been made against Congregationalists at the West, frequently too vague in their character, and too general and sweeping in their aim, to admit of refutation ; and

Whereas, Congregationalism at the West has thereby suffered greatly in the estimation of Congregationalists in New England, and of many other Christians ; therefore,

Resolved, First : That it is the duty of Congregationalists to frown upon all such accusations, unless their authors or abettors will make specific allegations, and hold themselves responsible for the same.

Resolved, Secondly : That it is very important that the General Associations, Conferences, and Conventions at the East, be careful to send Delegates to the General Associations at the West, that they may obtain reliable information respecting Western Congregationalism.

Pending the discussion of the above, the Committee on Nominations recommended the appointment of the following Committees, which by vote were so appointed :—

On the Plan of Union :—Rev. Messrs. H. HUMPHREY, D.D., and JOHN MALTBY, D.D., of New England ; Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, of New York ; Dr. J. M. WARD, of New Jersey ; Rev. T. WICKES, of Ohio ; Rev. M. A. JEWETT, of Indiana ; Rev. A. S. KEDZIE, of Michigan ; Rev. JOHN LEWIS, of Wisconsin ; Rev. G. S. F. SAVAGE, of Illinois ; and Rev. O. EMERSON, Jr., of Iowa.

On aiding feeble Churches at the West, to erect Houses of Worship :—Rev. Messrs. J. HAWES, D.D., SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., EDWARD BEECHER, D.D., and ASA TURNER, and Mr. HENRY C. BOWEN.

The Convention then adjourned till 3 P.M.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 3 O'CLOCK.

The Convention assembled, and opened its session with singing.

The Preamble and Resolutions relating to the intercourse of New England Congregationalists with those in other States, after further discussion, were adopted, with but one dissenting vote.

The Nominating Committee recommended that the Committee on Finance and Publication, consist of Rev. Messrs. W. ALLEN, D.D., W. PATTON, D.D., RAY PALMER, D.D., and Messrs. BRADFORD R. WOOD, and JOSEPH A. SWEETSER. By vote, the Committee was so constituted.

In accordance also with their recommendation, the Committee on the system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society, was constituted as follows :—

Rev. A. PETERS, D.D., of Mass.; Mr. JOSEPH STEEN, of Vermont; Mr. ALEXANDER DRUMMOND, of Maine; Mr. LEWIS TAYLOR, of New Hampshire; Rev. GEO. W. PERKINS, of Conn.; Rev. SAMUEL BEANE, of Rhode Island; Rev. H. WARD BEECHER, of New York; Rev. L. L. RADCLIFF, of Penn.; Rev. M. E. STRIEBY, of Ohio; Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD, of Illinois; Rev. E. B. TURNER, of Iowa; Rev. S. D. COCHRANE, of New Jersey; Rev. PHILO R. HURD, of Michigan; Rev. E. G. MINER, of Wisconsin; Mr. M. B. MILLER, of Indiana; and Rev. GEO. H. ATKINSON, of Oregon.

The Pastors of the Evangelical Churches of Albany, present in the Convention, and also the Congregational Ministers from Canada, and from the Welsh Association present, having been invited to sit with the Convention as Honorary members, were introduced to the Convention.

By vote, the Committee on Devotional Exercises were requested to make preparations for celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in connection with the Congregational Church in Albany, to-morrow evening.

The Committee on Finance and Publication, reported that the expense of publishing the Sermon of Rev. J. HAWES, D.D., the roll of members, a summary of the proceedings of the Convention, and blank certificates, would require about fifty cents from each member, and recommended that a collection be taken for this purpose to-morrow. The report was adopted.

The Convention then adjourned till 7½ P.M.

At 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock, P.M., the Convention met for public worship. The Sermon was preached by Rev. H. D. Kitchell, of Detroit, from Psalm 12 : 4 :—"Who have said, With our tongue will we prevail; our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?" Rev. Joseph Steele, of Vermont, aided in the opening exercises.

At the close of the services, the Convention adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THURSDAY MORNING, October 7th.

A Prayer Meeting was held at 8 o'clock, A.M., conducted by Rev. G. A. CALHOUN, D.D.

At 9 A.M., the Convention was called to order by the President. A hymn was sung, and prayer was offered by Rev. PINDAR FIELD.

The Minutes of yesterday were read and approved, as corrected.

On motion, it was voted, that all Congregational Ministers of the Gospel, and accredited members of Congregational Churches, who have come to this Convention expecting to be members thereof, but who find that they are not so by the terms of the Call,—be invited to sit in the Convention, as Honorary members.

The Committee on aiding in the erection of Church Edifices at the West, submitted their Report, which was accepted; and after discussion and amendment, the Convention Resolved:—

That the "Plan for raising FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS for the erection of Congregational Church Edifices at the West," be approved and adopted by this Convention; and that it be recommended to the consideration of the Congregational Pastors and Churches throughout the United States.

Plan for raising \$50,000 for aiding in the erection of Church-edifices at the West.

I. On the first Sabbath in January, 1853, all the Congregational Churches in the United States shall be requested to take up collections, as a New Year's offering, to aid in erecting Congregational Churches in Ohio, Michigan, Wiscon-

sin, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Minnesota; this Convention recommending to all Pastors of Congregational Churches to preach on the subject, on the said Sabbath, and urge liberal contributions.

II. This Convention shall appoint seven persons, in the city of New York and vicinity, to act as a Central Committee, to receive the money and distribute the same as hereinafter provided; with power to fill vacancies in their body, and in the State Committees, the appointment of which by this body is hereinafter provided for.

III. This Convention shall appoint a Committee of three persons in each State, who shall have the general supervision of raising money within their borders, causing notices to be published in the newspapers, and urging all the Churches to do their part; said State Committees to receive the moneys when collected, and forward the same to the Central Committee.

IV. When all the moneys raised shall be received by the Central Committee, if the same shall amount to less than \$50,000, the Central Committee, if they deem it expedient, shall use further means to make up that amount.

V. When the said sum of \$50,000 shall be received by the Central Committee, or when all the collections and subscriptions made shall be paid over to them, then said Central Committee shall apportion the same to each of the Western States and Territories, as follows, to wit:—

To the State of Ohio	8000 dollars.
“ “ of Michigan	8000 “
“ “ of Wisconsin	8000 “
“ “ of Iowa	8000 “
“ “ of Indiana	3000 “
“ “ of Illinois	8000 “
“ “ of Missouri	3000 “
“ Territory of Minnesota	4000 “

VI. After the money has been apportioned, and before it is paid over, the General Congregational body, where one exists, in each of the foregoing States and Territory, shall appoint a Committee of five, two of whom shall be laymen, to receive the sum apportioned to the State or Territory. Or, in those States where there is no general body distinctively Congregational, the State Committee provided for in Article III, shall call a Convention, of the Pastors and Stated Supplies of the Congregational Churches in such States respectively, with one lay delegate from each Church, who shall choose a Committee as aforesaid, to receive and appropriate the money apportioned to the State.

VII. Should there be a surplus, over and above the aforesaid sum of \$50,000, the same shall be appropriated, under the direction of the Central Committee, to wards the erection of Congregational Churches in the foregoing and other States and Territories.

VIII. No money shall be used for any other purpose than the erection of houses for Religious Worship.

IX. No money shall be applied to aid in erecting any Church-edifice or place of worship, unless the Committee appointed by the State Convention shall be satisfied that said Church-edifice will be completed free from all debts and encumbrances, and that aid is necessary to complete its erection; nor shall any of the funds thus collected be granted to any Church or Society for the erection of a house of worship, (except in cases which the Committee may deem peculiar,) unless the available subscription of the Church or Society applying for the same, shall amount to at least twice the sum for which they apply.

X. No sum exceeding Three Hundred Dollars, shall be given for the erection of any one house of worship.

XI. Money may be loaned for a limited time, on proper security, instead of being given as a donation, whenever the State Committees shall deem this expedient.

XII. Other Regulations and Rules, not inconsistent with the foregoing,—as providing for the supply of vacancies occasioned by deaths or removals in State Committees, fixing their terms of office, prescribing the keeping of records, the making of reports, &c., &c.—may be adopted at the discretion of each State General Association or Convention.

The Convention adopted also the following resolution, to accompany the preceding Report:—

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Convention, it is expedient that the Central Committee constituted for the aid of Churches at the West, in erecting Houses of Worship, procure plans of suitable edifices, with specifications and estimates, to be shown to Committees and others concerned in those enterprises, with a view to promoting convenience, economy and good taste, in the design and execution of the work; and, further, that before aid is granted, the State Committee be made acquainted with the plan and specifications of the buildings proposed to be erected, with liberty to insist on conformity, so far as they shall think expedient, to their directions.

A recess of ten minutes was then taken, after which the Convention united in singing a hymn, and proceeded with business.

The Committee on the construction and practical operation of the "Plan of Union of 1801," made their Report, which was accepted. The discussion on the question of its adoption was arrested at the hour of adjournment; when, by vote, the Rule referring all business to the Business Committee was suspended, and the following Preamble and Resolutions were read and unanimously adopted:—

Assembled as we are from various and distant portions of our great Republic, and deeply interested in whatever promotes the morality, the order, the peace and prosperity of our country: We, the members of this Convention, feel it a privilege and duty to unite in the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That the recent adoption by three States and one Territory, and the favorable action, of a Law which suppresses and roots out the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, called the Maine Law, is, in our opinion, an event, in the good providence of God, which calls for the gratitude and support of all who love their country and their race; and that all Congregational Ministers and Churches be earnestly requested to stand forth prominent in favor of this legislation in their respective States and Territories, and continually to make supplication to Almighty God that the good work of redemption from one of the most demoralizing and desolating evils with which we are afflicted, so happily commenced, may speedily be perfected throughout our country and throughout the world.

The Convention then adjourned, till 3 P.M.

THURSDAY, 3 O'CLOCK, P.M.

The Convention assembled, and opened its session with singing a hymn.

The discussion on the Report concerning the Plan of Union, was resumed; and it terminated in the unanimous adoption of the Report, as follows:—

The Committee on the Plan of Union, report the following Preamble and Resolutions, for the consideration of this Convention:—

Whereas, the Plan of Union formed in 1801, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Association of Connecticut, is understood to have been repudiated by the said Assembly before the schism in that body of 1838, though this year acknowledged as still in force by the General Assembly which met last at Washington, D. C.; and

Whereas, many of our Presbyterian brethren, though adhering to this Plan in some of its provisions, do not, it is believed, maintain it in its integrity; especially in virtually requiring Congregational Ministers settled over Presbyterian Churches and Congregational Churches having Presbyterian Ministers, to be connected with Presbyteries; and

Whereas, whatever mutual advantage has formerly resulted from this Plan to the two denominations, and whatever might yet result from it if acted upon

impartially, its operation is now unfavorable to the spread and permanence of the Congregational polity, and even to the real harmony of these Christian communities :—

Resolved, 1st. That in the judgment of this Convention it is not deemed expedient that new Congregational Churches, or Churches heretofore independent, become connected with Presbyteries.

2d. That in the evident disuse of the said Plan, according to its original design, we deem it important, and for the purposes of union sufficient, that Congregationalists and Presbyterians exercise toward each other that spirit of love which the Gospel requires, and which their common faith is fitted to cherish ; that they accord to each other the right of pre-occupancy, where but one Church can be maintained ; and that, in the formation of such a Church, its ecclesiastical character and relations be determined by a majority of its members.

3d. That in respect to those Congregational Churches which are now connected with Presbyteries,—either on the above mentioned Plan, or on those of 1808 and 1813, between Congregational and Presbyterian bodies in the State of New York,—while we would not have them violently sever their existing relations, we counsel them to maintain vigilantly the Congregational privileges which have been guaranteed them by the Plans above mentioned, and to see to it that while they remain connected with Presbyteries, the true intent of those original arrangements be impartially carried out.

The Committee on “the System and Operations of the American Home Missionary Society,” made the following Report, which was unanimously adopted :—

The Committee to whom was referred the “system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society,” together with all Resolutions respecting Missionary aid to Churches in the Slaveholding States, report :—

That your Committee are unanimous in their approbation of the voluntary and unsectarian character of the American Home Missionary Society, and of the wisdom and efficiency with which its affairs have been conducted.

On the subject of the Society’s relation to the Presbyterian and Congregational systems of Church polity, your Committee are of opinion that any disruption of present relations is inadvisable.

The Committee express their belief that this Society has executed its trust towards both Congregational and Presbyterian Churches with impartiality ; and that any complaints on this head will be found to result from local interests, and not from the administrative policy of the Society.

The subject of Missionary aid to Churches in Slaveholding States having been referred to the same Committee, a Report was

presented by them, together with another from the minority to the Committee. After discussion, these Reports, with a substitute offered for both, were recommitted to the same Committee, for further consideration; and the Convention adjourned till 7½ P.M.

THURSDAY EVENING, 7½ O'CLOCK.

The Convention assembled, and, with the Congregational Church in Albany and other Christian friends, united in celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, administered by Rev. HENRY WILKES, D.D., of Canada, and Rev. E. BEECHER, D.D., of Boston. The administration of the ordinance was followed by addresses, from Rev. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D., and Rev. O. E. DAGGETT.

The Convention then proceeded to business. The Committee upon the subject of "Missionary aid to Churches in Slaveholding States," presented their unanimous report, which was unanimously adopted, as follows:—

On the subject of aid to Churches in Slaveholding States, the Committee present the following Resolution:—

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to Churches in Slaveholding States, in the support of such Ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to Slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that, wherever a Minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, 'depart out of that city.'

The Convention then adjourned, to meet at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

FRIDAY MORNING, Oct. 8.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention assembled at 8 o'clock, A.M. Prayer was offered by Rev. L. ARMSTRONG.

The Business Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted:—

Whereas, This Convention is to its regret precluded, by the terms of the Call under which it is assembled, from enrolling among its members the names of those brethren who have come from the neighboring province of Canada, and also of those brethren connected with the Welsh Congregational Association; but has cordially invited them all to sit with it, as Honorary members:—

Resolved, That we regard with great interest the labors, and with great satisfaction the successes, of our brethren over the lines in promoting our common faith and order in the Provinces.

Resolved, That we greatly honor the faithful adherence of our Welsh brethren to the Evangelical faith and the Congregational order; and we advise that measures be taken to unite them in form with the General Associations of the States where they dwell, that so we may be mutually helpful in our common cause.

Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, and Messrs. GEO. H. WILLIAMS, and O. E. WOOD, were appointed a committee to publish the official proceedings of the Convention.

The Committee on Nominations recommended that the following individuals be appointed on the Central and State Committees, under the Plan to aid in the erection of Church-edifices at the West; and, by vote, they were so appointed:

Central Committee,

IN NEW YORK AND VICINITY:

HENRY C. BOWEN,
 Rev. G. B. CHEEVER, D.D.,
 ISRAEL MINER,
 Rev. R. S. STORRS, JR.,
 S. B. CHITTENDEN,
 O. E. WOOD,
 Rev. N. H. EGGLESTON.

State Committees:

MAINE.

Rev. W. T. DWIGHT, D.D.,	} Portland.
Rev. J. W. CHICKERING,	
LEVI CUTTER,	

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Rev. N. BOUTON, D.D., }
 GEORGE HUTCHINS, } Concord.
 Rev. B. P. STONE, }

VERMONT.

Rev. SILAS AIKEN, D.D., Rutland.
 Rev. CHARLES WALKER, D.D., Pittsford.
 WILLIAM NASH, New Haven.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Rev. EDWARD BEECHER, D.D., Boston,
 Rev. ELAM SMALLEY, D.D., Worcester,
 Dea. JULIUS PALMER, Boston.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rev. JONA LEAVITT, }
 A. C. BARSTOW, } Providence.
 BENJAMIN DYER, }

CONNECTICUT.

Rev. JOEL HAWES, D.D., Hartford,
 Rev. LEONARD BACON, D.D., } New Haven.
 TIMOTHY DWIGHT, }

NEW YORK.

Rev. H. W. BEECHER, Brooklyn.
 Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, Canandaigua.
 Hon. B. R. WOOD, Albany.

NEW JERSEY.

Rev. S. D. COCHRANE, Paterson,
 Rev. CHARLES BEECHER, } Newark.
 Dr. J. M. WARD, }

OHIO.

Rev. J. C. HART, Hudson,
 Rev. T. ADAMS, Thompson,
 H. B. SPELLMAN, Cleveland.

MICHIGAN.

Rev. H. D. KITCHELL, Detroit,
 Rev. L. S. HOBART, Ann Arbor,
 FRANCIS RAYMOND, Detroit.

ILLINOIS.

Rev. F. BASCOM, Galesburg,
 Rev. WILLIAM CARTER, Pittsfield,
 PHILO CARPENTER, Chicago.

INDIANA.

Rev. M. A. JEWETT, }
 Rev. L. H. RICE, }
 HENRY ROSS, } Terre Haute.

WISCONSIN.

Rev. J. J. MITER, Milwaukie,
 Rev. L. S. CLAPP, Wawatosa,
 E. D. HOLTON, Milwaukie.

IOWA.

Rev. J. C. HOLBROOK, Dubuque,
 Rev. E. ADAMS, Davenport,
 H. A. WILTZE, Dubuque.

MINNESOTA.

Rev. CHARLES SECCOMBE, St. Anthony,
 Rev. RICHARD HALL, }
 MAJ. — FURBER, } Pt. Douglas.

The following resolutions of thanks were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be, and they are hereby, presented to the First Congregational Church in Albany, to the families connected therewith and to their pastor, for their kindness and hospitality in providing for our happiness and comfort during our brief sojourn with them ; and that we desire that the choicest of Heaven's blessings may rest upon them.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be also presented to those of other denominations, who have so generously united in extending to us their liberal hospitality, and in making us feel, as they have done, that we are all one in Christ.

Resolved, That our thanks be likewise presented to those railroad corporations who have generously and promptly reduced their fares for the accommodation of this Convention.

Resolved, That our thanks be given to the Choir, who have so kindly contributed to the interest of the devotional services of the Convention.

Resolved, That the thanks of this body be presented to the Principal of the Normal School of the State of New York, and to Prof. Armsby of the Medical College, for the polite invitation extended to the members of this Convention to visit their institutions ; and also to the Trustees of the State Library.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution, in reference to the calling of a future Convention; which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the President, the Vice Presidents, and the Secretaries of this Convention, be appointed a Committee, with power to call another General Convention, in the year 1855 or previously, at such place as they may designate, —provided, that in their deliberate opinion such a Convention shall be expedient.

The subjoined resolutions, being also introduced by the Business Committee, were successively considered and adopted by the Convention:—

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

Whereas, The friends of Congregationalism in Washington city have taken measures for establishing a Congregational Church in that city, and have purchased a commodious house of worship in an eligible situation, near the City Hall:—

Resolved, That this Convention look with great interest to the success of the enterprise of planting the religious institutions of our fathers in the National Capital; and we commend the object to the attention of our brethren, for their prayers, and for such pecuniary aid as it may need during its infancy.

REPUBLICATION OF CONGREGATIONAL WORKS.

Resolved, That this Convention recognizes with gratitude the republication of the collected works of Bellamy, Hopkins, the younger Edwards, and the venerable John Robinson, by the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society of Massachusetts, and the intended republication of the works of other fathers of American Congregationalism.

Resolved, That this Convention regards the extensive circulation of such works, among the Ministers and Churches of the Congregational polity, as an object of public interest and importance.

ON INCREASING THE NUMBER OF MINISTERS.

Resolved, That in view of the alarming disproportion between the increase of our population and the increase of Ministers of the Gospel, it is recommended to the Churches, to inquire who among their youthful members are qualified, by natural gifts and by the grace of the Spirit, for the service of God in the Gospel of his Son; and to encourage and aid such persons in preparing themselves for that work.

Resolved, Also, that this Convention cordially approves of the aim and the operations of the American Education Society, and commends it to the favor of the Churches.

SUPPORT OF COLLEGES AT THE WEST.

Whereas, Many colleges exist at the West which are under the control of Boards of Trust composed of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and which came into being under the auspices, and have been founded and sustained by the common funds, of these two denominations:—

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, the interests of sound learning, and of Christian truth, and the mutual prosperity of these denominations, alike demand the perpetuation of this union.

DUTIES OF A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

Resolved, That every Congregational Church should regard itself as bound to care and labor continually for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ within its own parochial sphere; and to build itself up, not by inroads upon other Evangelical Churches, but by training up its own children in the faith and service of our Lord Jesus Christ, by promoting the intelligence, order and piety of all the households associated with them, and by systematic efforts, in the spirit of Christian love, to enlighten, evangelize and save the neglected, the ignorant, and the unbelieving.

SPECIAL PRESENT CALLS FOR SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE.

Resolved, That in an age when so much is to be done for the salvation of our country and for the diffusion of the Gospel through the world, and when the wealth of our country is developed and increased with a rapidity which threatens to overwhelm the Churches with a tide of worldliness, it is of the utmost importance for the Churches to discipline themselves to habits of Christian activity, and of systematic contribution to the great enterprises of Christian beneficence.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

Resolved, That the thanks of this body be presented to our presiding officer, for the gentlemanly, prompt and efficient manner in which he has moderated this large Convention, during its deliberation and action upon subjects of great importance to the cause of God and to the interests of man.

The following Resolutions were also unanimously adopted ; the whole Convention rising in their places, in express approbation of their spirit and terms :—

THE PURPOSE AND AIM OF THIS CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION.

Resolved, That the polity of the Congregational Churches, being eminently simple and scriptural, is and must be essentially spiritual and unsectarian.

Resolved, That while this Convention rejoices in the prosperity of Congregationalism, especially in the fields of its more recent enterprise, and in the prospect of its still more rapid and vigorous growth as the result of these counsels and deliberations, yet we here distinctly disclaim and disavow all merely sectarian zeal ; and do profess it to be our object, one and sole, to promote, through the Congregational polity, and hence in the freest and most efficient manner, the World's salvation in Jesus Christ our Lord.

The last Resolution adopted was as follows :—

GOD'S HAND IN THIS CONVENTION.

Resolved, That we gratefully and devoutly recognize the overruling providence of God, in the calling of this Convention, in the measures which have been adopted by it, and in the entire harmony of its counsels and its results.

The business of the Convention being completed, the Minutes were read and approved.

The closing prayer was offered by Rev. G. A. CALHOUN, D.D.

The Doxology was then sung ; and at 11 A.M., the Convention adjourned, without day.

WM. T. DWIGHT,
President.

R. S. STORRS, JR.,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
J. C. HOLBROOK,	
L. SMITH HOBART,	

ALBANY, October 8, 1852.

Christ and Him Crucified,

THE GREAT THEME OF EVANGELICAL PREACHING; THE WORLD'S HOPE
AND THE BASIS OF CHURCH PROSPERITY.

A SERMON,

Preached before the Convention of Congregational Ministers,

IN THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN ALBANY,

OCT. 5th, 1852.

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Sermon.

BELOVED brethren in the ministry and friends of our common Savior:—When called, very unexpectedly, a few days since, to address you on the present occasion, I greatly desired that I might be enabled so to perform the service assigned me as to make it promotive of the object for which we are met,—the prosperity of our churches and the glory of Christ in our land. In casting about for a subject, I quickly decided not to take one of a denominational or sectarian character; for I felt that in doing so I should offend both against the spirit of Congregationalism and the wishes of those who compose this Convention. It seemed, too, improper, that in my place and at this stage of our meeting, I should assume to make out a programme of business, or discourse on topics that might be expected to come up for general discussion. I felt myself little qualified to attempt such a service, and I willingly deferred it to those present who are better able than myself to do it justice. Having thus narrowed down my range of subjects, I rejoiced to find myself within the circle of our common Christianity, and was readily drawn to what we all regard the central point of that Christianity,—Christ and him crucified; the great theme of evangelical preaching, the world's hope and the basis of church prosperity.

Taking this as my stand-point, I have the pleasing hope that I shall carry along with me the sympathies and the prayers of my hearers, while I direct their attention to the words of Paul recorded in

1 *Corinthians* 2 : 2.—FOR I DETERMINED NOT TO KNOW ANYTHING AMONG YOU, SAVE JESUS CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED.

It was the great animating principle and governing purpose of the Apostle's ministry, to make manifest the glory of his Savior, and to proclaim his atoning blood as the only ground of hope to lost man. In this, as in everything else relating to the duties of the sacred office, his example is worthy of all imitation. Let us then bend our attention to the Scripture before us, and consider :—

I. What is the import of the Apostle's determination. And

II. What were the reasons which influenced him in forming it.

I. Now to know, or, which is the true meaning of the phrase—to make known Christ and him crucified is to proclaim him in the glory of his person and excellence of his work, especially that part of his work that consists in his giving himself to die as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. To do this, the Apostle tells us, was the deliberate and settled purpose of his ministry. We are not, however, to infer from his language in our text that he meant to confine his preaching to the single topic of Christ crucified. This would be putting a construction upon his words that would prove him false to his own determination, and make him a very unskillful dispenser of divine truth. He doubtless preached at Corinth the same system of religion that he did at Rome, and taught the same doctrines in his sermons that he did in his epistles. We know from the history of his ministry that his preaching did take a very wide range, embracing the being, perfections, law and government of God, the character, state and destiny of man, together with the various duties that grow out of our numerous relations and circumstances in life.

To ascertain the true meaning of the Apostle's determination, we must advert to the circumstances in which he was placed

when he formed it. He was then at Corinth, a city famous for its school of philosophy and rhetoric, and for the ingenuity and learning of its inhabitants. There he was surrounded, on the one hand, by philosophers and self-reputed wise men, who insisted upon the sufficiency of natural religion, or what they styled wisdom, and demanded that everything presented to them in the form of instruction should be dressed out in the most elegant style, and delivered according to the rules of the most finished rhetoric. They were proud of their philosophy, and boasted of their wisdom, and deemed *them* a sufficient foundation on which to build their faith and their hopes.

On the other hand, he was beset with Jews and judaizing teachers, who insisted upon the perpetual obligation of the law of Moses, and taught that none could be saved but by an observance of its rites and ceremonies. These were bigoted in their attachment to the religion of their fathers, and could not endure to have taken from them the hopes they built upon it, of justification before God. In these circumstances, the Apostle, instead of falling in with the sentiments of either party, set aside the claims of both. He resolved not to preach philosophy to please the Greeks, nor the law of Moses to gratify the Jews. He regarded both as utterly insufficient to secure the salvation of the soul, and he therefore determined to preach neither, but to present Christ crucified as the only foundation of hope to guilty man. And he determined to preach him, not with excellency of speech and of wisdom, not in the studied artificial style of Grecian eloquence, but with all simplicity and plainness, that the faith of his converts, as he says, should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. The main thing then which the Apostle had in view in his determination was to *exclude* every other ground of hope, but Christ crucified, and to present him in his personal glory and atoning sacrifice, as the only name under heaven, whereby men can be saved. He did not mean to say that he would preach on no other subject, but that he would exhibit no other ground of hope. Christ crucified, he felt assured, is "God's

grand ordinance" for saving a ruined world; and he knew, for he had been taught it by inspiration, that nothing could be done in delivering men from the power and the punishment of sin, but by holding him forth in the true dignity of his person and perfection of his work; the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world. This, therefore, he determined to make the great leading object of his ministry.

In addition to this, it is, no doubt, implied in his determination, that he meant to make the doctrine of Christ crucified a subject of frequent and distinct discussion, to dwell upon it much and earnestly in preaching the Gospel. He regarded this doctrine as holding such a prominent place in the system of revealed truth, and so fundamental in the plan of salvation, that he resolved never to lose sight of it, but to make it the basis of his ministry and the life of his services. He determined that on whatever subject he preached, or whatever duties he enjoined, the doctrine of Christ crucified should support all, illustrate all, enforce all, and pervade all by its heavenly light and quickening power. He would have all his instructions tend towards Christ, all his exhortations point to Christ, all the lines of his ministry and labors of his life meet and center in Christ, and thus manifest his glory and extend the triumphs of his cross in the salvation of dying men.

Such is the import of the Apostle's determination. Let us consider :

II. The reasons that influenced him in forming it. It strikes us as remarkable, at first view, that the Apostle should adopt a purpose like that in our text, which was opposed to the whole current doctrine and sentiment of his day, which exposed him to the bitterest scorn and reproach of the world, and made his whole life a scene of the greatest self-denial and suffering, and finally brought him to a martyr's death. He must have had strong reasons for adopting the course he did. What were they ?

Answer:—

1. Paul regarded the doctrine of Christ crucified as constituting the grand, distinguishing peculiarity of the Gospel. The Gospel, as distinguished from the law, and also from natural religion, is a *remedial* system. It is a scheme of mercy, not discoverable by the light of nature, but made known in the revelation of God, for the recovery of lost men to his image and favor. But what is more ; it is a scheme built entirely on the mediation of Christ. The pardon and eternal life revealed in the Gospel are not an absolute, unconditional gift of God ; but the purchase of a Savior's atoning blood ; the fruit of his suffering unto death. We are redeemed from the curse of the law, not by the blotting out of its sanctions, but by Christ bearing the curse for us ; making expiation for our sins by the sacrifice of himself. Hence, the Bible abounds in such language as the following :—Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin. Whom, that is, Christ, God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. He was once offered to bear the sins of many. He became sin, that is, a sin offering for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. We are reconciled to God by the death of his Son ; are washed from our sins in his blood ; are saved by his death ; and have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins, through his blood.

These, and numerous other passages that might be cited, set the fact before us with great distinctness, that salvation comes to us only through Christ, giving himself a ransom for us ; dying that we might live through his atoning sacrifice. And this, we say, is the distinguishing truth of the Gospel. *Forgiveness of sin through the atonement of Christ*—this makes the Gospel what it is, glad tidings to perishing sinners, and distinguishes it from every other system of religion.

Natural religion teaches us the being and perfections of God ; our accountability to him as the subjects of his government, the immortality of the soul, many of our social and relative duties, and a future state of rewards and punishments. But it reveals no way in which sinners, like ourselves, can be pardoned. It

shows us our guilt ; but tells us not how it may be washed away. It warns us of danger as exposed to the displeasure of a righteous God ; but points us to no refuge and opens before us no way of reconciliation to our offended Sovereign. Hence the poor heathen are, and ever have been in profound darkness on this subject. And so are infidels, and all who reject the hope of Israel, and the Savior thereof. Despair hangs heavy on the spirit at the approach of death, and no voice of mercy speaks of pardon and peace, as the soul passes, in the dimness of nature's light, to its dwelling place beyond the grave. Here the Gospel comes in with its overtures of pardon and means of reconciliation through a crucified Savior. It shows us God in Christ reconciling the world to himself ; and pointing us to the Lamb of God, the appointed sacrificial victim that taketh away the sin of the world, it bids us look unto him and live, and assures us that believing in him we shall be justified freely by his grace, have peace with God and rejoice in hope of his glory.

The doctrine of Christ crucified, then, lies at the foundation of the Gospel. It is the distinguishing characteristic of the Christian system, and forms the broad line of separation between it and all that is called religion. This, then, was one reason why Paul determined to make the doctrine of Christ crucified the great prominent theme of his preaching. It constitutes the essential glory of the Gospel.

2. Another reason that influenced the Apostle in his determination is the fact that the doctrine in question affords the clearest and most affecting views of the character of God, especially of his justice and mercy, his goodness and truth. I look up to the heavens, and abroad over creation, and I everywhere behold evidences of an all-wise, powerful, reigning God ; but in the light of natural religion, I cannot know what he is to me, nor what I have to expect from him. I shrink from his holiness. I tremble before his awful majesty, and I see not how I, a poor, needy sinner, can approach his throne with confidence, or look up to him with

hope as my Father. An impenetrable vail hides his highest moral glory from my view; and it is only as I turn to contemplate him as seen in his Son, my Savior, that I behold the infinite attractions of his love and am drawn to him in filial affection and trust. Hence it is said,—*No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* If we would study the character and ways of God to the greatest advantage, we must place ourselves at the foot of the cross, and view them as illustrated in the work of redemption. Here angels love to study this character, as in their bright abodes they desire to look into these things; and principalities and powers, during eternal ages, will be learning the manifold wisdom of God as displayed in the redemption of his Church, through the mediation of his Son our Savior. Here the infinite wisdom, the spotless holiness, the immutable justice, the eternal love, the abounding mercy of our God, all shine forth in beautiful harmony and glory. No one darkens or eclipses the other; every one gives a luster to the rest. The Eternal stands before us the righteous Lawgiver, the wise moral Governor, the merciful Father, the true and faithful, yet kind and gracious God; the *just God and Savior*. Nowhere does the justice of God appear so inflexible, his mercy so attractive, his wisdom so profound, or his truth so immutable as in the gift of his Son to die for the redemption of a lost world, and in the Son's giving himself to endure the mysterious agonies of the cross, that sinners might live through him.

“ Here the whole Deity is known :
Nor dares a creature guess,
Which of the glories brightest shone,
The justice or the grace.”

Here God appears at once the sinner's friend, and sin's eternal foe,—delighting to forgive and show mercy; but in no wise clearing the guilty by giving up the claims of his justice, or waiving his rights as Lawgiver and Ruler of the world.

3. As another reason that influenced the Apostle in his deter-

mination, I mention the perfect adaptation of the doctrine of Christ crucified to the character and state of man as a fallen, perishing sinner. In this character man is oppressed with innumerable wants which no created power can remove. He is guilty and needs pardon; he is sinful and needs renewal of heart; he is spiritually poor and needs to be enriched from the treasures of grace; he is weak, frail, dying, and needs the upholding care and guidance of an Almighty friend; he is going to the judgment and eternity, and he needs what will save him from the wrath to come, secure for him a friend in his Judge, and make him an heir of immortal happiness in the state beyond the grave. These wants press upon all the children of men; and they fill the world with sighs and groans and tears. And how are they to be met and removed? Who can tell me how I can have my sins forgiven, my fallen, shattered nature renewed, my spirit cheered with the love of God, and my path to death and the grave brightened with the hope full of immortality? The world has no answer to these questions. Philosophy is silent, or speaks only to torture my anxious bosom with increased perplexity and doubt. Human wisdom, in all its pride and boasting, has not a word to say, when her oracles are consulted on the high concerns of pardon, of reconciliation to God, of judgment, and the scenes following the judgment. Here again the doctrine of Christ crucified comes in, dissipates my doubts, removes my fears, speaks peace to my mind, and spreads a cheering light over all the scenes of the future. It *assures* me of the infinite love and compassion of God, in that he gave his Son to die for me, and draws me to his throne with humble boldness to ask for the supply of all my wants, in the Mediator's name. It shows me God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself; not imputing the trespasses of them that believe in him. And while there comes forth from the cross of Christ an assurance of God's willingness to pardon and save even the chief of sinners, there emanates from the same source an influence to enlighten, to sanctify, to animate with hope, to cheer with victories over the world, and to encourage with pledges of eternal blessedness

beyond the scenes of earth and time. In this view the doctrine of Christ crucified is eminently a doctrine of consolation, of joy and peace and hope. It comes home to the bosom, not as a dry speculation, a cold dogma of philosophy, but warm with the sympathies of everlasting love; and placing you on the broad ground of an atonement made for the sins of the world, bids you look up to God as a forgiving Father, and receive pardon, grace and eternal life as a free gift. It assures you that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin; and that, found in him, he becomes to you wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. No condemnation can reach you either in this or the future world; but passed from death unto life, you have peace with God and rejoice in hope of his glory. In the faith of this doctrine the poor, the guilty, the sorrowful and the lost have in every age found strong consolation, and in the light and comfort of it have passed the time of their sojourning on earth in peace, and met death in the triumphs of joy and hope. How was it that Paul, a blasphemer and a persecutor, obtained pardon and hope; how was it that amid persecutions and trials of every kind, he was enabled to maintain such habitual peace of mind and to sing so sweet a song in the house of his pilgrimage? He tells us in one short sentence; Christ loved me and gave himself to die for me, therefore God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of Christ; and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of his precious name; and will know nothing but Him and him crucified in preaching the gospel of his grace to guilty, perishing men.

4. As another reason for this determination, I mention the *tendency* of the doctrine of Christ crucified; its power above all other means to bring men to repentance and a holy life. Account for it as we may, the fact is undeniable, that the doctrine in question has, in all ages of the world, turned into feebleness all other means of awakening and saving men from the dominion and the curse of sin. It has been clothed with a power, alto-

gether its own, to arouse the conscience, subdue the heart, and bring the life into a conformity to the will of Christ. Though the preaching of this doctrine in primitive times by Paul and his fellow-apostles was accounted foolishness, and despised as among the weak things of the world, it nevertheless proved itself, by actual results, to be the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation. The efficacy of this doctrine Paul had felt in his own soul; it made him a new man; by it the world was crucified to him, and he to the world; and witnessing, as he did, every where its triumphs in the conviction and conversion of men, he wisely and firmly determined, in the face of all the ignominy and reproach that were cast upon him, to make this doctrine the burden of his preaching. A mighty energy attended the simple preaching of the cross. Wherever he went proclaiming this doctrine, the Spirit of almighty grace was present with him; the altars and temples of idolatry crumbled into dust; the darkness of ages rolled away, and thousands, awakened as by the voice of God from the slumbers of sin, rose to newness of life, and pressed to the gate of glory. And so it has been in all ages since the days of the Apostles. Christ crucified is God's grand ordinance for reconciling sinners to himself. And when this doctrine has been proclaimed in its native simplicity—unencumbered with philosophy, unmixed with metaphysics, there God has borne testimony to the word of his grace, by the effusions of his Spirit, and souls have been converted to Christ. The affecting experience of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland is well known. For many years did they labor to teach the benighted pagans the existence and attributes of God, and, generally, the doctrines of natural religion. Never was work more unsuccessful. The heart of the Greenlander, cold as his own snows, was unmoved, and the missionaries appeared to labor in vain. At length, it happened that one of them read in the hearing of a savage the account of the Savior's sufferings in the garden and on the cross. How is this, said the poor pagan; tell me it once more, for I would be saved; and laid his hand on his mouth and wept. This was the com-

mencement of a marvelous work of grace among the benighted Greenlanders; which continued for a long time and resulted in the conversion of many hundreds; and here was illustrated anew the principle of the Gospel adapted to all ages and people, that the story of a suffering, atoning Savior is the grand means of teaching sinners every where their guilt, and of drawing tears of repentance from eyes which but for that would never weep. Similar to this was the experience of Brainerd while laboring as a missionary among the Indians of our country. The most powerful impressions he ever witnessed on their dark minds, he tells us, were under a discourse he addressed to them on the love of Christ in giving himself to die for sinners. While dwelling on this theme, with his own heart filled with the spirit of it, the assembly seemed pervaded by a mighty subduing influence, and great numbers of them bowed in penitence and faith under the doctrine of Christ crucified, and testified their love to his precious name by lives consecrated to his service. Did time permit, I might cite numerous other examples of the same kind. The Gospel, in its grand distinguishing element of Christ crucified, has gone in among the people of the Sandwich Islands, and, within our own times, has changed the whole plan and mould of society; banishing idolatry, infanticide, licentiousness and crime, and gathering thousands into the church of Christ, washed and purified by his grace. It has gone in among the poor degraded inhabitants of Southern Africa, among the ferocious tribes of our own country, among the refined voluptuous Asiatics, and the wild savages in the islands of the Pacific, and by its mighty transforming influence has led forth multitudes of disciples for the Lord Jesus, purifying their hearts by faith in him as a crucified Savior. But where, I may ask, in all the world have such changes in human character been wrought, except where this doctrine has been taught and a prominent place given it in the teachings of the ministry?

I must just add, that as the doctrine of Christ crucified has always been found the most efficacious in the awakening and con-

version of *sinner*s, so also it has in quickening and comforting Christians and making them fruitful unto God. No other doctrine speaks with such a voice of power to the inner man; no other doctrine can so melt and subdue the heart, can so fill it with joy and peace in believing, with love to God and love to men, or so transform the soul into the image of Christ and fit it for his presence in heaven. Yes, and when the redeemed shall be gathered home to heaven and stand each one on Mount Zion with palms of victory in their hands and crowns of glory on their heads, Christ who died to redeem them will be the supreme object of attraction, and the grateful song will burst forth from every heart,—Unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father—to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever.

In passing to an application of our subject to practical purposes, I remark :

1. *It fixes the standard of true evangelical preaching.* If the Apostle was right in determining to make Christ and him crucified the great theme of his preaching, then the preaching of others is evangelical only so far as it imitates this inspired example. Preaching may be learned, may be eloquent, may be very interesting and stirring as an exhibition of talent and genius, and yet have no claim whatever to the character of evangelical preaching. It may discourse elegantly and forcibly on moral topics; it may discuss the nature and destiny of man as rational and immortal; the law and government of God; the guilt and punishment of sin, and the retributions of a future judgment, all subjects of importance, and not to be excluded from their proper place in the instructions of the pulpit; and yet there may be in all this so little reference to Christ and him crucified, so little of the peculiar spirit of the Gospel as a system of mediation and mercy for lost men, that it can with no propriety be regarded as preaching Christ, or as evangelical

in its character. And here, there can be no doubt, lies a chief defect in the preaching of the present day: It does not give sufficient prominence to Christ, to his person, to his character, to his work in giving himself to die for the sins of the world. It is often versatile, ingenious, speculative, polished; but it dwells not enough on topics immediately connected with the atoning sacrifice and mediation of Christ. And the subjects which it does discuss are not viewed sufficiently in their relation to Christ, nor are they so presented as to turn the eyes and the hearts of men to *Him* who is the source and center of all spiritual life and hope and salvation. In a word, there is a great deal of preaching which is anything else but preaching Christ and him crucified. But preaching which is essentially defective in this particular, whatever other qualities it may possess, cannot deserve the name of evangelical preaching. Nor can it in any manner accomplish the great end of preaching. It cannot convince of sin, nor bring the soul to Christ, nor build it up in joy, and faith, and hope. It is dry, weak, powerless as to all spiritual results. It may amuse the curious, the gay, and the worldly; but it has no consolation for the sorrowful, no peace for the conscience, and no hope full of immortality for the miserable and the lost. It is not owned of God, as his wisdom and power unto salvation; and it is not owned of him to this end, because it does not bear testimony to the Son of his love, nor speak of his atoning blood as the only ground of hope for guilty man. And the preaching, I repeat, which is obviously defective in this particular, which does not make Christ the soul and the center of its ministrations, always has been, and always must be inefficient and fruitless,—failing entirely in all the great ends of the ministry—bringing sinners to repentance, and maturing Christians for the purity and bliss of heaven. The testimony of Dr. Chalmers on this point has often been referred to. Twelve years he preached the reformations of morality, and honesty, and integrity among his people, leaving out Christ and him crucified as the basis of his ministrations; and he tells us, as the result,

that he labored in vain, and spent his strength for naught ; none of those to whom he ministered being made more moral or more honest by his preaching. The same has always been the result, wherever the experiment has been made. On the other hand, the preaching that dwells much and affectionately on Christ, that makes him first and fundamental in its ministrations, enforcing its instructions by motives drawn from the love of Christ, and making all the lines of its influence meet and center in him,—such preaching is never left without decisive tokens of God's approbation. He attends it with the power of his Spirit ; sinners are awakened and converted, and Christians are edified in faith and love.

I have before referred to the experience of David Brainerd, and the Moravian missionaries. And I will now add that of the celebrated Gossner, a converted Catholic priest, who is, or was a few years since, a Protestant clergyman in Berlin. It is said that he has probably been the means of the immediate conversion of more souls than any man living. Yet, he seldom varies in his manner of preaching. The love of Christ is almost his constant theme ; and his preaching is almost a constant pouring out of the warm effusions of the heart on the love of God, the preciousness of the Savior, the glory of his salvation, and the blessedness of heaven, where Christ reigns. Preaching of this kind may, in the estimation of a worldly mind, seem devoid of the elements of power. But facts demonstrate the contrary. It brings to needy, guilty man a message adapted to his deepest wants ; a message of love, of pardon and life from his God ; it tells him of the kindness and compassion of one who has died for his redemption, and risen again for his justification ; it tells him of help provided for him in the agency of the Holy Spirit ; it speaks to him in a voice of tenderness and love, warning him indeed of danger, but pointing to a way of escape ; and while it proffers all needed aid to the poorest and most guilty of our race, it allures to heaven, and directs the steps in the path thither, by unfolding the joys of salvation, and holding out the crown of

eternal glory. This is Gospel; this is glad tidings; and rely upon it, brethren, the nearer we keep the Gospel in these views of it to our hearts, and the more we dwell upon it as a doctrine of Christ crucified, a suffering, sympathizing, reigning Savior, the nearer will Christ be to our souls, the more of his presence shall we enjoy in our ministry, and the more pure and abundant will be the fruit gathered to the glory of his name and the advancement of his cause.

Taking our place at the foot of the cross, abiding there in communion with our crucified Master, and doing our work in the spirit which that position is suited to inspire and to cherish, our preaching will be in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. We shall dwell in light and love ourselves; and great will be our joy in leading on to heaven souls redeemed by the blood of Christ, sanctified by his grace, loving and honoring his precious name, preparing to be hereafter our joy and crown of rejoicing in the presence of our and their Lord and Savior.

2. *Does not our subject suggest the means on which we are chiefly to rely in seeking to promote the prosperity and extension of our churches?* This is an object dear to our hearts, and we have come together in this Convention in the hope that we might do something for its advancement. But how is this to be done? Not surely by inflaming and diffusing a sectarian or denominational zeal. Congregationalism repudiates such zeal, and can have no fellowship with it, whether it breaks out, as it occasionally does, in its own body, or as manifested in other denominations. It is of a larger, freer, more expansive spirit, and naturally seeks communion and co-operation with all of every name that love our Lord Jesus Christ, in sincerity and in truth. Congregationalists, properly speaking, never were a sect, and never can be, till they renounce the true spirit of their order. At the first they organized churches on what they believed to be scriptural principles; then, when inquired of by others, they freely gave a full and explicit statement of their faith and order,

leaving it to them to say, whether they would extend to them the right-hand of fellowship as churches of Christ. This is as it should be; and we can hope to prosper as a denomination only as we cherish the same spirit and act on the same principle—*fellowship with all who hold the Head, and co-operation with all who will co-operate with us in building up the cause of our common Savior.* In seeking to promote the true interests of the churches in our connection, we can have nothing to do with the spirit of sect which would separate us from other branches of the Church of Christ, and draw us off to work *within ourselves and for ourselves*, regardless of the general good. Such a spirit is bad in itself, and it makes a sorry appearance at the foot of the cross or by the side of the spirit of our text. Christ, it should be remembered, was not crucified for Congregationalists alone, nor for Presbyterians alone, nor for Methodists, nor for Baptists, nor for Episcopalians alone; but for all of every name who own him as their Lord and trust in his atoning blood for salvation; and the doctrine we have been considering, fully recognizing this fact, forbids us to attempt to promote the interests of our particular denomination by any measures that shall infringe on the rights, or obstruct the prosperity, of other portions of the great family of Christ. Nor if we plant ourselves on the doctrine of Christ crucified, and act in the true spirit and intent of it, can we *possibly* be disposed to adopt such measures, or pursue any such narrow sectarian policy? No, brethren; if we would see our churches prosper, built up in faith and holiness, and spread abroad through the land, blessed with revivals, and increased continually in the number and fruitfulness of their communicants, let our ministry be deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ crucified; let them abide near the cross; there invigorating their faith and love, there studying their theology, there enlarging their charity, there strengthening their zeal, their self-denial, and devotedness; and thus made ready, thoroughly furnished unto every good work, let them go forth to proclaim to the people the unsearchable riches of Christ, seeking to

breathe into the Churches the same spirit, and to animate them with the faith and love of the same truths that live and reign in their own bosoms ; let our ministry and our churches go forth to their respective duties in the spirit and in the manner here indicated, and strength and salvation from the Lord are surely ours. Here, it seems to me, are the means, and the only means on which we can safely rely for promoting the prosperity and extension of our churches. Sectarianism we cannot away with ; it has no affinity with our order, and we should give it no place in our counsels or our measures. We have no hierarchy to rely upon, and we want none. We have no wide extended organization, strongly interlocked and compacted together ; a net-work of courts and governments and appeals thrown over our churches and binding them in on every side. Such things, if they are an advantage, other denominations may boast of and rely upon ; but we have them not. The frame-work around our churches is very simple, and our *external* machinery for propagandism is naught. Our polity is the worst possible for all sectarian uses. The only bond that binds us together is the unity of the spirit, kept in the pledge and culture of peace. We have no other reliance for strength or for growth. We fall back, then, of necessity, on the truth and Spirit of God. These are the weapons of our warfare—not carnal, but spiritual ; and we have no other to make use of, either for aggression or defense. Hitherto, these have been sufficient for every emergency ; a sure ground of prosperity and strength, and on these, primarily and chiefly, must we rely in time to come. And if, in the spirit of our crucified Master, and in the faith and power of the great truths taught us by his cross, we go forth to our work, *out-preaching, out-praying, out-living* our brethren of other denominations, in Christian zeal and beneficence, we shall surely outstrip them in the career of prosperity ; our churches will be multiplied and spread over our land as strong, bright watch-towers of the Gospel, existing not to make war upon other portions of the sacramental host of God's elect, but rejoicing in their onward march

and rising prosperity, and ever ready, not to fight against them, but to unite with them in fighting against the common enemies of our Lord and man's salvation.

3. Does not our subject suggest the spirit and aim by which we should be governed in the deliberations of this Convention?

We have come here from different and distant parts of our country, servants of a crucified Master, and ministers of his Gospel, to consider by what means we can best promote the honor of his name and the advancement of the common cause of his Gospel. The occasion is one of great interest, the only one of the kind that has occurred in our denomination for 172 years, and much, very much, depends on the spirit in which we conduct our deliberations, and the end we aim to accomplish by them. The eyes of other denominations throughout the country are turned upon us; and, what is more, the eyes of our blessed Lord and Savior are turned upon us, and he expects us to be actuated in all our counsels and measures by the spirit he manifested in giving himself to die for us and a lost world.

I mistake, if any in this convention have come here with a sectarian, divisive spirit, or have any wish or purpose to press measures that shall separate us more widely from those of our brethren with whom we have hitherto been accustomed to co-operate. If there are such, I am sure they must be few; and I am still more sure, that their counsels cannot prevail. We have come together for peace, for mutual fellowship and consultation respecting our common interests, and I have a strong persuasion that the result of our meeting will be, not only to bind us together more closely as a denomination, but to place us on the ground of a more ready and harmonious co-operation with our brethren of other denominations, especially with our Presbyterian brethren, who are our natural allies, and with whom we have so long sustained relations mutually and eminently useful and happy. They hold the same faith with us in a crucified Savior, and preach the same system of doctrines. And we can have no

wish to separate from them, so long as, in good faith, they are disposed to co-operate with us in promoting the common cause. We feel that nothing is to be gained, on either side, by such a separation, certainly nothing to the cause of our common Christianity; but much, very much to be lost. Our voice therefore is for peace; is for mutual good-will and fraternal co-operation; especially in all the great benevolent movements of the day; separating only where we must and can with perfectly kind feeling, in things non-essential, matters of church order and government. But standing on my watch-tower and looking at the signs of the times, I most seriously fear that the day is not distant when the separation here deprecated will be effected. I fear there are some among our Presbyterian brethren, and some perhaps among our own, who, most unwisely, as I think, are wishing to sever the two denominations, and put an end to all such co-operation as has hitherto existed between them. This, I must believe, is eminently unhappy and altogether of evil tendency. We of New England, we Congregationalists as a body, may I not say, wish for no such thing; we deprecate and shall act against it; certainly shall do nothing to hasten it. And we say here that if separation in those matters in which we have hitherto been united, must come, let it all come from one side; let us do nothing here or elsewhere, either to hasten or to consummate it; and then when it is done, we shall see, and our Presbyterian brethren will see, on which side is the gain and on which side is the loss. But why need this be? Why, in either denomination, should there be any jealousy, any strife, as to who shall be first, or any disposition to sever or to weaken the ties that bind us together? Difficulties to some extent may of course be expected to arise in our new and sparsely settled states in the organization of churches, in the settlement of pastors, and in the location and support of missionaries sent out by our Home Missionary Society. These, however, for the most part, can be easily overcome, or at least easily borne, if met in the spirit of Christian love and forbearance. But who can estimate the evils that would be sure to result

from a final and fixed separation of these denominations; a separation that would cut directly through many of the infant churches of the West, that would sunder our benevolent societies, send a sectarian influence far over the foreign missionary field, and create endless jealousies and strifes between brethren at home? No, let us bear and forbear, a long time, before we, on either side, be accessory in bringing upon our respective churches such evils as these. We have no jealousy in relation to our Presbyterian brethren; we acknowledge them as brethren in Christ, we love them as such; we bid them God-speed in all their efforts to multiply and extend their churches; we have long been accustomed to send them our men and our money to aid them in this work; we shall be most ready and happy to do so in time to come; nor shall we be "careful to go into any close sectarian calculation of the gains and losses to each denomination respectively in the operation of the great societies through which our charities flow." All we ask in return is a reciprocation of kind, Christian feeling, and a readiness, so far as there may be opportunity, to co-operate with us on *equal terms*, in the common cause of spreading the light and blessings of the Gospel through our land and world. This, we are sure, is right, is in the spirit of our Master, in the spirit of Christ crucified; and may all the deliberations and measures of this Convention be in the spirit and with the aim here indicated! Then all will be well; and we shall return to our homes strengthened and refreshed in spirit, and rejoice with our people in the happy results of our meeting.

4. Finally, how great is the honor and privilege of being ministers of the crucified Savior; his appointed heralds to publish salvation through his atoning blood to lost men. Here, brethren, let us kneel at the foot of the cross, and humbly and gratefully adore the grace that has called us to bear a part in this high and holy work; and bathing our souls in the spirit of Him who gave himself to die for us, trusting in his mercy and rejoicing in hope of his glory, we shall account no trials great, no labors severe,

which we may be called to endure in preaching Christ and him crucified to our dying fellow-men. Like Paul we shall account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of his precious name; and like him we shall be willing to suffer the loss of all things, if so we may honor our Redeemer in winning souls to his love, and training them up for the joys of his eternal kingdom. We are called to exercise our ministry in widely separated portions of the common vineyard; some as pastors in the older and established churches of the East, and some as pastors and missionaries in the new and scattered and comparatively feeble churches of the West. But the field is one, the work is one, the Master is one, one the heaven to which we go, and one the reward that awaits us there. Trials and privations and toils are incident to the sacred office every where. Paul knew them in all their incessant and exhausting severity; but he never saw the day, no, not when suffering hunger and cold and nakedness; not when he was whipped and stoned; not even when he was thrust into the inner dungeon in the gaol at Philippi, and was led forth on the Appian way to be put to death; no, he never saw the day when he would have exchanged the ministry he had received of the Lord Jesus for the scepter and the crown of the mightiest monarch on earth. The secret of all was this: the love of Christ constrained him and his presence cheered him, and the hope of his glory made all his trials seem light and momentary. And so with us, my brethren. The love of Christ in us and his presence with us, and the hope of his eternal smiles in heaven cheering us,—these will sweeten all our cares, lighten all our toils, and make all the way before us bright and pleasant as illumined with rays from the Eternal Throne. Our brief day of labor in the service of our Master will soon be over, and in heaven, if through grace we attain that pure and happy world, it will be pleasant to look back and recount our toils, our triumphs and our victories in the cause of our glorious Redeemer, while we shall cast our crowns at his feet and sing forever with all the ransomed of the Lord,—Unto him that loved us and washed us

from our sins in his own blood and hath made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father—to him be glory and dominion forever and ever.

I close in the words of one who a few months since addressed an assembly not unlike this, and on an occasion very similar to the present :*

“ We individually shall not live and labor long. We shall be assembled as we are now but once in our lives—and soon from this convocation we shall go back to our individual fields of labor,—to work perchance a little longer, or to lie down and die. Associated together, or as individuals, may the Spirit of glory and of God rest upon us,—that in these united counsels we may be led to results that shall be well pleasing to our Master; that while life lasts we may maintain those great principles which we have received; and that we may send them onward, to future times, to bless and save those who shall live when we are dead.”

* Rev. Mr. Barnes.

Appendix.

IN conformity with the expressed wishes of many members and friends of the Convention, the Publishing Committee have concluded to publish in pamphlet form, with a view to permanent preservation, as full a report as could be made of the principal debates that took place in that body. The discussions that were deemed of general importance were on five subjects, viz. :—

1. THE RELATIONS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN CONGREGATIONALISTS.
 2. PROVISION FOR BUILDING CHURCH-EDIFICES AT THE WEST.
 3. THE PLAN OF UNION WITH PRESBYTERIANS.
 4. THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, WITH THE RELATIONS OF SLAVERY TO THE CAUSE OF HOME MISSIONS.
 5. CONCLUDING ADDRESSES.
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I. RELATIONS AND INTERCOURSE OF THE EAST AND WEST.

This subject having been placed on the docket by report of the Business Committee, it was called up for consideration.

Dr. BACON then offered the following resolution, which he said had been put in his hands by a Western member, and of which he cordially approved :—

“ *Whereas*, for several years past, insinuations and charges of heresy in doctrine, and disorder in practice, have been made against Congregationalists at the West, frequently too vague in their character and too vague and general in their aim to admit of their refutation ; And *whereas*, Congregationalism at the West has thereby suffered greatly in the estimation of the Congregationalists of New England, and of many other Christians, therefore—

“ 1. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congregationalists to frown on all such insinuations, unless their authors or abettors will make specific allegations and hold themselves responsible for the same.

“ 2. That it is very important that the General Associations and Conferences at the East should be careful to send delegates to the General Associations of the West, that they may obtain reliable information respecting Western Congregationalism.”

Dr. BACON said that one of the most important objects for which the Convention was called, was involved in the consideration of that resolution. He referred to the suspicion which had been created—he would not *now* say whether justly or unjustly—with regard to Congregational Churches at the West, and the habit which certainly exists of charging every such Church that happens to be formed west of Byram river with some kind of degeneracy from the old stamp. He said there has hardly been such a Church formed within the last ten years with regard to which there has not been such an insinuation thrown out, beginning with “The Church of the Pilgrims,” and terminating, if you please, with the Congregational Church at St. Louis. Immediately when a Church is formed this side of New England there is an outcry, “We have a great regard for New England Congregationalism; but as for this western sort, we have no opinion of it whatever.” This is certainly a great evil. The question is, what is the remedy? In my judgment one remedy is, for us at the East, whenever such allegations are thrown out, to hold those who utter them responsible for them. It will be generally found, as I know from experience in some cases, that when the allegations are sifted, those who make them have a great respect for old-fashioned Congregationalism, because it is the other side of Byram river. He had found generally, that to sift these slanders is to explode them. They will not bear investigation. Whoever brings charges against Western Congregationalists should be made to understand that they are our brethren, that we feel towards them as such, and that a charge against them, like a charge against our own sons, must be sustained or retracted. Sometimes these allegations come from brethren who have themselves suffered from allegations made in the same way, and of the same sort.

Another remedy, I think, is, as far as possible to maintain a regular intercourse with our brethren in their organized bodies at the West by the interchange of delegates. It is not enough that we receive delegates from the West; because, after all, some may say, “They cut them off at the sample end, and those who remain behind will not bear a comparison with the specimen sent.” We should send delegates to them as far as possible, and try to ascertain the character of their meetings. The time may come when a sort of organization resembling that adopted by Congregationalists in England and Wales, and also in Scotland,—a sort of union for mutual aid and nothing else,—may be needed.

Rev. Mr. KEDZIE, of Michigan, said, this subject was that about which the greatest degree of interest clustered. He came from Michigan to see if the Churches of New England would give them the right-hand of fellowship. They had felt much sensitiveness on that point; so often had the charge been reiterated in their ears, that Western Congregationalism was spurious in its character. When those who make the charge have been asked to show the difference in Western

from Eastern Congregationalism, everything was left in mystery and fog, and not a single point of difference was made out. They had come here laboring under this disadvantage, which was bearing them down, to see if the right-hand of fellowship would be given to them,—a thing which they had not felt emboldened to ask until the Chairman of the Business Committee (Dr. BACON) had so freely and frankly recognized them as genuine Congregationalists. If they could go back under the impression that they were one with Eastern Congregationalists, they would feel stronger than ever before. Many an Eastern man who comes among us, stands aloof and joins some other body, in consequence of the suspicions which have been instilled into his mind, that the Congregationalism of the West is a different thing from that of the East. We invite your fullest scrutiny at our meetings, and we will welcome your delegates. We love to have you come to our churches and our prayer-meetings and ecclesiastical bodies, and we would have you look at us till you know us. It may be desirable to have a general organization in which all may come together; but we rather fear such large machines which turn so slowly and yet with so much power, and prefer to dispense with them when they are not necessary. For the present, we think this friendly intercourse between Eastern and Western Christians will be sufficient; with this we shall rest satisfied. We have been told so often that Western Congregationalism is spurious, that we have felt that we must examine ourselves to see what we are, and then come down to New England and see what you are, to decide whether we are of the true pattern. We wish to go home with the assurance that you do recognize us as genuine Congregationalists; for then we shall feel strong and ready to labor. We feel that we are an advance army, a kind of forlorn hope, and if we can know that we can fall back upon the main body, we shall feel strong and ready to battle in the name of the Lord of Hosts.

Rev. Dr. WOODBRIDGE remarked that he was not quite prepared to give his Western brethren his entire confidence until he knew something more about them. He was disposed to treat them and all others kindly. There were evils among Eastern Congregationalists even, and it did not follow that a man was sound because he belonged to a particular denomination. The question should be, How does he live? Although there might be vague and unfavorable reports against Western Congregationalists, he thought they should not be asked to pass a resolution like the one before the Convention.

Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD, of Illinois, said, they of the West did not wish a vote passed indorsing Western Congregationalism in a mass, but simply the adoption of the Common Law principle that a man shall be held to be sound till he is proved unsound. He fully accorded with the remarks of Mr. KEDZIE; but wished to add that all from the West did not come to see if their Eastern brethren could take them by the hand, but some had come to see if they could take their Eastern brethren by the hand. He thought that neither party would

suffer by watching. There was one thing which fairness required him to state, which was, that a person who should reside for a short time at the West, would become different from those who always reside at the East. One of the most careful men he ever knew gave it as his opinion, that a man who should go from New England to the West as a merchant, and come back to the East without appearing to those with whom he had before been associated as "a little sprung in his intellect," would be looked upon as a rare man. So the clergyman who has always heard the bell ring on the Sabbath morning, and has had his two sermons written and prepared to be delivered to an audience, every one of whom he can call by name, when he is transplanted to the banks of the Mississippi, and obliged to preach in a building so low that his head will touch the ceiling, to those whom he knows not; or is compelled to preach in a bar-room, and get up his own congregation as a town crier collects an assembly, he will after a time differ from his Eastern brethren. He will be very likely to acquire a sort of hasty utterance that is different from what is practiced at the East. If he does not learn something by coming among us, he will not be the man for his place. It will do no harm to watch us, therefore, and at the same time we mean to watch you. The right sort of men for the West were those with right principles and with sense enough to apply those principles to the circumstances in which they are placed. He hoped that in this view of the matter Western Christians would not be found very degenerate, after all.

Rev. Mr. KITCHELL, of Detroit, said, that they at the West did not ask to have their orthodoxy indorsed. All they asked was that a charge should not be taken up against them without proof; that they might be known before they were judged. By any standard that any man in New England would give them, they were sound and orderly Congregationalists. He asked, however, that they should not be tried by a standard which he had seen in one print lately; namely, that he is a good Congregationalist who immediately on leaving New England becomes a Presbyterian. He said, if it is to be regarded as a heresy that we adhere to that which you taught us in New England, wherever we go, then there are many in the West who are heterodox. But if you will lay down principles of Congregationalism as you understand them in the East, and try us by them, I believe you will find us sound, as sound at least as any body of Presbyterians in the West. They and we share about equally in any crudities that exist. We beg leave to differ somewhat from the form and order which our brethren in Connecticut have adopted. We feel that there are some things that will not work well even there, and after having worn the Consociational harness for ten years in Connecticut I know how it sits;—we therefore have omitted that. But try us by the standard in Massachusetts or the great body of Congregationalists, and we abide by it and work it out as you do in the East. Certainly Connecticut has her apology. For a long time she was a frontier state in respect to Congrega-

tionalism, and looking over into the green pastures of Presbyterianism she has perhaps brought forth a system somewhat "ring-streaked and speckled." (Laughter.) But give us the principles of Congregationalism "after the pattern seen in the mount" by our fathers of old, and we are true, according to any standard you will bring us. Now what we ask is, that you will know us before you judge us, and I wish it distinctly understood that these resolutions have a special reference to our Eastern brethren. We at the West are doubly incapacitated in respect to these charges. We are not only suspected, but we are suspected of being suspected. How is it possible for us to rid ourselves of these charges? But you have a duty and a power which we cannot exercise; and when a brother shall stand before any General Association and criminate us gravely and deeply, till our souls bleed under the charges, you are bound to call that brother as an accuser not to be heard till he brings the proof against us.

We did not suppose we were committing any crime in going out of New England, nor in retaining the principles you taught us, as well as the theology we received from you; and we ask that you will have some care for us and our good names; and whenever these are aspersed, remember we are your children, and take us under your wings. Certainly there is a propriety in your taking us under your wings and teaching us to fly. We shall fly presently as strongly as you; and it may be that in your old age the young eaglet will bring back the principles she carried away, to the old ancestral nest; for it is a fact that we are growing strong in the West. God opens bright prospects before us, if you will believe in us and confide in us as you well may. We cannot defend ourselves if we happen not to be present in your assemblies or at your firesides when these aspersions are made. Deal gently with us, therefore, and do not receive these aspersions against us without proof.

REV. TERTIUS S. CLARKE, of Penn Yan, said, it was easy to make a party suspicious or jealous, by treating them as if you expected them to be so. He was afraid we should err in lack of charity to our Presbyterian brethren. He had gone among them to be pastor of a Congregational church in the midst of Presbyterians, and he had gone with his heart in his hand, evidently taking it for granted that he was to be received and treated in a friendly manner by his Presbyterian brethren, and he was so. They received him as orthodox because he preached the truth, and they treated him like a Christian because he tried to behave like one. But if Congregationalists behave unseemly, and act as if they expected to be suspected, and turn a cold shoulder to Presbyterians as if they had no confidence in them, it is not strange if they are treated coldly in return. Let them be frank, open, and manly in their deportment, and it is very likely they will fare better. It has been well said that the circumstances of Congregationalists in the West are widely different from those in New England. Oh, how unlike! How often have I sighed to get back to that good land; but it is

not to be. Let us learn to make the best of it, and we may do away a host of prejudices. Presbyterian hearts are just as good in general as Congregational hearts. He would carefully guard the good name of our brethren at the West, and at the same time beware lest we sin against charity and so provoke the treatment of which we complain.

Dr. LYMAN BEECHER. When I left Boston I had become so noted as an opugnator of Unitarianism that the Unitarians had done ascribing evil to the devil, but charged it all to me; and when I got to Cincinnati, Dr. WILSON published me in his paper as a Unitarian, and we had to bear it; and I never asked any body to indorse me, but I toughed it through. We cannot escape all these things, we must bear them until we can live them down.

Dr. BACON. Perhaps the venerable father who has just taken his seat does not realize the difference in the cases. He went to Ohio in the ripeness of his age, with the experience and the honors of nearly half a century of public service, and with a reputation not merely as large as the country, but with a world-wide renown. Dr. WILSON was a small circumstance to him—hardly more to him than the fly was to Uncle Toby. Very different is the case of a young man who goes to the West to preach the Gospel; perhaps he is a licentiate, and he sincerely prefers Congregationalism, in which he has been educated, and he is invited to labor with a Congregational Church. And he soon finds a difficulty. Sir, you may depend on it, that it is a very different thing for such a young man to have his character assailed with charges of heresy and disorder from what it was for Dr. BEECHER. Dr. BEECHER says he did not cry; neither does the war-horse described in the book of Job cry at being attacked, when he “paweth in the valley and rejoiceth in his strength, and saith Ha, ha! among the trumpets.” No wonder Dr. BEECHER did not cry; I would not cry if I was he. But it is a very different thing for our worthy brethren to meet these cruel charges single-handed, which they cannot breast alone.

This resolution ought not to give offense in any quarter. The facts on which it is based are not denied; they cannot be. We do not propose to indorse any body, either as to his regularity or his orthodoxy. Our Western brethren do not ask us to become their sponsors. We cannot say that they are all orthodox, but we can say what this resolution proposes. Our responsibility for these brethren is not according to the theory of those who hold the doctrine of a consolidated Church. That theory is that there is but one Church, and one ecclesiastical authority, and that under it every man is responsible for every other man. Our theory is all different from this—that one Church is no more responsible for another than one gentleman is responsible for another in well-ordered society, where every man is entitled to be treated as a gentleman until he shows that he is unworthy to be so treated. They are like our colleges, which have no general

head to make them responsible to and for one another, and they are to know and observe the laws of mutual courtesy and respect.

We cannot undertake to indorse the character of all our Western brethren, but we can say whether we will recognize them as Congregationalists, and on what terms; and we can say that the wholesale condemnation of them in these vague terms is something that we will not consent to by being the willing recipients of such reports. I have no doubt that there are brethren at the West in Congregational bodies, indeed I have every reason to be assured there are, with whom I should not at all agree on some important questions in theology, and whose views of order and proceedings and measures I should heartily and earnestly dissent from. So there are in New England. There are ultra men out West. But bring forward the most ultra into this meeting, I do not care who he is, on the question of slavery for example—and I will be bound to scare up somebody in Connecticut equal to him in every way. (Laughter.) We are all in a suspected district, as Dr. BEECHER found he was when he came from the West. The suspicion does not lie upon Illinois alone, but upon New England and even old England, too. The fact is, our Congregationalism is not a system which commends itself to those who prefer a very different system, and it cannot be expected that it will. True, we have some among us, who seem to belong to that class of men who possess a character which, according to Shakspeare, appertains to men of extraordinary genius, that is, many-sided men, who can be either Congregationalists or Presbyterians, or both at the same time. (Laughter.) Our brother from Michigan (Mr. KITCHELL) ought to have known better than to say some things he did about Connecticut. He thought we got our system from looking over into New York to see Presbyterianism there. But the Saybrook platform is older than any Presbyterian Church in the United States. The Saybrook Synod met and framed that notable piece of workmanship before there was a Presbyterian session this side of the Atlantic. We are not all alike, even at the East, and probably never shall be. We have, it is true, various degrees, various tones of orthodoxy, and various forms of Church government, so that if a man moves from one place to another, he must learn a new system of Church government; and we have churches as independent as Paul was when he sent out Barnabas on a mission. On the whole, we get along pretty well, and we learn, either through our system or through the want of it, that principle of mutual toleration which we think some of our Presbyterian brethren at the West should put in practice there; and the longer we live, and the more of these collisions we have, we think the more of that principle of mutual toleration we have. I do for one. I hope therefore that these two resolutions will be adopted without any disagreement; first, that it is the duty of Congregationalists to frown on all such allegations, unless their authors and abettors will make specific allegations and hold themselves responsible for the same. I think nobody

can object to that. Not to frown on them in all cases, but to frown on them unless the persons making them shall make them in a specific form and be responsible. If A comes and tells me about Brother KITCHELL, I will say, "Tell me *the thing* he has done and the reason why I should withhold my confidence; and let me write to him and tell him you say so and so, and are prepared to prove it." Second, it is very important that Associations at the East should be careful to send delegations to the West, that they may obtain reliable information respecting Western Congregationalism.

Dr. OSGOOD, of Springfield, said, he liked the spirit of the resolutions, though he did not consider them of much importance to their Western brethren. But he thought the remarks which had grown out of their consideration very appropriate and such as their Western brethren deserved. Where he resided he often heard of such allegations as the resolutions contemplated. He thought they were bound to require that all such allegations should be made in writing. A few years since a brother who had lived in his neighborhood and whom he knew to be a devoted man, after having removed to the West and been connected with Oberlin, returned and made him a visit. He was asked if he would invite his brother to preach? "Why," said one, "are you going to indorse Oberlin?" The only objection made to his preaching was, that he came from Oberlin, but after a conversation with him the Doctor could discover only one or two points of difference that neither of them could define. (Laughter.) If any one came with such accusations as they had been accustomed to hear, he ought to smart for it. He thought the adoption of the resolutions would put a stop to much slander.

Dr. WOODBRIDGE wished to be cautious. He had confidence in some Western men whom he knew; but he should vote against the resolutions, because he was not acquainted with the men. He couldn't trust some of his neighbors, much less those whom he knew so little about.

Rev. Mr. ADAMS, of Ohio, said, I am surprised to hear these remarks with regard to Western ministers. Who are they? Many of them had lived and labored at the East; but growing rusty as people thought, they have gone West, and there they have been scoured up and have been very acceptable. Who make up the other portion? A very considerable part of the rest are young men, educated at Andover, New Haven, or East Windsor, and even at Bangor. Though we have as good ministers as New England people have raised up, and such as New England people have been satisfied with, yet when they come from us, New England is made to be dissatisfied with them. Now, he had noticed that no man's orthodoxy is out there questioned, who will consent to join Presbytery. Now for a thorough-going Presbyterian he had a profound respect; but for such a *filius degener* as some they had out in the Reserve, he had but very little respect. Another thing he had learned on going West, was the real meaning of the Plan

of Union. He had *thought* that the Plan was a compact between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, giving to each equal rights; but the *fact* was, that the union was a perfect absorption. It has absorbed our Ministers and our Churches. It has bound the souls of our Church Members in the iron yoke of Presbyterianism. This was the meaning of the Union, as it practically works.

Dr. EDWARD BEECHER, of Boston, said, there was a great similarity between the present relation of the Western Churches to those of New England and that which once existed between the Churches of New England and the mother country. The time was, when the fathers of New England had to vindicate their orthodoxy and order, just as Western Congregationalists do now. We then needed the countenance of Old England, and turned to them for it, just as the West now turns to New England. He thought there should be more respect for conscientious opinions, and more tenderness of treatment with regard to orthodoxy. The things which are said when they are not known to be true, are said simply because there is not that tenderness of conscience with regard to what is said about bodies of men which there is with regard to what is said about individuals. He hardly knew a point where the moral sensibility of the Christian community more needs to be rectified and refined.

Rev. Mr. BLAKESLY, of Ohio, had listened with interest to the instructions of the fathers from the East, but they were ignorant of some things respecting Western Churches which they ought to know. He thought the resolutions exceedingly important, as they took strong hold of Congregationalism at the West. He had heard it asserted at the West, and since he came here, that the Congregationalists at the West were not orthodox. He had met those who were in the same Theological Seminary here with him, and who were now with the Presbyterians; and they said they would rather be in connection with the Presbyterians than in connection with Oberlinism. But it should be known that the Presbyterians also license Oberlin ministers and have always done so, having never refused to license any one because he came from Oberlin and held to Mr. Finney's views. If therefore Oberlinism was heterodox, the Presbyterians were as much accountable for its extension as the Congregationalists.

Dr. HAWES thought that course of remark was doing what the resolutions declared they would not do.

Mr. BLAKESLY responded that his object was simply to have it understood that the Presbyterians were as fully in connection with Oberlin as the Congregationalists. He did not wish to cast any reproach on any one, but if reproach belonged to any, he wanted it to fall where it did belong.

Rev. Dr. DIMMICK thought it became the Convention to act with care. He was in favor of the resolutions. There were doubtless errors existing in some cases, which he would not like to indorse. But he did not understand that they were called upon to indorse everything that may be found in connection with Congre-

gationalists at the West. He thought the East had been wanting to the West. New England had sent her sons far into the West, and had almost forgotten them. The Plan of Union had extensively filled the eye of New England men and New England churches, and what they had done it had been thought they must do under the banner of union, so that those now in the far West who do not appear under that banner are looked upon with suspicion. Many who have gone from Congregational churches and families have taken another banner, and a large part—not all, nor the best—have forsaken us. We have heard rumors of evils which we did not wish to indorse; and we have been afraid to assume the position which we ought to assume with regard to Congregational churches at the West. The arrangements there had their origin in New England; and if the New England churches had been duly mindful of their own privileges, many of those now out of our hands would have remained with us. He would give a hearty response to his western brethren; he wished them to go back assured that we have confidence in them; not that we indorse their errors, nor that they indorse ours.

Rev. Mr. CAMP, of Michigan, wished to remind the Convention that it was an eastern body—that it was called by eastern men. The question which was before the Convention was not therefore one for western men to settle. In his opinion the Convention were not prepared to decide the question. Venerable fathers from the East said that they did not know us, and were not ready to indorse us. Suppose any one should speak in the same way of the churches in Connecticut or Massachusetts? They of the West maintained that it was the duty of their fathers to know what sort of sons they had sent to the West. They were not here, however, for the purpose of making any complaint.

Rev. Mr. KEEP, of Ohio, hoped that a vote would not be taken on the resolutions, until the matter had been fully discussed.

Dr. HAWES moved that the subject be laid on the table for the present, to be called up when they had further opportunity to learn the feelings of western brethren.

Hon. ISRAEL BILLINGS, of Hatfield, thought the discussion thus far had done him good, and that every member of the Convention would retire to his home perfectly satisfied with regard to western Congregationalism. He thought that the vote should be then taken. They had had sufficient evidence that Congregationalism at the West had been aspersed. The remedy proposed by the resolution was as good as any that can be prescribed, which was simply that they would not open their ears to those aspersions. He hoped the resolutions would not be laid on the table.

Dr. HAWES stated his object in making the motion to lay the resolutions on the table to be, that they might have an opportunity to understand the subject.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD said that if the vote should not be finally taken upon the

resolutions, in consequence of any press of other business, the effect would be worse than if they had not been offered.

After suggestions by several members, the vote was taken on the adoption of the resolutions, and they were adopted almost unanimously.



II. CHURCH-BUILDING AT THE WEST.

Dr. HAWES reported from the Committee on Church-building at the West a plan for raising fifty thousand dollars for this purpose, which he read, and requested that it might be considered and amended by the Convention.

Dr. TODD said, one strong desire we have is, that before we separate, the East and the West shall understand each other. We want to understand the trials of brethren at the West, and to have them understand our situation at the East. There have been mistakes on both sides which need to be corrected. One important result of this Convention will be to make the impression that we, the representatives of the Congregational churches, have entire confidence in our system of church government, and an entire reliance that, under God, this system is to do a great work in and for the world. Most of the brethren at the West were sent out as missionaries from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and all New England, and the time has never been when the heart of the East has ceased to beat warmly towards those who have gone, being bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, the jewels of our own hearts. Do the brethren of the West think that when we give them our sons, and they come back and take our daughters as wives—the best wives in the world except those they leave behind—that our hearts will be cold toward them? At one time there were twenty-six agents from the West in New England, seeking aid, and none of them, so far as I know, was turned back and coldly rebuked. We have always responded to the calls of the West, so far as was in our power. While they tell us of their trials at the West, through their missionary paper, let them remember that we too have trials, and that we both need patience and perseverance. I remember that when young I was in trouble, and feared I should be put in a place where I should be burned up, and I went to Dr. Beecher and asked him what I should do. Said he, “Todd, stand still.” So we both need patience sometimes. It should be understood that the West is a very wide field, and that a donation scattered over the whole gives but a little in any one place. The calls upon us are continual, and we are glad to have them; but it should be understood that these calls fall first upon the pastors, who are the most self-denying men to be found on the face of the earth. I could tell this Convention of a good brother, who, with a salary of less than four hundred dollars, gives more than all the rest of his church to be-

nevolent objects. I presume that is not a solitary instance. I know my church do not give away enough, yet they gave, last year, more than eight dollars for each member, for objects out of our own town. It must be borne in mind, too, that it is the common, every day people who give for the purpose of building up churches—those who are in the middle walks of life. Will the brethren at the West then understand that we are ready not only to acknowledge them as brethren, and give them our entire confidence and warm sympathies, but also to do all we can for them?

The people at the West should understand another thing. A man in New England buys a farm, and scratches away upon it a long time for every seventy-five cents or dollar that he gives away, and when he dies his property is divided among his children, and as they have, many of them, gone to the West, his property goes there. But you say that New England is growing rich. Yes, and I wish I could tell you some of the stories that the good agents who come here tell us of the West, where the soil is knee-deep, and corn grows so high you can scarcely see the top of it, and who say that our farms are so poor they would not live on them, and then will say, "Come, now, give us your money." (Laughter.) Though New England is growing rich, I want to warn my eastern brethren that perhaps it is not best to take up the system of building churches in the West as a system to be pursued from generation to generation.

Rev. Mr. PLATT, of Binghamton, wished to inquire whether the churches in central New York, connected with the Presbytery by the Plan of Union, should contribute, with the understanding that the money should be sent to aid western churches. He thought they would need help for their own feeble churches.

The report was then accepted, and the question of its adoption was considered.

Dr. BACON moved the passage of the following resolution in lieu of the ordinary form of adopting the report:

"Resolved, That the plan for raising fifty thousand dollars for building Congregational Church-edifices at the West, be approved and adopted by this Convention, and that it be recommended to Pastors and Churches throughout the United States."

Dr. BACON said, My own observation with regard to those who have sought contributions for the erection of churches at the West has led me to conclude that generally the pastor to whom the agent always come first, of course, thinks the case is a pretty strong one, and so recommends it to his people, stating that though he does not approve of general applications, still he thinks this a peculiar case. The consequence is, that the man from Michigan, or perhaps still further off, will go around for a time getting the contributions of the people, and finally succeed in securing enough to pay a little more than his expenses to New England. He may not raise more than enough to pay his expenses.

But I have observed within a few months indications of a change at the West, and gentlemen from the West have sometimes said, "We beg of you not to

attend to these applications; we can meet in a school-house or a barn if you will only aid us in supporting a pastor." A change in our policy in this respect is manifestly required, and the feeling seems to be that there is a necessity for aid in this form. On the other hand, I do not wish to adopt any plan of this kind that looks to permanency. The present plan is only to raise an amount of money to meet an existing exigency, to aid in raising houses of worship on that broad area immediately. For these reasons I am in favor of this plan, and I am happy to be able to present to the Convention this document which I hold in my hand, which I have no doubt will have its weight in commending the plan itself to the regard and consideration of the Convention.

"ALBANY, Oct. 7, 1852.

"The undersigned, feeling deeply interested in the moral and religious condition of their country, and rejoicing that a new impulse has been given to a cause most dear to them, do hereby agree to give the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars to aid in erecting Congregational Churches at the West, upon the plan proposed in this Convention; Provided, that the whole sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars shall be raised within six months from the 1st of January, 1853.

"BOWEN & McNAMEE, New York."

It will be observed from the terms of this paper that it requires an approbation of this plan as given to the Convention, and that the whole amount be raised within six months from the 1st of January, 1853.

One word as to the suggestion of Brother Platt, of Binghamton, that there is a proper field for aid in Pennsylvania and New York. We have the same thing in Connecticut, and in Massachusetts, and Vermont, and New Hampshire.

Dr. CLEVELAND.—And Rhode Island.

Dr. BACON.—And Rhode Island especially, since they have the principles of law and order established there.

Dr. CLEVELAND.—I wish Connecticut would come over and learn them.

Dr. BACON.—This state of things must exist; there will be places where we cannot undertake to organize Churches. But we can do it for the great empire at the West; and there is an exigency there now which we are required to meet, there is a battle to be fought there for the world, and for all the ages to come, in which we have our part to act, and from which, I trust, we shall not withhold any effort or any self-denial that is required of us.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD stated the fact that the venerable Chief Justice Williams, of Connecticut, made a donation to aid feeble Churches in central Illinois, and that some five or six Churches had been erected in pursuance of his plan. But three of those Churches thus erected are now waiting for ministers. They have never had a pastor.

Dr. LYMAN BEECHER said if you want to get martins about your house, you must put up a martin box. It is *meeting-houses*, too, that we want, rather than *log houses*. A village at the West grows up in six months, and he who has a

house to assemble them in, will take the flood. He considered this one of the most important subjects for the Convention to consider. So far as he was acquainted with the West, it was true that ministers were needed ; but ministers could be had if they had houses. When he went to Cincinnati, he expected there would be a colony from his Church in five years, at most, but the quarrels there prevented it for ten years or more. When he went there the Methodists had but one Church, and we had four or five. Now they have twenty, while we have stood still. It is meeting-houses that you want, and you may carry that principle as far as you please. A village at the West grows up in less than six months, with all that class of persons who usually raise up societies, having emigrated from among us. It is therefore important to have houses of worship for such villages, for those who begin will take the flood afterwards. If you begin now by raising fifty thousand dollars, I know well that when the thing has been tried, you will be willing to give a hundred thousand, for you will see that the money is better spent for such an object than for any other. Do you hear? (Laughter.) I want—no, I do not want to apologize. There has been a great racket about our Church organization, and there has been a mighty alarm—I will not say any thing invidious—a mighty alarm because we moved a little to get a Church-extension society. There is no danger that the New School or any body else will overrun us at the West. Besides, it is what ought to be, it is what you ought to do ; it is what ought to have been begun long ago, and continued till the wilderness should have blossomed as the rose.

Dr. CLEVELAND had been twelve years at the West, and thought he understood the subject practically. Since he had returned to New England no subject had impressed him so much as this. He was the pastor of a large and wealthy Church, which was a liberal one also—and when he spoke of Church contributions he wished it understood that many large contributions came from the society and not the Church alone—and he was impressed with this subject, because the most liberal and intelligent contributors had adopted the axiom that where a Church is needed it can be built to the extent of the want, and that if a large one cannot be built then it is not wanted. One thing which has gone to confirm this axiom has been that so many applications have been of an unwarrantable character, such as the payment of old debts, and the purchase of a bell, &c. These applications had not come so much from the far West as from intermediate places. His observation led him to indorse the remark of Dr. BACON that agents for aid to build Churches generally received but little more than enough to pay their traveling expenses. Since he said impulsively, “Rhode Island above all,” a little while ago, when Dr. Bacon was addressing the Convention, he would explain that he meant to have it understood that since they have the Maine Law there, and would execute it without fear or favor, they would soon pay all their Church debts.

Dr. HAWES.—That will relieve Connecticut from paying Rhode Island a thousand dollars.

Dr. CLEAVELAND.—We say we will take care of our Church debts if we hold on to the Maine Law. And we shall do it, and shall pay our Church debts, and it will be but a little while before we will excuse Brother Hawes and the rest of Connecticut, if they will turn round and give their money to some Rhode Island in the West. They must pay the money somewhere as long as the world stands, as a matter of course. I love to think what Connecticut is doing and has done. It is a glorious state, "and Rhode Island above all." (Laughter.) After some further remarks, Dr. C. closed by saying that his mind was decidedly relieved with regard to contributions for building Churches at the West. He believed the plan proposed would procure large contributions where not a dollar was given before. He liked the plan with the idea that it was not to be a permanent one.

Rev. ASA TURNER of Iowa said he had opposed the sending of agents to the East to beg for money to aid in erecting Churches at the West, because he saw that if the practice were pursued there would be no end to the applications. They did, however, need aid in some way. But he had often told his brethren that he would sooner stick up poles and cover them with corn-stalks for a house of worship, than send any one to the East to beg for aid. But times have changed; our population is spread wider. We find, for instance, a little community in which there are some four or five men interested in the worship of God. These men, altogether, are not worth perhaps more than a thousand dollars, and without aid they can make no impression on the community. But with the aid of one or two hundred dollars they will secure enough, together with their own labor, to erect a house of worship, and accommodate the whole community around, who would otherwise be destitute.

Allusion has been made to the Church-extension plan. I have blessed God for every meeting-house that our Presbyterian brethren at the West have erected. I am not jealous of them on that score. We have six different kinds of Presbyterians in Iowa, and I will give thanks to God for every house our Methodist or Baptist brethren will build. There is room enough for all in our great state. And while I am a Congregationalist fully, I rejoice to see houses built by any denomination where Christ is preached. And I believe that a plan of this kind, which will not require time to be taken up by a Missionary of the West by a personal application, will accomplish an amount of good beyond our computation, and I could not but be deeply affected when this brother who proffered the ten thousand dollars presented the plan. And I must say that I think the man who could give ten thousand must surely be a *business man*, and enabled to give the details of such a plan.

Mr. BOWEN of New York said, as a member of your Committee who have

made this report, I feel it my duty to explain the matter somewhat, that you may understand the responsibility which you take in adopting this report, to carry it out. It is admitted by all the brethren that we must do something to aid the Churches at the West, either in this or some other way, and if we give as we have done heretofore, when we did not understand the merits of each particular case, we shall give hap-hazard. You need to understand that we as a denomination in New York are not more than eight or ten years old, and are not able to give as much as we otherwise should, in consequence of the great expense we have been at in building our own churches. We have expended, within eight or ten years, in the city of New York and vicinity, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and when brethren come to New York and ask us to aid them, we say to them, we would do it, but we must have first a little breathing spell. In helping the West we want to give all a share. Merchants from the West are often delegated, when they come to New York, to ask aid in giving a bell for a Church, or something else which is needed, and we rejoice to help as far as we can. Now this plan, I have no doubt, or something of the kind, will meet the approbation of the people. We do not want the funds given to go from New York, or Hartford, or Providence especially, but we want help to be given from the Churches generally. It is a question of expense for this Convention to decide; for until the wants of the western Churches are met, agents will come East for help. Do you want to pay two hundred dollars? And will you pay one hundred for the purpose of defraying the expense of the agent? In nine times out of ten, it costs half or one-third to pay his traveling expenses. This plan will not cost a cent. Every dime, every penny will go right to the people without any expense, except perhaps a little for printing, and even that I hope will be provided for in some other way. I was rejoiced to hear the resolutions adopted yesterday, extending the right hand of fellowship to the West. I am pleased with such manifestations, and the feeling with which the hand is extended, but being a practical man, I like to see something in the right hand of fellowship.

This plan proposes to have a Committee in New York. What shall they do? They receive the money and appropriate it. They have something more to do. They ought to arrange the facts with regard to the West, and converse with the people there through the newspapers, and have circulars printed and sent throughout the country if necessary.

What will be the duties of the State Committee? There are some suggestions which have occurred to my mind which are important; that is, that they should have circulars printed and sent to every minister in the state, presenting the matter to him and urging him to take hold of it.

The plan proposes that Ministers should preach on the first Sabbath in January upon the subject, and take up a collection. Some member of the Convention has suggested that this could as well be on any other time. If so there will be no

time. But it will be a glorious spectacle to see all the Congregational Ministers and Churches engaged in the same cause on the same day. It will be a glorious testimony to our brethren at the West that we are truly desirous to aid them. They will think the better of us, and will remember that in extending the right hand of fellowship we have something in it to back up the outward manifestation. They will inquire, while their brethren at the East are thus helping them, what they have to do for themselves; and in my opinion it will lead to the projecting of more Churches within the next five years than have been projected within the last twenty. This plan is one that will come fairly and honorably before all our Churches throughout the United States, and will give all the people an opportunity to aid in the work. It will not leave the contributions to be made by the rich, but will give the poorer members of our denomination the privilege of aiding in the work. It is a good plan, and I hope it will be adopted.

Several amendments were moved and adopted, and then the Plan was adopted unanimously.



III. REPORT ON THE PLAN OF UNION.

Dr. HUMPHREY said, after reading the Report—It is incident to all human things that there should be changes, and in religious and ecclesiastical matters as well as in other things, and especially in the new States and Territories of this country. The Committee did not suppose that they were to go into the inquiry at much length, whether the original Plan of Union had operated in the beginning favorably, or unfavorably. There was found, after comparing views in the Committee, not a perfect agreement on that point. Some of the brethren rather questioned whether if there had been no such Plan of Union, it would not have turned out for the furtherance of Congregationalism, and the furtherance of the Gospel also. In consequence of the changes incident to this matter, any system which may have worked well for a series of years, may turn out in the end to have accomplished its mission, or that which the original designers of it expected it would accomplish. The Committee, a majority of whom are Western men, who are upon the ground where this Union has existed, after deliberation during all the afternoon yesterday, and a part of this morning, came to the conclusion that, however well the system might have operated in the beginning, it has not, so far as we Congregationalists are concerned, accomplished the design of the Connecticut General Association, or of those who acted on that Plan in the State of New York. In short, though it is called a Union still, the Commit-

tee are deeply impressed with the fact that it is a Union, which so far as regards its present operation, and for many years past, is a Union nearly all on one side. It is a Union which has resulted, not in the building up of Congregationalism at the West, but of Presbyterianism, and under which hundreds of Churches have been gradually drawn over—we do not say improperly, that is for the Convention to determine—to Presbyterianism. Congregational Churches have been required to send up their minutes to the Presbyteries; and when Congregational Ministers are settled, the Presbyteries insist upon having the whole management of the Ordination; and when Presbyterian Ministers are settled over Congregational Churches, they expect, and in some instances require, that the Presbyterian brother shall be settled by themselves, and then they are in fact Members of the Presbytery. The Committee have expressed their views as fully as they could in the Preamble and Resolutions which have been read. The Convention will decide, of course, whether this is the wisest and best disposition which can be made of the matter, or whether something else should be adopted which shall secure what we need. For myself, I think it is quite time that Congregationalism should take better care of itself at the West. (Sensation and approval.)

One thing more, which I omitted in its proper place. I remember that when this Union was formed, indeed before, the impression was pretty generally and pretty deeply felt in Connecticut, that though Congregationalism was best on the whole, in New England, we were not quite certain that it could be established at the West, and we questioned whether our system was not too democratic, and whether it was not necessary to put on some screws upon the organization of Churches. And, upon the whole, we yielded the point so far, that we felt less confidence of the power of our Congregationalism than we have now. Such was the general feeling; and this feeling had much to do with our forming and acquiescing in the Plan. But all this has changed. We have no questions of this sort perplexing us now. We have far more confidence than formerly in our own system, and this reason no longer exists to induce us to perpetuate the Union. I cannot say that I regret that the Union was formed; but I confidently believe, that if it had been really, as it has been virtually dissolved for the last ten years; in other words, if we had not consented that that Union should be almost all on one side, and had gone on and built up our Churches in our own way, we should have been stronger as Congregational Churches at the West than we are now.

Rev. Mr. LAWRENCE, of Mass., said, We have now come to what seems to me to be the most vital, and yet the most delicate question which comes before this body. It is that of "dissolving the Union." For, whatever may have been done on the other side, up to this point, we have been neutral, we have acted the part of faithful covenant keepers. I might say more than that. We have yielded, and as has been well expressed, the Union has been all one side. I be-

lieve that some two thousand Churches which have been substantially organized on the Congregational plan, have gone over to Presbyterianism. I believe the basis of Union, as it was formed, has been totally vacated in its practical workings; and I have been led to look a little into the history of the question to see if I could account for this anomalous fact. In an article published in "*The Repertory*," at Princeton, for July, 1837, containing several arguments presented before the General Assembly of 1837, I found that it was there stated that the originators of this Plan of Union designed it as a means of bringing Congregational Churches over to Presbyterianism. I find it also, as one of the accredited arguments urged before that body, that after a reasonable time, when it was found not to answer its original design, the Assembly was first to abandon the Union. I find also another thing; that the making it permanent, in the view of that body, was a perversion of the Plan. It has seemed to me that this would account for the fact, that the whole leaning has been toward Presbyterianism. Then, if we look at the structure of the system, we shall find these arguments somewhat substantiated. The second and third Articles are impartial, so far as I can see. The fourth Article defines strictly a Presbyterian Church, under the name of Congregationalism. It provides for a Session, called a Standing Committee; it takes the discipline of the Church out of the hands of the Church, and puts it in the hands of a Committee; and if a brother is to be tried by the body of the Church, he can be tried there only by an appeal from the Committee. We have thus all the elements of a Presbyterian body. Here, then, we have a Plan of Union, but substantially in its elements, and in its original workings, a Presbyterian institution. I would not speak of it in any way to disparage our Presbyterian brethren. I love them. They have often come from the West to our New England, and ranged over our fat pastures, and borne away the fleeces from our flocks; they have milked our Congregational cows, but they have made nothing but Presbyterian butter and cheese. (Laughter.) Of this I do not complain. We have that confidence in our Presbyterian brethren and in the efficiency of a Presbyterian organization, that we do not complain; but when they insist on a monopoly, when they would allow no other denomination to bring the brick and the shingles and the nails from New England, to put them into a Congregational edifice, we think they go too far. I think then the time has come for us to stand up as Congregationalists. We will fellowship them still, but we would like to do it on a principle that shall not tie our own hands, and prevent our helping ourselves. And here it seems to me that the true dignity and policy of Congregationalism should come in and help the Presbyterians still; but be sure to do it on a condition that will leave us at liberty to help ourselves also.

REV. ASA TURNER, of Iowa:—I wish to give a little of my experience in respect to this Plan. A complaint has been made that it throws a large portion of

the Ministers into the Presbyterian Church. This it has done—both into the Old and New School Churches. As a reverend doctor in the General Assembly once said, if you take out of the Churches all those who were Congregationalists in their origin, there would be little left. The question, however, is, were the Presbyterians to blame? I answer—in one sense, no. I was reared and educated in New England, and I was never ashamed of my mother; but I am sorry that she did not teach me some things that I ought to have known. Twenty-two years ago I removed to the West. I was taught that when I went out of New England I must be a Presbyterian. I had never in my life heard a sermon upon our Church polity, and had never seen a line in print upon the subject. As I have said, I went to the West under the impression that it was necessary that I should be a Presbyterian; and soon after arriving there, I organized a Church in Adams county, Illinois. Everything went on harmoniously for about two years; but soon there began to be friction in the General Assembly itself, and our Church Members became restive; and those who are acquainted with the history of the times at the West, know the difficulties we had to pass through. Our religious meetings, up to the time of the Synod, were like political meetings of the two parties. My Church demanded of me that they should be Congregational. I hesitated some time about acceding to their wishes. My brethren in the Ministry all opposed the idea. A good father in the Presbyterian Church sent me word, that if I organized a Congregational Church, he must come out against me; and one of the Presbyterian fathers, whose name is revered in all the land, told me that if I organized a Congregational Church in Quincy, he would come and preach me down. But I organized a Church, and when he came to Quincy, I told him, that after we got down through the soil in Quincy, we came to the solid rock; that the Mississippi had not washed away the soil, and I thought it probable it never would.

According to the Plan of Union, when a Church is to be organized, those who are to compose it are to have a choice in regard to its form. I was, however, reproved for giving my Church its choice. The whole feeling was that Congregationalism must be frowned down. I knew of no Congregational Church in the West at that time. Afterwards I found one, but was told that the Minister was a Unitarian. And I have been called a Unitarian because I taught principles which I received in New England.

But I was referring to the blame. The blame is that New England fathers have not taught their own children. If they had been taught, if all the light had been spread over the land which is spread over it now, we should have seen an entirely different result. But when this subject began to be moved, and an article was published in the *New York Evangelist* in regard to it, an excitement was got up, and good Brother Gridley said to me that all the Churches in Northern Illinois would be Congregational if the Ministers would let them. But

time has passed on, and now the right is granted. And we rejoice to feel that the right is granted from you, because in 1837, after having organized thirteen Churches in Northern Illinois, composed of those who had asked me to organize them thus, on returning to New England, I tried to present myself before an Association in Massachusetts, and they did not know me. They regarded it as a heresy that I should be a Congregationalist coming from the valley of the Mississippi! I say then that Congregationalists were to blame in the beginning.

I will say a few words as to what we want. The Congregationalists associated with me do not want to make every man a Congregationalist. We do not want him to be so unless he wants to be so. If a Minister wants to be a Presbyterian, I tell him to be so, and bid him God-speed. I have labored with Presbyterians more than with Congregationalists. There is a class with whom I can labor with all my soul. I tell them I know they are not entirely orthodox, but I can fellowship them truly. What we want is an open Bible, and that men should have a right to act as men, to take the Bible and go where they please. I never lay a straw in the way of the organization of a Presbyterian Church, and I ask them to allow me the same freedom. I will tell you where the shoe pinches. The difficulty is that when our principles are presented before the minds of men, the majority will choose to be Congregationalists—they cannot help it. This is so especially with regard to those who were born and bred in New England. And if you go into a neighborhood where there is a Lutheran, a Baptist, a Seceder, and others of different evangelical denominations, they see that if they would have the Ordinances of the Gospel, they must be united. Now go to them and say, "Brother, you want to serve God, don't you?" "Yes," they say. "Well, then, come together and bind yourself to serve God. You need not bind yourselves to be Lutherans, or Baptists, or Methodists, or anything else. Come together and agree on some plan to serve the Lord." Well, they come together and agree on a plan by which they can be united and serve the Lord, and behold they are Congregationalists. (Approving sensation.) We have many Churches formed in this way. What I wish to say to Congregationalists is, that I am known at the West as a Congregationalist, and I do not think I shall be known as anything else. But I say to all, "Fair play." There is work enough for all to do, and room enough for all to do it in. But I ask these fathers from the East that they should be willing that their sons and daughters who go West should go and carry their own faith there. It seems to me the brethren at the East should settle the question whether their polity is in accordance with the Word of God or not. If it is, then take it; and if it is not, reject it; and if the Bible has not pointed out any Church polity, then let us know that.

Mr. KINGSBURY concurred in the remarks of Mr. TURNER with regard to the effect of the Plan of Union, as far as his own experience went, and related an

instance, confirming the statement that Churches were often not free in their choice as to the form of Church government they would have.

Rev. Mr. HAMMOND, of Michigan, said, he wished to suggest a few remarks upon the Plan of Union, and would premise them by stating that speakers in the West—and he among them—had acquired such habits of speaking, that he could not go round about to get at his meaning. Said he, we out West, when traveling from point to point, instead of going round, often go straight through “the openings.” I wish to say frankly with regard to the Plan of Union, that it has wrought evil and only evil from the beginning. I have no respect for the Plan, though I have a great respect for those good men of New England who assented to it. They ought to have been wiser, their fathers having come out of similar difficulties. The effect of the Plan has been to prove the truth of the declaration made by one, that “The waves do no more surely beat against the earth than the minds of ambitious men are led to encroach upon the rights of others.”

Our fathers did not throw those safeguards around their children who went to New York which they ought to have thrown. I was brought up in Central New York—the very region that suffered from this Plan of Union. The example was set in Connecticut, and other Plans of Union were framed for New York. I can point to Churches in Oneida, Madison and Chenango Counties, and others which are to this day living witnesses to the evils of this Plan—to the divisions and alienations resulting from its adoption. The earliest information which I received upon ecclesiastical subjects was connected with efforts to resist this plan of absorption. It is a plan like that spoken of in Exodus by which the rod of Aaron swallowed up the rods of the magicians. Such has been the result of the Plan in that region.

It has been said that many Churches have been gathered under it; but I would ask, would they not have been gathered without it and upon the Congregational principles of New England? Go as far West as you please, and would there not have been a republication of New England? Would not the leaven have gone South and West, and spread wider and wider, in accordance with the energy and talents of the descendants of New England, till the country was thus wholly pervaded with these principles?

Another result of this Plan is that it has re-acted upon New England itself. At Andover, where I went to study theology, I got not one idea upon which to make up my mind which was best—Congregationalism or Presbyterianism. Why? Because, being restricted to the Plan of Union, their mouths were shut, and they could not teach their students that the principles of Congregationalism were the principles taught in the Bible, and then at the same time instruct them if they went West they must join the Presbytery. I went to Michigan, and was there met by persons from New England—gentlemen of

talent, some of whom I have met here—who most cordially invited me to the Presbytery. The Plan of Union was a double-shotted cannon—red hot against Congregationalism. An effort was made to establish a Congregational Church at Detroit, but we were met by this Plan of Union, and it was said that the effort to form a Church not under the control of the Presbytery showed that we did not respect the Plan of Union. According then to my experience in the West, this Plan of Union has stood right in the way of our being distinctive Congregationalists. I am disposed also to trace the accusations of heresy to this Plan of Union. Some of us were charged with Oberlinism, and some in their anxiety to commend themselves to their Eastern brethren, in order to secure the Home Missionary fund, went to work to purge themselves from the charge of Oberlinism. But still the effect was that almost any Oberlin student could go to New England and be received by their own Associations as a good, accredited Minister of the Gospel. I can specify facts if they are called for. Now, the matter is somewhat complicated. We find now that the very heresiarch himself has been received in Connecticut; and we would like to inquire, since the old lion himself has been cherished in New England and received with welcome, and permitted to roar in Hartford pulpits—whether we are still to be called upon to hunt down the whelps in the West? If there is such a radical heresy at Oberlin, why is this state of things? I am rather inclined to think that all this mad-dog cry has grown out of the Plan of Union, and for the purpose of injuring Congregationalism at the West. I am heartily glad that this Report has been presented, and hope it will be adopted.

Rev. Mr. ADAMS, of Ohio, said,—I am anxious to complete our business, and hope those of us who feel moved to make speeches, will make short ones; and long speeches will not be needed, if all our reports are as well matured as the one before us. I wish merely to touch upon one objection. It is said that this movement will “run the plow-share of division through our Churches.” I am satisfied from my own experience that there is no necessity for this. I have spent six years in Ohio, and they have been among the most peaceful in my life. I supposed when I went there that the Plan of Union did not require any one to compromise his principles; but when I attended a meeting of Presbytery, and saw a member received from a Congregational Association, I discovered my mistake, and determined I would have nothing to do with it. We organized an Association of three members. One was soon removed by death, and two of us stood alone for two years. But we stood very comfortably, conscious that we were on a good foundation. The whole number that have *now* been connected with the Association is eleven, two or three of whom have been dismissed, and there is a fair prospect of a further increase. We have no collision with our Presbyterian brethren. It is only necessary that Congregationalists should act

out their principles, and observe the simple rule that *every one should mind his own business*.

Rev. Mr. COLTON, of Michigan, said, he was requested last spring to correspond with gentlemen in different Eastern States on this subject of the Plan of Union, and the result of his inquiries was to show that there were out of New England, including New York, and not reckoning those in Oregon and California, one thousand Churches. Of this one thousand, three hundred at least are connected with Presbyteries on the Plan of Union, so that one-third of the Churches formed out of New England have become Presbyterian. In this State, according to the best estimates, there are two hundred Churches connected with Presbyteries. On the Western Reserve there are seventy; and besides the two hundred in New York, there are one hundred and fifty independent Churches, making in all three hundred and fifty. We thus see the effect of the Plan has been to draw these Churches into Presbyteries; and they are counted as their members, reported as such in the General Assembly, and go as capital in that body. I will only say that, born naturally in the Old Bay State, and spiritually, if ever, in this city, and having been connected with the Second Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. SPRAGUE is Pastor, I went out to Jacksonville, Ill., and since that time, having labored with Presbyterians in revivals, both in the Old and New School Churches, I here publicly declare that I have no other than friendly feeling toward them. But being a Yankee from the Old Bay State, I think I have a right to protect myself, and with myself my brethren. Yankees claim the right to see to it, that things do not go wrong. This is our object. We have the best spirit with regard to Presbyterians, and wish them well. We only wish now to look at what has been done by the perversion of the Plan of Union.

The Report of the Committee was then adopted.

IV. THE DEBATE ON SLAVERY.

Dr. PETERS made the report from the Committee to whom was referred the resolution relating to the system and operations of the Am. Home Missionary Society, and all memorials respecting aid to churches in slaveholding states. He read the report as follows:—

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Your Committee are unanimous in their approbation of the voluntary and unsectarian character of the American Home Missionary Society, and in the wisdom and efficiency with which its affairs have been conducted.

On the subject of the Society's relation to the Presbyterian and Congregational systems of Church Polity, your Committee are of opinion that any disruption of present relations is unadvisable.

This Committee express their belief that this Society has executed its trust toward both Congregational and Presbyterian churches with impartiality; and that any complaints on this head will be found to result from local interests, and not from the administrative policy of the Society.

Thus far, said Dr. P., the Committee were unanimous, but in respect to the remainder of the report they were divided, nine being in favor of it and six opposed. He read as follows:—

On the subject of aid to slaveholding churches, the Committee present the following:

Believing that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches, it is our opinion that churches which recognize such slaveholders as worthy of membership, ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society; and, therefore, in dispensing the funds with which it is intrusted by the Christian public, it should give aid to such churches only as refuse such recognition.

Dr. PETERS then stated that the minority had prepared a report to be presented in place of the last half of the report of the majority, which, if it was in order, he would read.

The PRESIDENT allowing him to proceed, he read the following:—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such ministers only as shall endeavor, with simplicity of purpose, and with a wise discretion in their ministry, so to preach the Gospel, and commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in mitigating the oppressions of slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition.

Dr. PETERS then moved—

1. That the report of the majority be accepted.
2. That so much of that report as relates to the system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society, be adopted.
3. That the report of the minority be taken up as a substitute for the remaining portion of the report of the majority.

These motions being seconded and voted without debate,

Dr. PETERS said—The subject referred to the Committee was that of giving aid to Churches in slaveholding states. I object to that report of the majority because its title is a misnomer, in speaking of “slaveholding Churches.” Then I object to the report itself. It first contains a declaration of faith on the subject of slavery which I think we are not called on to make in this assembly, and I think that it is undignified and out of place to be made here. “Believing that those who hold their fellow-men as slaves violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not

to be received into Christian Churches," &c. I think that declaration is unecregational, and that it is inconsistent for this assembly to go into the interior of Christian Churches and say on what conditions persons shall be received. We are not competent to act on that subject. There is no call for the expression of our views.

Again, it is stated, that "it is our opinion that Churches which recognize slaveholders as worthy of membership, ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society." The ground of granting or withholding aid should be, the character of the minister whom you propose to send, and not the character of the Churches. The opinion of some of the members of the Committee was that ministers should not go to these Churches. That is, the Church must be converted from the worst of all its sins—in the reasoning of these gentlemen—before you send them the Gospel. And then the H. M. Society should give aid to such Churches only as refuse the recognition of slaveholders as members. That must all be done in slaveholding states before you send them the Gospel.

Then, the subject of Home Missionary operations was not referred to us. But in this majority report, the Home Missionary Society is brought in, and this advice is given to that Society. Now I suppose this is uncalled for. For these reasons, I thought it would be better, certainly more in accordance with my own views, and, I suppose, the views of the great majority of our Congregational Churches and ministers, to leave the propriety of sending the Gospel to, or withdrawing it from, slaveholding states, not upon the character of the Churches at all—for the more sinful the more need they have of the Gospel—but to base it upon the character of the ministers only. And inasmuch as it is said there are ministers within the slaveholding states that do advocate slavery as a biblical system, and therefore sustain it, I am willing to say, and that Churches should say, and that we should give our advice as follows. [See the resolution above.]

When I went into that Committee I thought it was doubtful whether I would say anything on the subject of slavery. I knew that it was an agitating topic, and irritating, especially in its connection with ecclesiastical order and political bodies, and I thought I would avoid it if it might be done. But I found the Committee was composed of gentlemen who had been, many of them, forward in discussing the slavery question in its various forms, and I found that those from the West thought that the West would not be satisfied unless we said something on this subject. I therefore was drawn from my determination in part, and willing to yield my own views as far as I could. When our western brethren wish us to say so much, that the world may know that we are not pro-slavery men, and that when we are said to be such in abolition papers and speeches we are slandered, we say we think it would not be worth while to send a minister to support slavery or give it countenance. There are two ways of letting our light shine. One is to light a candle and put it on a candle-stick, and let it light every-

thing in the room, and burn only the material of which it is composed. Another is to light torches and firebrands, and throw them broad-cast through the country, as if we were in sport. I differ from any member of the Committee as to the course to be pursued with regard to the evil of slavery. I differ with members of the Committee who have left the H. M. Society, and refuse to aid it because it gives aid to Churches in slaveholding states. I hold that the cardinal principles upon which we have acted hitherto, of aiding ministers in good standing in their own communion, without going into the inquiry as to the mode of discipline of the bodies with which they are connected, whether they are Congregational or Presbyterian, or going into the question of the rule of government which would exclude any man who ever sold intoxicating drinks, are sufficient. So with regard to slavery. We send a minister to preach the Gospel, and we intend to destroy slavery in the end, but we do not wait for slavery to be destroyed before we commence. We go and preach the Gospel in the face of slavery. This is in accordance with our policy from the beginning. This is the only Congregational and only Christian policy, in my opinion.

I will only add, that I wish the members of the Convention may meet this subject with great calmness, and remember that in this Committee I have felt myself to be in one of the most difficult positions in which I was ever placed, in being obliged to differ from good men on the Committee. And if the substitute for the report of the majority of the Committee is one that in substance meets all your views, I beg that we may not be detained by amendments and suggestions, and that we may not be led off into a protracted debate; for we have not the slightest prospect of converting each other on the subject of slavery now. Who is ready to be converted from his positions? Brother Blanchard is not, and I am not.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD replied, that his respected father Peters might have arrived at that stage of intellectual perfection which would make it impossible to be converted; but for his own part he was sincerely willing to be converted to better views than he then held. He said further, I feel it important to put some minor matters right before the Convention listens further to remarks upon the merits of the question. The father who has just addressed us remarked that the minority report was the report of six out of a committee of fifteen, and included among the minority the gentleman from Rhode Island. What I wish to say is, there is certainly an error in the number.

Dr. PETERS. The gentleman from Rhode Island told me he would go for my report, if it should be made the basis of discussion.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD. I wish to treat the report of the father, and himself, with all respect. He objects to the majority report because it is headed by a misnomer—"On the subject of aid to slaveholding Churches." Then he objects to the report, because we propose to convert slaveholders before we send the

Gospel there. I ask if this is a fair statement of our position. The object of the majority 'hath this extent, no more.' "Believing that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves," &c. The majority wish that Churches which ask aid from the free North will not hold and use their fellow-men as slaves for their own advantage. The father tells you that the majority are unwilling to send the Gospel till those Churches are converted from their sins. So far from this being the object of the majority, the object is this; to send a missionary to those Churches to convert them from their sins, and to send him under such circumstances as promise their conversion. We wish to send more missionaries into slaveholding states, but not to preach and administer a slaveholding discipline. We do not wish to put the consciences of our young men between the upper and the nether millstone and drag them down morally, by sending them to preach a Gospel which shall root out and exterminate slavery, but on conditions which must have an effect in the future, as they have for the last century, to build up instead of destroy slavery. That is all the object of the majority. Now whether it be correct or incorrect to state that our object is to refuse to send ministers there till these Churches rise up and convert themselves, this Convention must judge.

It was objected that the majority traveled out of the record in reporting on a subject which was not committed to them. I think it would have been more pertinent and proper if the chairman had instructed the Committee in the committee-room. But this is the first time I have heard these instructions from the father. I do not know but in casting the construction of his argument in his mind, this was reserved as a sort of forlorn hope. The minority report speaks well in many respects; but it speaks of "mitigating the oppressions of slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition." It takes a ground that would set us back half a century at least. Now we do not believe slavery is an evil to be mitigated, but that slaveholding, where a man holds a slave for his own use, as property, is a sin to be repented of; and that is just the difference between the two reports. You were told in the warmth of the argument of the father, that you were advised in our report to refuse aid till the Churches would exclude slaveholders. Is that the language of the report, every word of which the worthy chairman has attended to? The most that the majority wished was, that the Convention should take ground that those who hold slaves for their own advantage should not have aid.

This is, after all, the main subject which has called this Convention together. I am entitled to say that, because, in the absence of a worthy brother, I drew the Call myself in the Plymouth Church at Brooklyn; I know the views of those who called this Convention, and I know this was among the leading questions that led to the Call. I hope the sons will have patience with the fathers, and the fathers with the sons. I have been thankful to God for the manner in which you have been pleased to speak of us at the West, and I am ready to say that though I

have no great veneration for men, there is no body of men for whom I have more veneration than this which is here assembled.

I will say one word in explanation of a remark I have made before. I said, when speaking on another topic, that we came from the West to see if we could take all of our New England brethren by the hand; and if I said it in soft tones, it is not the first time that words have been uttered in soft tones which had none the less of truth in them on that account. Did not President Edwards say, in 1791, that "while you hold negroes in slavery, you do exceeding wrong"? This was in 1791, two years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, in a day and time when none would be suspected of fanaticism. When I was at Andover, it was deemed almost a heresy not to receive and hold the theology of President Edwards. Now I want to ask if our morality is become the purer by the fires that burn out our freedom?

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER said—It was not my purpose to speak at all in this Convention, because some of the fathers said this was a Convention in which Henry Ward Beecher was coming to make a great racket; and as I did not know anything about it, I meant to disappoint them. I was satisfied all the more, because I saw there was no occasion for it. I saw the Spirit of God was here, and I should not have spoken under any circumstances if the chairman of the Committee had not, in making his report, stopped and interlarded the whole report by remarks and explanations that did not fairly represent the majority of the Committee. But I regret that the majority are put on the defense in this case, and not the minority, as is usual when committees disagree on their report. Now, with all deference to the father, the proper way to bring in a report is, to bring it in as a document of that committee, as a unit, and then the minority may, if they choose, bring in a report. I think it is wrong for the chairman of a committee to bring in a minority report, and make his remarks; and that is what has brought me to my feet.

The majority did not wish to take advantage of any local currents to pledge this Convention, and give force to anti-slavery sentiments; for this reason: We have tongues to speak for ourselves. We have papers and pulpits, and we can give our opinions force according to our strength, and we do not ask any Convention to indorse anything to give authority to it. I do not want this Convention to give force to our sentiments on the subject of slavery.

This was my object. There is in the West a large number of Christians whose minds are disaffected on the sole ground that the funds of the A. H. M. S. went to slaveholding churches, where slaveholding for selfish purposes was no bar to communion. There was but one wish in my heart, which was, that the American Home Missionary Society might be helped by the report which should be brought before this body. We did not propose to take the H. M. S. and make it the snow-plow, and put the abolition engine behind, clearing the track

with that. We saw that society was liable to lose some of its helpers that loved it—some on this side and some on that, and this was declared in the Committee. By the bye, I would excuse myself from anything said in committee. It is the first time that I ever knew the conversation in a committee brought up before a body and cut up and analyzed. It was our wish to bring out such a paper as would put those churches, which were dissatisfied, at rest, and bring them into a perfect agreement with the A. H. M. S. That being the object, the question was not whether we should make a declaration of our opinions abstractly on slavery; for if our object had been to propagate these, then it would have been our business to draw up a paper and present them. But our object was to conciliate men and women. And a paper for such a purpose ought to have the grace of explicitness. It ought to say nay, and mean nay; or say yes, and mean yes. All we wanted was to bring back those churches who through their anti-slavery partialities were in danger of going off.

Now, brethren and fathers, I do not pretend that that was the best report which could be brought here. It did not suit me as I could prepare a paper to suit me, if I could sit down and deliberately draw it up. But we had a committee of fifteen men, and we were crowded for time, and had to adopt the best we could agree upon. There was another reason which I will not state. But I could not take the minority report, because it seemed to express nothing or anything. It had an excellent appearance of saying something; but under that appearance I could not find that it said anything. That is my trouble. There are churches in the West who say that if the H. M. Society do not do something they will wheel off. So we are told that slavery thrives under our contributions, and we do not wish to make the Gospel an understrapper for slavery. I wanted to say, not that slanderous thing, that we did not want to send the Gospel until the slaveholders were converted from slavery, because that point was made by me explicitly that we thought they needed the Gospel. And we thought that when anything was said, it should be something temperate, but something that had a practical application to the wants of those who objected to the operation of the H. M. S. It was our wish to say, that while slaveholders need the Gospel, it is not wise to give aid to churches, nor, all things considered, best to send missionaries to the South to churches who receive slaveholders who use their fellow-men for their own advantage. If I have one wish in my heart it is this, to see how these banded brethren of the Lord Jesus Christ—such a band as I never expect to see again—could take the most fiery and dangerous subjects and come to a Christian assent upon them; and therefore I did not mean to urge anything. Now, it is as much your interest as mine that there should be peace all around. And I am not strenuous on that report. If, in the judgment of wiser men, it is best to substitute this minority report, so be it. All I want is, that it should not be misunderstood how these reports came before this body.

Dr. BACON. I am not particularly desirous that this Convention should say anything on the subject now under consideration. I am not terrified, I will add, by the consideration which moved the brother who has just taken his seat, and who argues that the churches in the Northwest, unless we speak out in accordance with their views on this particular subject, will withdraw their contributions from the American Home Missionary Society. For my own part, I am willing that the American Missionary Association should prosper and be strong enough to extend its operations both abroad and in the Home field; and what reason for alarm is there in the thought that all these discordant elements may adjust themselves in that way? Even if half the churches of the Northwest should presently be found in connection with the Missionary Association, and should wholly withdraw from the Home Missionary Society, my hair would not grow gray any the sooner for that. The ark is the Lord's; and if the cattle that draw it stumble, it is not of course my business to hold it up by putting my hand to it. If we, in this Convention, cannot agree in some strong and harmonious utterance on this matter of the relation between Home Missions and slavery, I am very willing not to say anything at all; nor have I any fear of what may be the result of our silence.

As for the two reports which have come from the Committee, I am not quite satisfied with either of them. In the report of the majority, I dislike the phrase "slaveholding churches." It is equivocal and indefinite. There are churches in Virginia, and perhaps in other states—at least there *were* such churches in Virginia a few years ago, and it may be presumed there are now—which are literally "slaveholding churches." That is, they have an endowment or fund for the support of public worship, the endowment being invested in slaves—a half dozen, a half score, or a score of human beings black or yellow. These slaves are leased out from time to time, and the avails of their labor go into the treasury of the church. That is a "slaveholding church," and I know no other. From such a church I am willing to withdraw all communion. Of such a church, holding fast its endowment and compelling a few poor people to defray the expenses of public worship by their labor, I am willing to say *Anathema Maranatha*; and I believe every heart here will say, *Amen*! [Many responded *Amen*.] But the phrase "slaveholding churches" is used in the report, as I understand it, to signify something very different from this. It is best to use language, in a subject of this kind, with the utmost precision; for force depends on precision.

I feel too that the objection of the Chairman of the Committee against the resolution proposed by the majority, is entirely valid on this point, that instead of looking to the fitness and fidelity of the missionary whom the Missionary Society is to employ and commission, it looks to the state of discipline in the church in which the missionary is to labor. Whether intended or not by the Committee, the language of the resolution does say, in effect, that we are not to send the

Gospel to a church in which there are members who hold and use slaves for their own advantage, till that church shall have first reformed its discipline and its morals. That is the very point of the resolution, as reported. Let me ask, then, Are we not to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature? But how shall we go into the state of Missouri and preach the Gospel, if we must needs insist that the churches to which we preach it shall first come right on that cardinal point of Christian morality on which, more perhaps than on any other point, they need to be instructed and enlightened?

At the same time, I am free to say that I am not pleased with the language of the substitute proposed by the minority of the committee. Something stronger and more definite would be better. Before I sit down, I will read a form of a resolution which would please me better than either of the two now before us. I have written my own form, because on this subject I am somewhat in the habit of standing by myself. I have always found myself in a state of "betweenity" in relation to parties on questions connected with slavery, so that, as Baxter said of himself in regard to the controversies of his day, where other men have had one adversary I have had two. And I expect it will be so as long as I live—or as long as slavery lives, if I should happen to outlive it.

The question of slavery has of late become—and it is destined still to be—a grand political question, not in the slave-holding states only, but throughout all the states. I use the term "political" not in the low and vulgar sense of party politics, but in that true and high sense in which a political question is a question of public or national polity. The question of slavery has become a political question, in regard to which every elector, not to say every citizen, in these thirty-one sovereignties, has a distinct responsibility. Since the question of slavery was brought into the arena of national politics by the annexation of Texas, there has been developed throughout the Christian community of these free states, an intense and unanimous opposition to slavery. It has been made manifest that the fire of other days, the true spirit of our fathers, is yet alive and glowing under the embers. Party managers may attempt to bury the question under their compromises, and may proclaim that the vexed and vexing subject is finally disposed of; but the very men who make the compromises, know at the time that there is no possibility of keeping them, and have no expectation so absurd as the expectation that their compromises will be final. The self-same question is to come up again, a few months hence, with redoubled fire and excitement, in every arena of political debate. At whatever moment the question of the annexation of Cuba comes up, or the question of the acquisition of some other territory on the Gulf of Mexico, that thither the slaves of Virginia may be sent, from the temperate clime of their birth, to swelter and die under a tropical sun in the cultivation of sugar, the voices of millions will rise in one loud, stern protest, till the petty jug-

glery that passes for statesmanship shall contrive some new compromise to mystify and corrupt for a season the moral sense of the great American people.

But unanimous as we are on the political question of establishing slavery by the power of the Union or of permitting its continued existence where the government of the Union has power to abolish it, we are not unanimous on the question of the application of Church discipline to slavery. The moment we raise that question, our voices become discordant ; and the force of our protest against slavery as a political institution is diminished. Some hold that the master of slaves should instantly abdicate his power without regard to consequences ; and that if he refuses or hesitates, the Church should exclude him from communion. Others hold that the law of love may require him to retain for a season the power with which the law of the land has invested him, to stand between them and the state that treats them as enemies, and to administer a kindly and civilizing government over them till they shall be able to govern themselves. It is undesirable that in such a meeting as this, we should undertake to decide these long disputed questions. And here I will say that I highly approve the discretion which the majority of the Committee have shown in the framing of the resolution which they have reported. They ask us to pronounce that the discipline of the Church should be inflicted—not upon slaveholders simply as such, but—upon “those who, for their own advantage, hold and use their fellow-men as slaves.” Such a position is in no respect unreasonable. It is, in effect, the same with that which I have myself defended in our public meetings of Ministers for many years. The offense upon which it invokes the censures of the Church, is something which the moral sense of every human being recognizes as a crime. Doubtless the moral sense may be misled, blinded, or silenced. Doubtless men may do wickedly, without being at all aware of the wickedness they are doing. Thus there are many disputes about the moral sense ; and some men—even some theologians, if I mistake not—deny that there is any such thing. But there is a moral sense among the elements of the human soul ; and if any man does not know what it is, I will tell him where to find it. It is that faculty which gives you the idea or conception of wrong. It is that sense which, when a certain act is committed on yourself, makes you feel not only the painfulness of the thing but the wrongfulness of it. Here we have, as Dr. Chalmers has beautifully unfolded it, the *genesis* of the earliest knowledge of wrong and right in the mind of a child. The child of a year old begins to know when wrong is done to himself, and thus he comes to know when he does wrong to others. You know instinctively when you are wronged, as soon as you understand what has been done to you. You have an immediate and untaught perception of injustice perpetrated on yourself. To that instinct—to that law of which even selfishness is compelled to be the guardian, add the great precept of the Gospel—“Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do

ye even so to them,"—and the revelation of the moral sense is complete. To this moral sense we must make an appeal against the wickedness of slavery. To this universal moral sense, every act of Church discipline, which has any bearing on slavery, must commend itself. The universal moral sense of human nature knows that it is wrong for me to seize upon a human being, however helpless he may be before the law, and, for my own advantage, to hold and use him as a slave. If any man can be found who has not moral sense enough to know that, it might be wise to sell him for a slave till he does know it. [Laughter.] I heartily approve, therefore, the guarded statement of the Committee, "that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian Churches." And yet there are reasons—the President intimates that I am in danger of transgressing my limits as to time, and therefore I cannot state the reasons which convince me that the Convention cannot agree upon that resolution, and ought not to adopt it. I will, therefore, if it be in order, propose the following as an amended form of the substitute introduced by the minority of the Committee:—

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the manifestation of Christ, wherever his gospel is preached, and preached in its purity, will destroy 'the works of the devil,' slavery not excepted: and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to Churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such Ministers *only* as shall endeavor, with simplicity of purpose, and by wise discretion in their Ministry, to preach the gospel, and to commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in respect to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and furthermore, that where such Ministers of the Gospel have no freedom to speak their convictions, and will not be received or heard by the people, they should depart from that place, and wipe off the dust of their feet as they go."

Dr. PATTON then took the floor and said, My object is not to make a speech in favor of or against slavery. The question to consider is, what will be the effect of such a measure on the A. H. M. Society? I apprehend there is much ignorance on that subject, and that if the true fact were known it would relieve the minds of many from much feverishness on that subject. The part of the report which we have adopted is, that we will go on as we have, in co-operation with that Society. The H. M. Society have said that they will not commission any slaveholding Missionary. This made a sensation at the time. But that man is not to be found on God's earth who is a Missionary of the H. M. Society and a slaveholder. That position is now understood at the South. The moment a person who holds a commission as a Missionary of that Society becomes a slaveholder, his commission ceases. See how it works on the other side. A Missionary in Kentucky took it into his head that he would not have a person in communion in his Church who held a slave. The Synod write to the H. M. Society, "You must dismiss that man." They say, "We cannot." It is replied,

"He ought not to hold your commission." It is responded, "Are you ready to table charges against him, and depose him from the Ministry? Until you are, you must not ask us not to sustain him." The Society has thus two oppositions like two mighty mountains of strength. It is my opinion that if you leave the report as far as you have adopted it, and let the rest lie over, and leave the Society to work out their way as their wisdom and piety will enable to do it best, it will be wiser than for us to legislate on the subject in this body. There has been no expression used here which conveys the deep abhorrence of my soul against slavery. No language can be used—Dr. Cox cannot make words big enough to express my feeling against it. But the question is not, how great a curse or blessing it is. There are so few Churches in the slave states which are aided by the Society, while the immense mass are in the free states; why should we put shackles on the Society? It is best to let well enough alone. Let us express what we have adopted, and as to the rest, let us trust those men in the H. M. S. who have devoted their best years and strength to this good cause. I would postpone the majority report, the minority report, and Dr. Bacon's rhetorical report.

Rev. Mr. STORRS, of Brooklyn, remarked that it had been said that the subject now before the Convention was the principal occasion of the calling of such a Convention. The statement is incorrect. In that unqualified form it must make a wrong impression, however unintentionally. This Convention was occasioned and brought about by a multitude of influences. The reasons impelling the General Association of New York to invite it were manifold. All the interests that have here been discussed, concerning the relations of Eastern and Western Congregationalists, concerning the Plan of Union, the best mode of helping Western Churches to build Church-edifices, etc., had been considered and discussed by the Members of that Association before they decided to propose this Convention. The fact that this subject was one principal one discussed in the Association, at the time when the Committee was appointed to issue the Call, does not show at all that the Convention was called mainly on account of this. That was hardly more than an accidental coincidence. The existence of this body is a fact that has grown out of many roots; though that happened to be the one about which the Association was principally digging, just at that juncture.

And now, as I have said a word that seemed needful on this matter, may I be permitted to add a few words on the general subject before us? It seems to me that we may have some *unnecessary* heats of feeling, here; that we do all agree more nearly than we think. Either of the Reports is good, and will do good. I will begin with the Minority Report; indeed, I will not read the others, for they, as you know, take stronger ground than this on the matter of Slavery. But I am bound to say of this, after carefully reading it, that it seems to me to

express good, Christian ground, on this subject of aid to Churches containing slaveholders; and I am quite willing to have it go as the voice of this Convention. I will read it:

[Mr. S. read the Resolution.]

Now I do not say that that says all that it might say, and yet speak truthfully. I do not say that it says all that I should like to have it say, if only my views were to be consulted about it. But I do say that so far as it goes it speaks the Truth. It speaks Anti-Slavery Truth. The Gospel *will* remove error and wrong, where it is faithfully preached; and Missionary aid *should* be given *ONLY* to such Ministers as will faithfully and wisely preach it, for the accomplishment of this end. Undoubtedly we may go a great deal further than this, if we choose, and if we are all agreed, and yet keep within the limits of justness. We may build out our piers into the rushing current of prejudice and error on this subject, a great way beyond this resolution. But why should we try to do it?—when we cannot do it unanimously; and when so far as we have built this, in this Report, it is firm, solid, durable, and has deep water enough before and all around it to float the largest Christian enterprise. For one, Sir, I must say, that the Report seems to me to have been undervalued, in respect to its Anti-Slavery character. It is thoroughly true and good, so far as it goes.

Then, again, Sir, I am constrained to think that this Report states the true ground, and the other does *not*, in regard to the bestowment of Missionary aid. That aid is given to the Minister, not to the Church. It is to enable him to preach the Gospel; not to enable the Church to get rich, or to build itself larger and more splendid edifices. And it is therefore to the character of the MAN, that the Society is to look, in appropriating its aid. Whomsoever God has called to the kingdom of his Son, and to the work of his Ministry, by the regenerating, enlightening and quickening influences of the Holy Spirit, Him I ought to own; the Churches and their Societies ought to own and accept him, and to aid him as he needs it. We cannot be absolved from this obligation. It is because of this obligation that Missionary Societies exist and are sustained. Wheresoever any man has Christ within him, *his* Wisdom, Righteousness, and his Hope of Glory—and wheresoever he is endeavouring, with his whole heart and mind, in the devotion of his life, to carry to men the knowledge of this Christ, to make them sharers in this Redemption—I have no right to withhold from him my aid, my sympathies, my prayers, and my pecuniary contributions. I am bound, on the other hand, to give them all to him. And I never can say—in even that poor measure in which any mortal man may say it after Christ—I *never* can say, when Death comes to me, and I look back upon Life and the mission with which God has entrusted me in it, “It is finished”—if I fail to do this.

And, Sir, I think we should be extremely cautious how we limit the scope of this Missionary aid. Of course we should not so extend it, as to establish error

or wrong-doing by our charities. But I think we should look upon differences of view, on this very subject of Slavery, with a great deal of forbearance; perhaps, I may say, with a pretty broad latitude of indulgence. Why, Sir, there have been times in my experience, and not long ago, either—when I could not for the life of me find it in my heart to say that I esteemed as Christian brethren Ministers, my neighbors, perhaps some of them in this house, for their views on this very matter of American Slavery. They have seemed to me to preach a doctrine most thoroughly anti-Christian; a doctrine from which my whole nature recoils, to its inmost depths. And yet if these men had applied to me for aid in preaching the Gospel—should I have been justified in withholding it from them? *Not* so long as I had confidence in their Christian character, and in their capacity to preach. They may be greatly in error upon this subject. To my mind they are so; greatly and fearfully. But I could not withhold from even them my aid, so long as I was satisfied that they preached in substance, and with desire to bless men, the Gospel of the Master. Of course it will be a question, and a grave one, how far a man may go in ministering to a Church that has slaveholders in it, and retain our confidence in his wisdom and zeal, and his single-hearted devotion to the Master. That is a question for the Societies who sustain him to answer in its time. But *so long as* they respect and love him as a Christian Minister, they are bound to assist him, so far as he needs it.

I will add, too, that it seems to me that now more than at any other time, it becomes us to be united, and most efficiently united, in this work of Home Missions. Now when God is pouring the heathen *upon* us—is about to bring them from the shores of the Pacific over to our Eastern slope, to live in our very households and families—and when the population of our country is increasing and spreading with such unexampled rapidity—when it is sweeping out on every side with the speed of Steam, and I had almost said of the electric force—now, more than ever, we ought to labor, together and most vigorously, to evangelize our Land. We should carry abroad the Gospel, wherever we can get place for it. We owe it to the country which God has given us; so rich, and vast, and populous, as it shall be. We owe it to the World; over whose affairs, and for whose good, this country is to be grandly and permanently influential. I feel, in every fibre of my being, that now it becomes us with new, unfainting, redoubled zeal, to plant the Gospel everywhere in this country; to plant it, and to maintain it, by the presence of the Preacher. We send the Word of God in the Bible, everywhere; to Slave-States, as to Free. Why not the Minister, then? who is to be the living, *breathing*, Word of God; who is so, just so far as he feels and expresses the Spirit of his Master. Put him wherever men will receive and hear him, I say; without waiting till they are rid of their worse forms of Sin. Put him there, and keep him there, so long as you are satisfied of his Christian

character—and so long as they will let him remain. If he cannot do all the good we wish, let us be grateful for the good he *can* do. The Gospel is a Light; and wherever it is placed, it will enlighten at least partially the surrounding darkness. And our aim must be to increase and multiply such centres of light, till the Land is full of their clear illumination.

For these reasons, I, for one, am in favor of the Minority Report. I hope we shall take *no* action in this body, that will not be unanimous and hearty; no action that will be divisive, and put us apart from each other, in regard to this great work of Christian philanthropy. Except for the strength of my convictions on this subject, I would not have spoken, but have left it to others to speak more ably, in this Presence. But I do feel, deeply, strongly, *vitally*, that we ought as Christian men to be agreed in this matter. And while, as an Anti-Slavery man, I might amend the Minority Report to suit my views more perfectly, I am sure that so far as it goes it states and maintains good, stable, Anti-Slavery, CHRISTIAN ground.

REV. MR. BLANCHARD said that though he did say, in the hurry of speaking, that this subject was the principal occasion of calling the Convention, he afterwards corrected it, and said it was one of the principal reasons for calling it.

After some farther discussion, the whole subject was re-committed.

After the Communion, the President called the Convention to order, when Dr. PETERS reported that the Committee on Home Missions had come to a unanimous and cordial agreement on the question that had been referred back to them. The report was read, and was at once unanimously adopted, without debate, as follows:—

THE CONCLUSION ON SLAVERY.

On the subject of aid to Churches in the slaveholding states, the Committee present the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to Churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, “depart out of that city.”

So happy a result of a discussion, from which many had anticipated evil, called forth at once a devout expression of gratitude from the Convention, which closed the labors of the day.

V. CLOSING ADDRESSES.

Rev. Mr. HOLBROOK, of Iowa, presented the following Resolution :—

Resolved. That we gratefully and devoutly recognize the over-ruling providence of God in calling this Convention together, in the measures which have been adopted, and the entire harmony with which its results have been arrived at.

Mr. H. said—Mr. President, You will bear in mind that Western brethren have occupied but a small portion of the time and attention of this Convention. It was not our design to do so. We felt a deep interest in the calling of this Convention, and in its proceedings. But we desired it more for the purpose of mutual acquaintance, and to enable our fathers and brethren of the East to give us advice in regard to our course in the circumstances in which we are placed as Congregationalists, than for the purpose of bringing forward any plan of our own. Therefore, we are quite satisfied that others have occupied the attention of the Convention, and have brought forward and given direction to its measures. It is true that on one or two points we might have wished to ask a little time, to state some facts in order to impress this Convention with the importance of the measures which have been adopted. But we saw that everything was moving entirely to our satisfaction, and we were content.

I wish to say in my own behalf, and I believe in behalf of every individual at the West, that we are perfectly satisfied, so far as we are concerned, with the decisions of this Convention, and the results to which it has come. In the first place, we have taken up the Plan of Union, and in accordance with the unanimous views of men who have lived in the West, and have seen the practical operation of that Plan, we have decided that whatever may have been the wisdom and propriety of adopting it, the day of its usefulness, if it ever had any, is gone by. We are unanimously of the opinion that this Convention has acted wisely, and in accordance, not only with the best interests of our denomination, but of the cause of Christ throughout the West, in declaring that it is not wise to attempt to carry out any longer this specific Plan of Union. We believe the attempt to do it would be productive of more collision than anything else.

In the second place this Convention has decided that it will frown on all representations and charges against us at the West, unless those who make them will do it specifically, and hold themselves responsible for the truth of the allegations. We were desirous that some such action should be taken by this Convention for various reasons, one of which was, that it would encourage and strengthen Western brethren in their labors, and prevent their being disheartened as they have been by such reports as have been made before Associations at the East, and which were calculated to undermine our influence, and destroy your confidence in

us. There has been a systematic design in these reports, as some think, for the purpose of cutting off the bond of sympathy between the East and the West, so that that sympathy might be turned into another channel. There has been a great effort made to prove that the cause of Christ was safer in the hands of another denomination than in ours. I am rejoiced, and all the West unite with me in rejoicing, that this decisive course has been taken. We do not agree that the passage of this Resolution was of little or no importance; on the other hand, we regard its passage of as much importance as anything done by this Convention. It will tell upon our Eastern brethren, and upon those who are desiring to throw obstacles in our way in our operations at the West.

I regard the measures with respect to Church building as very important, and entirely satisfactory.

In regard to the action of the Convention respecting the A. H. M. Society, we are all unanimously agreed. We have confidence, and have always said it in public and in private, in all the officers of the A. H. M. S. With reference to myself, I will say that I have been understood as having expressed some opinion that they were partial in their operation, or that the operation of the Society at the West tended to injure Congregationalism, and aid another denomination. I have never expressed, and never held such an opinion. We have confidence in the officers of that Society, that they have been wholly impartial in all their action; and we rejoice to have the opportunity, as we did in Iowa last spring, to express our confidence in these brethren who manage that Society, and to declare our opinion that they have been entirely impartial in the administration of its affairs.

And in regard to the subject of Slavery, I cannot express the gratitude that I feel to God, that we come to so happy a result upon it. There is a deep feeling in the Western Churches on the subject of Slavery; and I rejoice to say that the position taken last evening is precisely the position which I have advocated in our General Association, and in the newspapers; and I believe it is a decision which will commend itself heartily to all our Churches in the West, that the influence of it will be to strengthen the influence of the H. M. Society beyond all calculation. It will prevent those who were hesitating about withdrawing from doing so now, and will, perhaps, be the means of drawing others into our organization. The importance of holding Western Churches with these Boards is greater than most men are aware of. The day is not distant when vast sums of money, and I have no doubt many men, will be drawn from the Western Churches to aid these Boards in their work of evangelizing and saving the world. In my Church, which is on the frontier, we have five men converted and in colleges, preparing themselves to engage in the Missionary work at home and abroad. My Church has contributed during the past year nearly seven hundred dollars. It was a few years ago a Missionary Church. That is only one exam-

ple out of many that I could mention. Many more will do the same thing before long. It is of vast importance that we act harmoniously, that Western Ministers and Churches be retained in connection with these great Boards which we love, and have been taught to love from our youth. I would sooner cut off my right hand than cut off my connection with either of these Boards, so long as I can act conscientiously with them.

I have but a word more to say, which is, that the great object accomplished by this Convention after all, has been the bringing of us together here and making us acquainted with the views and feelings of each other with respect to the great measures which have been adopted by us. We feel, and our fathers and brethren from the East feel that we are one in sentiment, one in our great views of action; and this, if nothing more had been accomplished, and we had not adopted one of the measures which have been before us, would have been sufficient to remunerate us for all the time and trouble and expense we have been at in coming. And I do most heartily thank God for the calling of this Convention and for the measures adopted. It is a great Convention; its influence will flow far and wide over this nation, and far down the stream of time, and I have no doubt our descendants will look back upon this Convention with something of the feeling with which we look back upon a similar Convention of our denomination, held nearly two hundred years ago.

Rev. J. B. WALKER said, he desired for himself and others to suggest a single modification or amendment in one passage of the remarks which had just been made. He supposed it was implied in the remarks, but he wished it to be distinctly stated. He agreed to all things that had been said concerning the valuable results which would follow the doings of this Convention. But in regard to the statement that the action of this Convention would have the effect to prevent many Churches from withdrawing from the American Home Missionary Society, it should be added—*provided* that Society shall think proper to act upon the principles set forth in the report of this Convention. This Convention is not the American Home Missionary Society, and our report does not speak for it. If that Society shall continue to send out Missionaries who receive and retain members in their communion who hold and treat men as property—if they sustain men in slaveholding states, who preach the Gospel so that it will not have an effect to bring to pass the “speedy abolition of the tremendous wrong of slavery”—if these principles of the report are not carried out by the old Boards, many Churches already disaffected both at the West and the East, will give their contributions to other Societies, and many not now disaffected will become so.

Rev. J. BLANCHARD, of Illinois, said, He wished likewise to acquiesce in the things spoken by Mr. HOLBROOK in behalf of the West, with the addition or suggestion just stated by Mr. WALKER.

The resolution was then adopted.

Dr. HAWES then rose and said, that in a remark made in his Sermon he was the author of a wrong impression in regard to the date of the last preceding General Convention of Congregationalists. He had been misled himself by a newspaper article on the subject, but had since learned that the last Convention was held in 1680. The one which he had in his mind when the statement was made in the Sermon, was held in 1657.

Rev. Father ARMSTRONG, of Ballston, N. Y., said—My Christian Fathers and Brethren, I stand before you as an anomaly in my generation, being now seventy-seven years of age, and having enjoyed through my long life perfect and uninterrupted good health. I feel that I have been abundantly rewarded for coming up to this Convention. I am the only Congregational Minister in all the counties in the region where I live. All the rest have gone over to Presbyterianism, and I am left alone. But I rejoice that I have been here, and I accord fully in my heart in all the doings of the Convention. I verily believe in my heart that, as it was said in the Scripture of Josiah, “he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord,” so it may be said of you. That should always be our aim, either as individuals or in public assemblies. Now in closing I will say in the language of Divine Inspiration, “Whatsoever your hands find to do, do it with your might.” To glorify God, is the work our hands find to do, to serve our generation and to set our house in order and prepare for death and eternity. And may the Lord God of heaven keep us and enable us to do it for the glory of His great name and the good of His Church and people on earth.

Dr. BEECHER then said—I feel greatly relieved, greatly delighted, and highly grateful for the evidence we have had of the Divine presence in the counsels and deliberations of this meeting. Permit me to say that I have been conversant with this whole subject, having been half the time in the Presbyterian Churches and half the time in the Congregational. God helping, I have been affectionate and faithful, and I have felt that just about as much good might be done in the one as in the other. With respect to this division, it is incidental to the circumstances in which we are found. With reference to the manner in which we were brought together, it is true there has been some scratching on both sides; but that is all gone now, and no matter for that. From the feelings shown and declarations made here, I think we are now cut off from all chafings incidental to a state of things which we had outgrown. Now there is a mutual understanding, and each can march onward under its own denominational colors, and happy is the man who can do the most good. We shall have no more letters of complaint nor *ex parte* statements. Home Missions and Foreign Missions will have our prayers and support. We shall “go ahead,” and we shall see the Millennium much quicker than if we had stood where we were when this Convention met.

An appropriate and solemn closing prayer was made by Rev. Dr. CALHOUN, of Connecticut, after which the Convention united in singing the Christian Doxology. The President then, at half-past 10 o'clock, A.M., declared the Convention adjourned, *sine die*, and the members parted in love to go to their several homes.



Faith, Philosophy, and Reason.

A

BACCALAUREATE SERMON,

DELIVERED AT

WILLIAMSTOWN, MS.

AUGUST 18, 1850.

BY MARK HOPKINS, D. D.

President of Williams College.

BOSTON:

PRESS OF T. R. MARVIN, 24 CONGRESS STREET.

1850.

FACTS and opinions have been communicated to me, which have encouraged the hope that the publication of the following Discourse may be useful at the present time. It would have been published sooner, but the nature and limits of the occasion on which it was delivered precluded as full a discussion of some points, particularly if objections were to be obviated, as would be desirable ; and I have hoped to find time, either to expand, or to recast and publish it in a different form. Not having been able to do this, it is published as it was delivered. That it may add something to clearness of thought and definiteness of expression on this subject ; that it may tend to place Faith, as one of the great natural principles of action, where it belongs ; and especially, that it may strengthen the faith of some humble Christian, is the desire and prayer of the Author.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1850,

BY T. R. MARVIN,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

SERMON.

HEBREWS, XI. 33, 34.

WHO THROUGH FAITH SUBDUED KINGDOMS, WROUGHT RIGHTEOUSNESS, OBTAINED PROMISES, STOPPED THE MOUTHS OF LIONS, QUENCHED THE VIOLENCE OF FIRE, ESCAPED THE EDGE OF THE SWORD, OUT OF WEAKNESS WERE MADE STRONG, WAXED VALIANT IN FIGHT, TURNED TO FLIGHT THE ARMIES OF THE ALIENS.

THE word 'hero,' does not occur in the Bible. Nothing can be more opposite to its spirit than that self-sufficiency, and recklessness of human rights and sufferings, which are commonly associated with this term. Still, there are no higher examples of a true heroism than the Bible presents. In the text, and the chapter from which it is taken, we have an account of great and heroic exploits, performed indeed in ancient times, but such as we should be glad to see emulated, such as ought to be emulated in the midst of the light and advantages of our day. We have a right to expect, as the stream of time rolls on and pours its accumulated wealth at the feet of new generations, that there shall not only be an increase in the knowledge of nature, but that there shall be, at least, no failure in the breadth and compass of a comprehensive wisdom, or in the might of a true manhood that is ready to do and to suffer in the cause of humanity and of God.

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But not only may *we* expect this ; it is also intimated by the Apostle that it is expected and watched for by those who have gone before us. He represents, in the opening of the succeeding chapter, those worthies and veterans who had finished their own course, as gathered into a vast assembly, forming "a cloud of witnesses," and watching with intense interest the bearing of those who follow them. "Seeing then," says he, "that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us run with patience the race that is set before us."

This race, my friends of the Graduating Class, I would now invite you to run. *You* are especially called upon to emulate the example of the great and good,—to do deeds that shall not only cause joy on earth, but shall send a new thrill through the vast assembly of those who have gone before you.

But if you are to do the deeds of these ancient heroes you must be girded with the same armor, be controlled by the same principle, must have the same prize in your eye, and be sustained by the same power. Fruitful as the nineteenth century has been in inventions, it yet furnishes none for making great and good men. The great tree must grow now from the same earth, and under the same sun, and by the same processes and ministrations of dew and rain and storms, as the great tree of old ; and so, now, as of old, must the life and might of true greatness be drawn from the same fountains, and work themselves out by essentially the same processes. Were these deeds performed of old only

by faith ? then only by faith will they be performed now.

What then is Faith ? Avowed by Christianity as its peculiar principle of action, ridiculed by the philosophers, is it indeed some new, or peculiar, or blind, or fanatical principle ? Or is it one of those grand and universal principles which underlie human action, which are necessary to true heroism, to a right philosophy, to individual and social perfection, and which must, in the progress of light, come more and more into distinct recognition and general acknowledgement ?

Whatever faith may be, it must be conceded that the accounts given of it by its advocates have been neither uniform nor consistent. It has been said to be simple belief, founded on evidence, and not differing from any other belief ; to be belief in testimony ; to be belief for reasons not derived from intrinsic evidence ; to be a belief on the ground of probable, as distinguished from demonstrative evidence ; to be a belief in things invisible and supernatural ; to be a trust ; and more recently, and transcendently, it has been said to be an *organ* of the soul by which it becomes cognizant of the invisible and the supernatural.

To some, this diversity of statement may seem to indicate that there can be nothing in faith very definite or important. To me it indicates the reverse ; for while men do certainly differ about things which are indefinite and obscure, yet it is also found that they come latest, if at all, to the investigation of those principles which are the most

intimate and essential, and that they are no where less likely to come to a uniform and satisfactory result. As in mathematics the truths that are most nearly intuitive are the last and the most difficult to be demonstrated, so here the principles and processes which are so essential that they seem inwoven into our being, are the last to be investigated and the most difficult to be satisfactorily explained. Men are no better agreed what reason is, or what personal identity consists in, than they are what faith is; and yet, as those who think wrongly on these subjects may, and do, exercise their reason, and continue the same persons precisely as they would if they thought rightly, so those who make different statements in regard to faith, all exercise faith, and receive the benefits of faith, in precisely the same way.

That the term faith may not be used loosely and popularly, to designate the ideas just mentioned, and also others, I would not say; but the inquiry now is, What, generically, and specifically, is that Faith upon which the Bible insists as essential to salvation, and by which the great deeds it records were performed? Can this faith be so defined that our idea of it shall be distinct, that it shall harmonize with philosophy and with reason, and that it shall be adequate to the great offices assigned to it in the Bible?

I propose in the following Discourse, first, to answer these inquiries; and secondly, to speak of the offices of faith—more particularly, as adapted

to this occasion, of its office as a principle of action to be adopted by every young man.

The definition of faith which I would propose, and which seems to me to meet the conditions just mentioned, is, that it is *confidence in a personal being*. Faith lives and moves and has its being only in the region of personality. Whatever we may believe respecting things visible or invisible, on any other ground than our confidence in a personal being, does not seem to me to be faith. It implies the recognition of a moral nature, and a conviction of the trust-worthiness of the being possessed of such a nature.

This definition of faith implies a division of this universe into two departments, that of persons, and that of things; and, in connection with this division, will give us a clear distinction between philosophy and faith. The sphere of faith is the region of personality, that of philosophy is the region of things. Each of these spheres addresses our sensibilities and calls for investigation, but in accordance with its own nature and laws.

By things, are called forth, in the region of sensibility, the emotions of beauty, of sublimity, and of admiration; by persons, in addition to these, confidence, affection, passion.

In her investigations in the department of things, philosophy is concerned, not with all knowledge, but chiefly with resemblances in those things that exist together, and with uniformities in those that exist in succession. These are the basis of all classification, of all inductive reasoning — and it is

through these that we get all our ideas of physical order and law.

Philosophy presupposes a knowledge of things as they exist separately. This being given, she neglects all individual peculiarities, and proceeds to group them according to their resemblances, and to give them collective names. In doing this she acquires for man power, and practical guidance, because a resemblance in external signs denotes a resemblance in essential properties. This gives value to the signs of nature, and shows that in the department of resemblances she is constituted on the basis of truth.

But not only does philosophy notice resemblances in beings and phenomena that exist together, she also notices uniformity of succession; and is thus enabled to foretell the future, and to act wisely with reference to it. She believes in a uniformity of succession according to the order that is established. She investigates the laws in accordance with which this succession moves on. As among things that exist together, she knows nothing of individual peculiarities, so in phenomena that exist in succession, she knows nothing of exceptions, and admits with great reluctance, or not at all, that such exceptions really exist.

Such, except as she may be said to investigate causes, is philosophy. She stands in the centre of things that co-exist, and passes onward and outward to the farthest star, stepping more or less firmly as the resemblances, by which alone she proceeds, are more or less perfect; she stands at the present point

in things that succeed each other, and binds the future to the past by what she conceives to be an inexorable law.

But it may be inquired whether philosophy does not extend to the domain of mind. Yes, so far as mind is a thing, and hence under the law of an absolute uniformity, but no farther. The moment a personal being is placed under that law of nature by which that which follows is *necessarily* the product of that which precedes, personality ceases, and you have mere nature—a thing. The very idea of that necessary uniformity upon which philosophy is based, precludes that of personality. It also precludes the idea of faith; for whatever we may believe without the range of personality, and on whatever grounds, there is always wanting that element which enters into faith by which a person may be said not only to have confidence, but to be *confiding*.

The sphere of faith, as opposed to that of philosophy, is, as I have said, the region of personality. Here we find affections, and a moral nature, and a free-will. In the sphere of things we deal with similarities, and uniformities of succession, and laws, and do not necessarily know anything back of these. We *may* indeed refer them all to a personal agent, but for the grounds of our belief we are not necessitated to go beyond the uniformities and laws themselves. We have in these nothing of the great element of character. But in our dealings with personal beings, whatever ground we may have for belief, either of what they say, or of what they will do, must be found, not in any law, not in any

unvarying uniformity conceived of as necessary, but in the *character* of the personal being. This is an element entirely different from any found in the sphere of philosophy, and it is upon this that faith fixes. This is the grand peculiarity of faith; it is confidence in a personal being. Like belief, it admits of degrees. As the highest form of belief is certainty, so the highest form of faith is such a confidence in the character of any being as will lead us to believe whatever he may say *because he says it*, and to commit implicitly into his hands every interest of our being.

And as that without us which calls forth faith, is so different from that which is the basis of philosophy, so it may be remarked, is that within us which is brought into action also different. Doubtless the nature of man is preconformed to the state into which he is to come, and as he naturally conforms himself to the uniformities of nature, so does he, though by a different principle, naturally confide in those to whom his being is intrusted. It is not to be supposed that that feeling of confidence with which the infant looks up into the eye of its mother, with which the new formed angel must look up to his God, is the same as that by which he is adapted to the blind and unvarying movements of nature. It is not to be supposed, as these two great spheres of persons and of things are so distinct, that our nature should not be equally preconformed to each.

If the spheres of faith and of philosophy be thus distinct, it will be obvious that they can come into conflict only at a single point. A personal being may make assertions about facts that lie within the

domain of philosophy, and these assertions may seem to conflict, and may conflict, with evidence respecting those same facts derived from philosophy. But in such a case man is not left to the alternative of a blind faith or a presumptuous philosophy. His reason is to decide. By this he is to ascertain, on the one side, that a personal being has spoken, what he has said, what means he had of knowing the truth, and what confidence is to be placed in his character. On the other side, he is to inquire whether he knows all the facts and their relations, and is sure of his inferences. If, after this, there shall seem to be a conflict, or a contradiction, reason must strike the balance, and say whether, under the circumstances, it is more rational to put confidence in a personal being, or to believe in facts and deductions for which we have another species of evidence. Reason recognizes both these grounds of belief; and she, and she only, can decide in cases of apparent conflict between them.

Having thus considered the relations of faith and philosophy, let us now look at those of faith and reason.

It is strange with what pertinacity the opponents of Christianity have insisted that there is, and must be, a conflict between these; and how readily many advocates of Christianity have assented to this view. So far has this been carried, that a recent and much-lauded article in the *Edinburgh Review* is entitled, "Reason and Faith; their claims and *conflicts*." But such conflict is by no means to be admitted. There is just as much opposition between reason

and faith, as there is between reason and philosophy, and no more.

If we regard reason as giving us only intuitive and necessary truths, then it will act equally in the domain of philosophy and of faith, and there can be no opposition between either of them; unless, indeed, a personal being should assert an absurdity. But if, as is more common, we regard reason as comprising what is rational in man,—those high attributes by which he is distinguished from the brutes, and which must enter into, and preside over, every legitimate act and process of the mind,—then, the sphere of faith and philosophy being different, there can be no conflict between reason as employed in the sphere of philosophy, and as employed in the sphere of faith. Reason presides over both spheres, and can therefore be in conflict with neither. The only possible question is, whether we may, in any case, just as rationally reach conclusions and grounds of action by that process which we call faith, as we can by that which we call philosophy. But on this point there can be no question. We act as necessarily and as legitimately with reference to personal beings by faith, as we do in reference to things by a belief in the uniformity of nature. It is just as *rational* for a man to have confidence in the character and consequently in the word of a personal being, as it is for him to believe in the facts of observation or experience or in those forms and systems of knowledge deduced from these which are called philosophy. It *may*, perhaps, be found to be *quite* as reasonable to believe a fact because it is asserted by God, as to believe one be-

cause it is inferred by ourselves, or even as to believe a fact made known to us by those senses which God has given us.

Is there not then such a thing as faith that is not in accordance with reason? Certainly, just as there are inferences and philosophies that are not in accordance with reason, and perhaps it would be difficult to say whether there has been more folly and absurdity under the name of faith or of philosophy. My reason tells me that I may confide in the facts given me by my senses, that I may classify these, and build up a system of knowledge which we call philosophy. Under this impression, men have built up systems of philosophy which we can now see were exceedingly irrational and foolish, but this does not show that there is any conflict between reason and philosophy; but only that reason is not infallible in this department. My reason also, all that is rational within me, tells me that I may, and ought, sometimes to confide in personal beings, and that such confidence is a rational and sufficient ground of knowledge and of action. We may, indeed, here repose confidence where we ought not, and receive irrational dogmas, and submit to useless or ridiculous rites; but this would only show that reason is not infallible in this department.

So far then from separating faith from reason and bringing them into possible and actual conflict, we would say that the sphere of faith is one of the two great spheres over which reason presides, and that faith itself is one of the great and indispensable methods in which reason is manifested. It is a libel upon religion to say that it requires a blind faith, or any

other than a rational faith, or that it requires us to believe any thing which it is not more rational to believe than it would be to disbelieve it. There is no tendency in faith to a blind belief. It does not say, and has no tendency to say, 'I believe because it is impossible.' That is mere Quixotism and folly. Faith may, indeed, take hold of the hand of a father, and be willing to step where it does not see; but then she is willing thus to step, only because she has a rational ground for believing that her father will lead her right. Christianity discards and repudiates altogether, any faith that can come into conflict with reason.

This view of faith gives it a definite sphere, it shows distinctly its relations both to philosophy and to reason, and removes from it all that mysterious or mystical appearance which has sometimes been thrown around religious faith. As an exercise of the mind it is, generically, no way different from that to which we are constantly accustomed. When a child follows implicitly the directions of its father, when a client puts his case into the hands of an advocate, there is an element in the act that is different from simple belief, it is an element that puts honor upon the father and the advocate. This is faith. Faith, then, generically, is confidence in a personal being. Specifically, religious faith is confidence in God, in every aspect and office in which he reveals himself. As that love of which God is the object, is religious love, so that confidence in Him as a Father, a Moral Governor, a Redeemer, a Sanctifier, in all the modes of his manifestation, by which we believe whatever he says because he says it, and commit

ourselves and all our interests cheerfully and entirely into his hands, is religious faith. Surely there is in this, nothing irrational, or hard to be understood.

The distinctive element of faith, then, is not belief, but it is that perception and appreciation of moral character upon which the belief is based. Involved in this there must always be a belief of the trustworthiness of the object of our faith. Hence, if faith were perfect, it would involve, not merely a belief in testimony, but an obedience like that of Abraham. In his case there was simply a command, and strictly no testimony; yet the faith was perfect.

It is this complex nature of faith that has caused the confusion respecting it. It does imply a movement of both the rational and the emotive nature. In this, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other may predominate, but it is never due either to the intellect simply, or to the feelings simply. When outward appearances, as in the case of Abraham, are opposed to the dictates of faith, it will be an affectionate confidence. When there is no such opposition, it will be a confiding affection in which the confidence may seem to be entirely absorbed and transfigured into love. The belief involved in faith, is based on those very qualities which necessarily call forth emotion or affection; and hence, in this act, the two are fused and inseparably blended. Hence too the moral element in faith, which is not necessarily in mere belief, and hence its power as a principle of action. Nor is there any thing strange or anomalous in this. Pity is a complex act, consisting of sympathy for distress and a desire to relieve

* So? Or, which follows, is based on belief?

it. These may exist in different proportions, but if either be wanting there is no pity; and yet no one finds any difficulty in understanding what pity is.

Having thus considered the nature of faith, we now proceed to its offices.

Of faith in general, the great office is to underlie all the social intercourse of personal beings. It is to this higher and distinct sphere of personal intercourse, what a belief in the uniformity of nature is in our intercourse with nature. Without confidence society is impossible. It is the great element and condition of social prosperity and happiness. Universally it will be found that all the ends of society are reached, in proportion as there is mutual confidence between husbands and wives, parents and children, rulers and subjects, buyers and sellers, friends and neighbors. Remove but the single element of distrust, and who does not see that the great cause of human wretchedness would be taken away. Let but the one element of a general and perfect confidence be poured into the now heaving mass of human society, and its agitations would subside, and it would be at once aggregated and crystalized into its most perfect forms. In connection with this, every form of human attachment would strike deep root, every mutual affinity would have free play, and every capacity of man for happiness from intercourse with his fellow-men would be filled.

Of the more specific offices of religious faith we will first consider that, so much insisted on in the Scriptures, by which it accepts a gratuitous salvation.

From the nature of faith as now stated, it is easy to see that its relation to such a salvation is a necessary and not an arbitrary one. To be accepted, a gift must first be appreciated, and desired *as a gift*. This, in the case of salvation from sin, involves repentance. And then there must be full confidence in the sincerity of him who offers the gift. This is faith, and, the gift being desired, there can be a completion of the confidence only in its acceptance. In this view of it faith is not that in consequence of which we receive the salvation, as if the faith existed first and accepted the salvation afterwards, but faith is the very act of confidence by which the salvation is accepted. It is a confidence which can become complete only as it accepts the offer, because it is only as He makes the offer that the Saviour offers himself to our confidence. Faith then, in its relation to salvation, is that confidence by which we accept it as a free gift from the Saviour, and is the only possible way in which this gift of God could be appropriated. How simple ! how rational ! how strange it should fail to be understood !

A second office of religious faith, as stated in the Scriptures, is to unite man to God, and in so doing, to give him power with God. To this, faith, as now explained, is perfectly adapted. As our relations to God are so numerous and intimate, and as confidence in him can be based only on a perception of those perfect attributes which would call out the highest affection, it must be an affectionate confidence. But it is only by an affectionate confidence that such a being as man can be united to God, or,

indeed, that any one moral being can be united to another. Let this exist and every thing in the relations of the two beings must be pleasant, the relation itself will be the ground of the highest satisfaction which our nature can know, and will lie at the foundation of a higher and nobler idea of being and of order than any other. What is the idea of myriads of orbs circling in harmony together, compared with that of myriads of intelligent and moral beings united to God and to each other in a mutual and affectionate confidence? Here we find the true end of this universe—an order of which all other order is but the symbol.

And while faith thus unites us to God, it is natural and rational to suppose that it should have the great power ascribed to it in the Scriptures. It is one of the strongest impulses and principles of a rightly constituted nature never to disappoint any confidence that is justly reposed in it. This seems to be even the instinct of a generous nature without reference to principle. Who is there that would not protect a dove that should come and nestle in his bosom? An appeal by innocence, by helplessness, by distress, in which the individual abandons himself with entire confidence to *us*, is one of the strongest that can be made to our nature, and will often be met by the greatest sacrifices, not only by individuals, but by whole nations. Let Kossuth escape and come to this country, and confide himself to our protection, and let him be pursued by the combined power of Russia and of Austria, yea by the power of the world, and the nation would rise as one man, would form a living wall around him, and he would

be taken only as his pursuers should pass over the dead bodies of those who would stand in his defence. Shall *men* do thus, and shall not God defend those who come to put their trust under the shadow of his wings? Shall any *innocent* creature of God that is in distress come to him and confide in him, and shall not the resources of Omnipotence be held ready for his deliverance? Shall any guilty creature of God, however debased and wretched, yea though he were dyed and steeped in sin, come to him with a confidence authorized by the death of Christ, and cast himself upon him for pardon and adoption, and shall he not be received even as the prodigal son? Shall any servant of God, in this world of conflict, be hardly beset, and, feeling that his own strength is weakness, look up to God with an eye of filial confidence, and shall he not send him succor? Shall his servants say, in the very face of the flames, "Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us, O king," and shall he not deliver them? What are the laws of nature in a case like this? They are but as a technicality compared with a mighty principle. One glance of a confiding eye is mightier than all the laws of nature. Heaven and earth may pass away, but not a hair of him who puts confidence in God shall "fall to the earth." Sooner, far sooner, would God sweep this material framework, with all its laws, into utter annihilation, than he would disappoint the authorized confidence of the most inconsiderable of his creatures. How different is this universe when thus viewed by the light of faith in its relation to a controlling personal being,

a Father, and a Friend; and when viewed in the light of philosophy, as mere nature—as an unvarying, indiscriminating, crushing uniformity!

The third office of religious faith is to be a principle of action. And if there be any one thing which a young man about to enter upon life ought to consider thoroughly, it is his principles of action. Upon these his own character, and that of his enterprises will depend. As you, my friends, adopt, from this time, right principles of action, so, and so only will you promote your true usefulness, and permanent good.

But certain it is, referring to the distinction already made, that the highest principles of action cannot be found in the sphere of things. The study of these may train the intellect, and make men mere philosophers; they may awaken the desire to possess them as property and make men misers; they may call forth the emotions of beauty and sublimity; and that is all. There is here no confidence, no affection, no sympathy. But bring man, now, into intercourse with free, personal and moral beings, and every high faculty of his nature will come into play. The intellect, and the heart, and the moral nature will act together and strengthen each other. And as the basis of all such intercourse must be faith, so the basis of all intercourse with God must be religious faith.

As a principle of action, religious faith is contrasted with those adopted by the heroes of this world, because it tends to form a complete character. Recognizing an omnipresent and omniscient God, it acts equally at all times, and bears as well upon the

minute, as upon the greater actions of life. Minute actions and details must make up the whole life of most men, and the greater part of the life of all men ; and what we need above all things, is a principle of action that shall embrace all acts equally, as the law of gravitation embraces the atom and the planet, and that may dignify the smallest act by the principle from which it proceeds. Such a principle is religious faith ; and nothing but this can carry the life-blood of principle into those minuter portions of human conduct on which our happiness here chiefly depends. This would attune the chords of domestic life and make them discourse sweet music ; it would substitute the freshness of sincerity, and the flush of benevolence, for the paint and frigidity of a false and conventional politeness. Carrying out such a principle, an individual may be truly great, however humble his sphere ; and this greatness will bear the test, and grow as it is examined ; while that which takes human opinion as its standard and reward, dwindles and becomes contemptible the more it is known. This latter cultivates the art of concealment ; it is great, and generous, and kind, in public, and mean, and selfish, and unamiable, at home. Long enough has the world been filled with pretences, and shows, and fair seemings, and whited sepulchres ; but the remedy for these is to be found, not in any ridicule or denunciation of hypocrisy, nor in any splenetic or contemptuous decial of ‘ shams,’ but only in the cultivation of a true religious faith.

This will be the more obvious if we notice a second, and grand peculiarity of religious faith, which is, that it can work only in harmony with the

moral nature. No man can expect to be aided or sustained by God, when he is doing any thing which he is conscious is not well pleasing to him. Confidence in God must imply a constant endeavor to know his will, and must hence, quicken the conscience, and, as the Scriptures express it, purify the heart. I have already spoken of the essential connection between faith and love, and it is by its intimate alliance with conscience on the one hand, and love on the other, that religious faith is capable of becoming a principle of action so ennobling and so mighty. It is rational and intelligent as recognizing, sometimes the plans of God, and always the grounds of trust in Him; it quickens the conscience as necessarily adopting the law of God for its rule of action; and it gives full play to the affections, by drawing its very life from the holy and infinitely amiable character of God. Thus, he who is actuated by this principle must have the strength that comes from the consciousness of acting rationally, from peace with God, and peace of conscience. Thus has it every element that can be needed to sustain great and heroic action. Let a man feel that he is in sympathy with God in the object of his pursuit, that God approves the means he adopts, and let him have a filial confidence in him, and what deed of a true heroism is there, whether of action or of suffering, which he may not perform? Thus moved and sustained, is it any wonder that they of old "subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in

fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens"? And what this principle was of old, it is now. The same God is above us, and his response to any confidence reposed in Him will not be less full. This only can support the martyr, the moral hero, the hero of meekness, and righteousness, and love unconquerable. This only can lead men to originate and sustain those great moral enterprises, on the success of which the welfare and progress of the world must ultimately turn. It cannot be that man should set himself fully against the wickedness of his own heart, and the wickedness of the world around him, and resist the allurements of temptation, and defy the powers of nature wielded by persecution, and endure to the end, and overcome, except as "seeing him who is invisible." "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Only this can enable the true missionary to forsake country and friends, and devote his life, in a heathen land, to the good of those whom he knows but as redeemed by the blood of Christ; only this can sustain him in attacking forms of sin that seem as ancient and firm as the hills; this alone can enable him to labor on till death, and die in hope, while yet the darkness of midnight lies upon the mountains. Such a faith has nothing to do with nature. She comes down from above into the sphere of nature, she contemplates objects of which nature knows nothing, and when she acts rationally with reference to these objects—to a kingdom and laws that are above nature—nature says she is mad. She is not mad;—the might of the universe is with her; God is with her; eternity shall vindicate her. This, not money, not

machinery, or confidence in them, but this it is that the church needs. Let her come directly to God in the strength of a perfect weakness, in the power of a felt helplessness and a child-like confidence, and then, either she has no strength, and has no right to be, or she has a strength that is infinite. Then, and thus, will she stretch out the rod over the seas of difficulty that lie before her, and the waters shall divide, and she shall pass through, and sing the song of deliverance.

From the view of faith now taken, it is easy to see that every system of negations, and distrust, and skepticism, must tend to lower the tone of human action and enjoyment, and must be uncongenial to our nature. Such systems may be useful in pulling down error, but have no constructive power. Their effect must be like that of withdrawing the vital element from the air; and not more certainly will languor and feebleness creep over the physical system in one case, than over the spiritual in the other. There can be no robust and healthy life, either social or spiritual, without a strong faith.

Let me then first counsel you, my friends, to place a generous confidence in your fellow men. Not that you should be weak, or credulous, but, if you must err at all, let it be on the side of confidence. For your own sakes repress the first risings of a suspicious and distrustful temper. It will unstring the nerves of your energy, and corrode your very heart. Far from you be that form of conceit which attributes to itself shrewdness and wisdom by always suspecting evil. Far sooner would I make it

a part of my philosophy and plan, to be imposed upon and cheated, up to a certain point. Let not even intercourse with the world, and the caution of age, congeal the spring of your confidence and sympathy. So doing, you may find much that you would wish otherwise, some you may find that will be as a briar, and sharper than a thorn-hedge, brethren that will supplant, and neighbors that will walk in slanders ; but you will also find answering confidence, repose for the soul, green spots, and fountains in the desert.

Let me also warn you especially against all those pantheistic views, virtually atheistic, which are setting in upon us in these days in connection with certain forms of a transcendental philosophy. The great result, if not the object of all such schemes, is to obscure and exclude the idea of personality in God ; and hence, of accountability in man. It is around this banner, more than any other, that the migratory hordes of infidelity are gathering, and uniting against the religion of the Bible. These schemes assume the garb of a high philosophy ; they put on the sheep's clothing of a religious phraseology. In their outward aspect, they are contemplative, reverent, and especially philanthropic. Their advocates believe in God—but then all things are God, and in the working of all things hitherto, nothing higher than man has been produced. They believe in inspiration—but then all good books are inspired. They believe in Jesus Christ—and so they do in Confucius, and Socrates, and Mohammed, and Luther, and in all *earnest* and *heroic* men. They be-

lieve in progress—but in a progress which neither springs from, nor leads to moral order. They make the ideas of guilt and retribution a bugbear, redemption an absurdity, repentance unnecessary, and faith impossible. Making such pretensions to philosophy, and giving such license to passion, these schemes have great attractions, and form the chief speculative quicksands which the currents of this age have drifted up, and on which the young are in danger of being wrecked. They merge personality into laws, the operations of a wise agent into necessary uniformities. They make the order and stability of God's works testify, not to his wisdom and immutability, but to his non-existence. They change the truth which the creatures thus tell, into a lie, and say, "No God." Thus are the heavens disrobed of their glory, and infinite space becomes a blank, and faith finds no object, and the tendrils of affection find no oak, and human life is without a providence, and conscience is a lie, and death is an eternal sleep. To all such schemes, and their abettors, how appropriate and overwhelming are the reproof and the argument framed expressly for them long ago: "Understand, ye brutish among the people; and ye fools, when will ye be wise? He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? He that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?"

And now, my beloved friends, in bringing to a close my relations to you as an Instructor, what can I wish better for you personally, or for the world in your relations to it, than that you should take for

your actuating and sustaining principle, faith in God. Without this, you will lack the highest element of happiness, and the only adequate ground of support; life will be without dignity, and death without hope. Only by faith can you run that race which is set before *you*, as before those of old. In this world your courses may be different; you will choose different professions, and diverge widely in your lines of life. To some of you, the race here may be brief. One whom I addressed the last year, as I do you to-day, now sleeps in death. But whatever this may be, and whether longer or shorter, before you all there is set the same race under the moral government of God; to you all is held out the same prize. Why should you not run this race? Never was there a time, in the history of the world, when moral heroes were more needed. The world waits for such. The providence of God has commanded science to labor and prepare the way for such. For them she is laying her iron tracks, and stretching her wires, and bridging the oceans. But where are they? Who shall breathe into our civil and political relations the breath of a higher life? Who shall couch the eyes of a paganized science, and of a pantheistic philosophy, that they may see God? Who shall consecrate, to the glory of God, the triumphs of science? Who shall bear the life-boat to the stranded and perishing nations? Who should do these things, if not you—not in your relations to time only, but to eternity, and to the universe of God?

And as seen in the light of faith, what a race! what an arena! what a prize!

Faith places us under the inspection and care of the eternal and omnipresent God, and accepts of him as a Father, a Redeemer, a Sanctifier, and Portion. She enthrones Him above all laws, and to that utterance which she hears coming as the voice of many waters from around the throne, saying, The Lord God omnipotent reigneth, she says, Amen. She introduces us to a spiritual family of our own race, and of superior orders of beings, before whose numbers and capacities the imagination falters. She accepts the suggestions of analogy, that the moral and spiritual universe is commensurate with that physical universe which night reveals, the outskirts of which no telescope can reach ; and for the unfolding and sweep of a government embracing such an extent, she has an eternity. Such is the scene in the midst of which this race is to be run. What is the prize ? It is likeness to God—sonship—the inheritance of all things to be enjoyed forever. That such a prize might be offered, Christ died ; that it may be striven for, as the one thing needful, the Holy Spirit pleads. Gird yourselves, then, for this race ; run it with patience, “looking unto Jesus.” The world may not notice, or know you ; for it knew Him not. It may persecute you, for it persecuted Him ; but in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength. He will be with you ; He will sustain you ;—the great cloud of witnesses will encompass you ; they will wait to hail you with acclamation as you shall reach the goal, and receive the prize. That goal may you all reach,—that prize may you all receive.

OUR COUNTRY'S SIN

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED TO THE MEMBERS AND FAMILIES

OF

THE NESTORIAN MISSION,

AT

OROOMIAH, PERSIA,

JULY 8, 1858.

BY

REV. JUSTIN PERKINS, D.D.,

MISSIONARY OF THE A. B. C. F. M.

NEW-YORK:

H. B. KNIGHT, 48 BEEKMAN STREET.

1854.

TO THE
REV. LEONARD BACON, D.D.,

A FRIEND OF THE MISSIONARY, AND A FRIEND OF THE SLAVE,

THIS SERMON

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY THE

AUTHOR.

S E R M O N .

JOHN 7:48.

HAVE ANY OF THE RULERS OR OF THE PHARISEES BELIEVED ON HIM?

THE rulers and the Pharisees were the repositories of influence among the Jews, at the time of our Saviour's sojourn among men. The former had attained this eminence by means of the civil authority which, in the low state of the national morals, they wielded far more for purposes of oppression and personal aggrandizement than to protect injured justice and promote the public weal; while the influence of the latter had been secured through their arrogated sanctity, more hypocritical than real, by working on the popular reverence, superstition, or fears, in connection with the corrupt priesthood, who were never slow to coöperate with them in arts of imposition and religious despotism.

Still theirs was a *dominant influence*, however unworthily acquired and exerted; and as is the case in better lands and better times, it exercised a controlling and unquestioned sway, where it ought to have been rigidly canvassed, judged, and condemned.

The interrogatory of our text was addressed by some of those conceited and self-constituted arbiters of opinion at that time, to the officers of the chief priests and Pharisees, who had been dispatched to apprehend the Saviour. On hearing him speak "as never man spake," those officers were convinced of the truth in their own consciences, which were less seared, and in their understandings, which were less warped, than those of their employers; and they had returned without the hunted victim. And the Pharisees said, "Why have ye not brought him?" The officers answered, "Never man spake like this man." Then answered them the Pharisees, "Are ye also deceived? Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him? But this people who knoweth not the law, are cursed."

1. It is obvious to remark, from the case before us, that the sway of influence, exercised by those in power and rank, is *mighty*. With what

complacent assurance is the interrogatory in our text propounded: "Have any of the *rulers* or of the *Pharisees* believed on him?" As if this were the end of all strife on the subject—paramount to argument—ignoring fact—and even setting aside miracles. And we marvel at the noble independence of the high-minded Nicodemus, who rose so far above the servility of his age, and the tyranny of his sect, as to interpose for poor suffering common honesty and common sense, in this connection. "Nicodemus saith unto them, (he that came to Jesus by night, being one of them,) [that is, one of the Pharisees,] Doth our law judge any man before it hear him, and know what he doeth? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search and look; for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet."

Fortunately for the world, there have always been here and there individuals, who have stood out as exceptions in the dominant ones of their sect and their time, rising above the power of human influence, and asserting the higher claims of truth and right, in spite of the frowns and rebukes of rank and station. Honored be the name of Nicodemus for daring thus to interpose, though the influence of his sect was so overpowering that he must needs go to Jesus by night, for fear of the Jews.

2. It is obvious, to remark further, that the sway of influence may be as *blind* as it is powerful. In the instance we are contemplating, on what ground did the influence rest? Simply on the ringing and reiteration of names and titles. "Have any of the *rulers* or of the *Pharisees* believed on him?" In fact, the power of its sway is often much in proportion to its *blindness*. How long in that case, and, we may say, in most similar cases, would it have stood before the light of careful and candid examination? Even the single pertinent inquiry of the independent Nicodemus, "Doth the law judge any man before it hear him?" etc., seems to have impressed his gainsayers with such a consciousness of the *weakness* of their *power*, so far as argument is concerned, that it soon silenced them; for it is forthwith recorded of them, that "every man went unto his own house."

3. It is further obvious to remark, in view of the case we are contemplating, that the sway of influence may be as *tyrannical* as it is blind and powerful. What could have been more overbearing, despotic, and vindictive, than the language of those haughty Pharisees, to the officers who had honestly forborne to arrest the Saviour! "Have any of the *rulers* or of the *Pharisees*, believed on him?" Just as if *they*, and their *sect*, had the right to arrogate to themselves the province of thought and opinion, and deprive all others of that high prerogative, given by God to every human being! And then, by a transition as natural as it is rapid, they pass from their lofty assumption to its not unsuita-

ble concomitant — *anathema* — as its most appropriate support. “This *people*, who knoweth not the law, is accursed.” Was ever tyranny more monstrously glaring than this tyranny of influence? As matter of fact, how much better did those unread officers—and it may be, the mass of the Jewish peasants of that period, appreciate the high claims of God’s law, than their selfish, despotic, hypocritical rulers, scribes and Pharisees!

4. It is obvious, to remark further, in view of the case before us, that the sway of human influence is very *liable to be wielded against truth and righteousness*. In this instance, it was directed against the best of beings, and the holiest of causes. The blessed Saviour himself was the doomed victim it murderously pursued; and his kingdom of light, mercy, truth, and salvation, was the cause it would crush and smother at its dawn. And this kingdom, from that day to the present, has ever found its most deadly antagonists among the rulers and the Pharisees — who have not believed on him, or whose influence, if they have believed, has been so leavened with the love of the world, that it had been far better for that cause to have simply leaned on Jesus’ bosom, a persecuted outcast in the world, than to have been rocked and caressed by such doubtful friends, from the royal cradle of Constantine downward. Verily, the kingdom of Christ “is not of this world.”

If such may be the character of the sway of human influence, it is clear that the *Christian* has great reason to suspect it, and to beware how he implicitly follows it in principle and in practice. In view of its history in past ages, whether under a Jewish or a Christian dispensation, he has much reason in any given case, to suspect it, *à priori*, as erring and evil.

Shall then the believer repudiate the influence of his time, or the example of preceding ages, and set up for himself — adopting his own standards of principle and of morals — rendering himself singular — turning radical — in the common estimation, *running mad* — and contributing to turn the world upside down? I reply, that he should not do this unnecessarily. There is no merit in courting singularity for its own sake. No good will result from a reckless disregard of the opinions and feelings of mankind — certainly, so far as they are right, or harmless. But the *Christian* has a more sure word of prophecy to adopt and to follow, than human influence, whereunto he doeth well to take heed. The word and the TESTIMONY are his only lawful oracle, on all subjects and at all times. From this oracle he can never swerve with a good conscience or with safety, whithersoever it may point him, though the rulers, and the Pharisees, and the chief priests, of the whole world frown upon him; though he find himself, like Daniel, a solitary worshiper of the God of heaven; and though his daring to be singular in

this, threaten to cast him into a den of lions. I repeat, the *Christian* has the revealed word of God as his unerring standard of principle, of duty, and of action; and not man nor angel has the power to absolve him from a strict and habitual allegiance to that standard. The Christian who adheres to that standard will be very likely often to part company with the rulers and the Pharisees, as his divine Master did before him; and he may always justly suspect that company, at least rigidly canvass it, whenever it is tendered for his acceptance.

We would gladly feel compelled to look back to the corrupt Jews who lived eighteen centuries ago, or to distant ends of the earth, to the furthest possible remove from ourselves and our beloved native land, at this day, for practical illustration of the mighty, the blind, the tyrannical and the misdirected sway of human influence. But, alas, the middle of the nineteenth century is the period, and the dear land of our fathers is the theater, when and where this subject is exhibited in a manner as affecting — nay, as appalling, as has perhaps been the case, since Jesus was thus hunted by the rulers and Pharisees who believed not on him, and who wielded the power of their influence to prevent others from believing on him. And at this hallowed hour, on this sacred day preceding our nation's birth-day, when the din of its joyous celebration, not unmingled with the clank of the sable captive's chain, is ready to burst forth, hardly able to wait the waning watches of holy time, proudly to echo and reverberate from ocean to ocean, — I trust it will not be deemed inappropriate that we, in our distant missionary exile, direct a thought to that land far away, and that we drop a tear over its guilt and its danger, and lift to heaven our feeble prayer for its salvation, as well as thank God for all that his distinguishing favor and blessing have made it and done for it.

We need make few protestations of our Christian and filial patriotism. No American heart throbs more warmly and tenderly than the missionary's, with the love of his native country. His honest language in regard to it habitually is, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." The very ardor, sincerity, and depth of our love of country, however, should, and they doubtless do, lead us as heartily to deplore its sins, as gratefully to glory in its superiority over all other lands.

You have anticipated the brief reference I would make, in this connection, to our country's sin and our country's shame, *American Slavery*. On a subject so familiar to us all, I shall attempt to say nothing new; but as the season suggests the theme, and none can doubt that it claims our deep concern, our fervent prayers, and it may be, our feeble efforts, I may be allowed to allude to a few points in regard to the subject,

which may stir up our minds, by way of remembrance, though they be things already quite familiar to us.

I hold, among others, the following *theses*, on the subject of American slavery, which if I do not now establish, it is not for the want of ample proofs at hand, but because their truth is too evident to the minds of those before me, to require argumentation.

I. *I hold that American slavery is the crowning abomination of the present age.*

A "stupendous wrong" was the mildest term by which the "Albany Convention," one of the largest, most intelligent, and most estimable convocations of clergymen and Christian brethren ever assembled in America, could designate this evil, last fall; and hardly less emphatic and condemnatory were the epithets applied to the system by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, convened in Charleston, South Carolina, nearly thirty years ago,* before the raising of cotton had become so lucrative, and the system so commercially and politically involved, and when its enormities were more courageously looked in the face, more frankly acknowledged and more faithfully reprobated, by that great, excellent, and influential church, than is done at this day. This is good testimony; but the palpable facts, on this subject, must themselves carry conviction to any unprejudiced mind that contemplates them for a moment. Think of the most enlightened, the most free, and the most favored nation under heaven, — and in some respects the most religious and the most benevolent people on the face of the earth, holding more than three millions of their fellow men in iron bondage — a bondage that reduces man to a chattel — annuls the marriage relation, and brings in its train the innumerable miseries, sufferings, and sins which these two conditions of it (to mention no others) involve and must readily suggest to our minds; — and all this, in the face of the political axiom, blazing up at the threshold of our national Constitution, that "all men are created equal," to say nothing of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, "love thy neighbor as thyself," which a *Christian* people is of course bound to follow, in its legislation and its practice.

II. *I hold that American slavery is the greatest human obstacle to the spread and triumph of Christianity that exists at the present period.*

This would naturally follow from the preceding position, the crowning abomination of the age being, almost as matter of course, the mightiest hindrance to the spread of the Gospel. But it will be more clearly apprehended as such, by a moment's reflection. The system itself *begins* by denying the Gospel to three millions of souls for whom Christ died.

* See Appendix.

I am aware that it may be urged, that many of these souls receive the Gospel, and embrace it, in their bondage; and I gratefully admit the fact; but we must have in mind, that this is not owing to the merits of that system, — but is in spite of it. The holy and heavenly influences of Christianity rally around many a poor African, and, like the good Samaritan, pour oil and wine into his bleeding wounds to some extent, even under the frowns, the maledictions, and often the flagellations of “men-stealers” who have stripped and wounded him. The Christian and self-sacrificing efforts of some pious masters, in circumstances so embarrassing, are above all praise, but no justification of the system.

But it is not three millions of slaves alone that are, as a mass, virtually deprived of the kindly influences of the Gospel, by American slavery. Think of the depressing, the paralyzing, and the petrifying effects of the system on the hearts of masters and overseers, and of the degrading influence of it on the entire Southern population; nay, rather on the population of our whole country; for it is obvious to observe, that an American, even a Northern abolitionist, has a *modified* abhorrence of slavery, compared with that of an Englishman, less familiar with the debasing relation in any form, and untrammelled on the subject by conflict with his patriotism. And can this appalling national degradation, hampering the ministry and the religious press, and thus turning the edge of the sword of the Spirit, can it thus *exist*, and not prove a mighty hindrance to the progress of the Gospel at home? Is not our entire country — the whole American church, in a sickly, morbid moral state, certainly on that subject, and more or less so on others? Are not even the free portions of it in a condition analogous to that of the criminal Roman soldier, doomed to carry the corpse of his executed comrade bound upon his back, till he too was often overpowered, and fell under the rotting carcass?

Nowhere in the wide world, probably, has *mammon*, for instance, a stronger sway at this hour than in America. Nor is it strange, among men, or in proximity to them, who can in the light of the present period reckon human blood and sinews as *chattels*, and eagerly amass wealth by the sweat, the tears, and the groans of their fellow men in bondage. But Americans, no more than Jews and heathens, can worship God *and* mammon.

But the influence of American slavery is not felt alone in our own country. It is a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men — and a most mortifying spectacle. That land which, from its ennobling history and exalted privileges, should be the glory of all lands, emphatically *Immanuel's land*, a mountain of holiness and a habitation of righteousness, whose light should blaze upward and onward unobstructed — a moral sun — melting the chains of oppression and despotism, and dis-

persing the darkness and death-shade of every false religious system the wide world around, really stands forth, presenting the puzzling — the appalling anomaly, of pure Protestant Christianity, republican freedom, unexampled general prosperity and progress, *and* iron servitude, combined more monstrously than the discordant sections of Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic image, confounding and astounding the gazing nations, who *would* look to America for a hope of deliverance! Have we not reason to fear, that our country thus does as much to hinder, as to advance, the progress of the Gospel beyond its own borders?

Think too of the schisms and the alienations among Christians which American slavery creates, in our own country, and throughout Protestant Christendom. How much stronger is the bond of connection, which the supporters of that dark system find in it, with each other, both within and without the Church, than many professing Christians, in different sections of our country, and of different views on this subject, in the same sections, find practically in their relation to a common Saviour!

And then, beyond the ocean, who of us can be ignorant of the fact, that both in England and in Germany, and other Protestant States of the Continent, the best Christians find it difficult to extend to the American churches the right hand of fellowship, and to coöperate with them against a common enemy, feeling compelled, and not without some reason, to regard them as all involved, directly or indirectly, in the sin of slavery?

How lamentably are the forces of Protestantism thus weakened, and its glory obscured! And how can the Church of Christ, thus divided, thus warned, shine forth in her strength, clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners?

I have sometimes said to the Nestorians, that Popery — Anti-christ — is the greatest obstacle now existing to the progress of the Gospel. But I apprehend that American slavery, *in all its bearings*, may be even a greater obstacle.

III. *I hold that Northern influence — and primarily the influence of Northern Christians, is the strongest and the most responsible support of American slavery, at this time.*

This, I am aware, is a serious charge. But those familiar with the facts on the subject, can hardly doubt that it has foundation. The Church is set as the light of the world, and if its light be darkness, how great is that darkness! Yet is it not the "New-York Observers," and the "solid men of Boston," who are the first and the most earnest to rally and apply a healing balm, whenever the monster slavery receives a wound from some heaven-directed arrow? The general apathy of the mass of Northern Christians on the evils of slavery, and the lively sympathy of too many with that system, are the darkest aspect of the evil at

this hour — the most lulling and soporific to the Southern conscience, and thus the most discouraging in regard to its future removal or mitigation — the most dishonorable in the view of civilized nations — the most provoking in the sight of Heaven — and the most threatening to the prosperity, if not to the continuance, of our great American republic. How many infidels and skeptics are made by these causes in our own country; and how many scoffers and tyrants are thus armed and panoplied against freedom and Protestantism, throughout the world!

Contemplate the position of such influential papers as the *New-York Observer* and the *Journal of Commerce* — the former well styled, “the leading religious journal of America,” at least retrospectively, and both in the hands of sons of sainted New-England pastors! Look also at a truly venerable divine, in New-York, a son of another sainted Puritan clergyman, putting forth such a sermon as the last in his series, entitled, “*First Things*,” and really, what is there to hope on this subject, from the mass of Christians and patriots, in the Northern States?

And, to come still nearer home, (as most of us are from New-England,) look into a Sabbath Eulogy of the great Daniel Webster, from the pen of a very estimable clergyman of Boston, that Puritan city, (in general, a very interesting and excellent sermon,) and read the following period: “Let the land have a Sabbath, with regard to this subject, [slavery;] and let that Sabbath be the long — long days of our mourning for this great patriot — our country’s friend.”

A *Sabbath* — a long, *long* Sabbath, on the subject of American slavery! We give the estimable author full credit for his characteristic and amiable love of quiet. He is well known as eminently a peace-maker. But why not also proclaim such a *Sabbath* on every other crying sin that flagrantly provokes God and destroys by wholesale the souls of men? And why shall not the silence be the more profound, and the longer, in proportion as the sin is the more glaring, the abomination the more appalling, if that sin involve great numbers and influence, that will not relinquish it short of a desperate struggle, and its removal be thus beset with great difficulties?

Why, if the Puritan city, which is the seat of our friend’s pastorate, were in danger of becoming a second Sodom, by the great multiplication of licensed or unlicensed brothels, would he proclaim a *Sabbath* — a long, *long* Sabbath, on the subject? Yet the fearful system of slavery, which annuls the marriage relation, causes, among its other enormities, the whole South to teem with virtual and actual brothels, among its myriads of negro cabins!

A *Sabbath-silence*, on the crowning abomination of the age! How startling the idea! And yet, it is *the favorite idea* of the mass who are the repositories of the dominant influence in America. For many such

personally, I cherish a most heart-felt respect, though compelled to dissent from them on this momentous question. Indeed, knowing not a few of them to be excellent Christians, among whom I number some very dear and estimable personal friends, I hardly need formally disclaim the least invidious reference, by any individual allusion I make here or elsewhere, in the discussion or illustration of a principle.

In the face of such an array of influence — so strong numerically, and still stronger from the high respectability, and yet more, from the eminent religious worth it embraces, how difficult must it be to meet the odium cast upon the luckless head of the adventurous abolitionist, whatever be his character or standing, who dares decidedly to raise his voice against the sin of slavery! Such reckless ones are, in common parlance — yes, in Presidential Inaugurals, and in many a sermon of revered and eloquent divines, branded as *fanatics, agitators*, etc., and doubtless regarded by some as *all but accursed*. In these circumstances, we marvel not that some abolitionists have actually *run mad*, under the harrowing provocations of the dead apathy, or the wholesale abuse, which they have had to encounter. But, alas, to how many a temporizer and compromiser might not a few of these stigmatized “fanatics,” with the dauntless Paul, justly appeal: “I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness.”

While slavery is thus environed for defense as by a wall of granite — by pulpit, press, and legislative halls, (with a few honorable exceptions,) from the “Christian Mirror” of Maine to the “Christian Observers” of Mason and Dixon’s line, where rests the responsibility of its continuance, and where is the hope of its removal?

“*Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?*”

Yes, under the wrath and the odium which slavery so arrogantly and successfully wields — under the blasts and the storms which the avowed friend of the poor African is doomed to encounter, in our *Christian* land, and in many of our Northern churches even, there yet stands forth here and there a champion — a man who dares assert the *Christian axiom* of “*a higher law*” than human statutes, so strangely scouted by our National Congress, and far more strangely still, by many of our religious periodicals, churches, and preachers of righteousness, whose cardinal canon professedly is, that the Bible — the word of God — is the Christian’s rule of faith and practice. These champions are found at the South as well as at the North. And the former shine as much more brightly than the latter, in their honest condemnation of this “stupendous wrong,” as their position is more embarrassing and their motives more disinterested. Listen to the language of an estimable associate of our own, born and reared in a slave State, whose words, in his absence, I may be allowed to quote. In a letter to the speaker, in which he refers to some of the

Northern influences that sustain slavery, he says, "I would not impugn the motives of an editor any more than I would those of my private neighbor; but from what I know of the South, and of the course hitherto pursued by the *New-York Observer* on the subject of slavery, if anti-slavery influences were only such as come from that paper, the slave will clank his chain until the millennium. I think a very solemn responsibility rests on the missionary, to make his influence felt, in all wise and proper ways, against oppression and wrong in all its forms, and in favor of truth and righteousness." And in another letter he says, "In glancing over '*First Things*,' my attention was arrested by some remarks on the subject of slavery, in the sermon entitled, '*First rebellion in the Hebrew Commonwealth*.' The author there takes the ground, that the curse pronounced against Canaan, from whom, I believe, he contends that the African race sprung, fell upon Ham and all his posterity, and will reach, in its blighting influence, even into the millennium. He regards the African race as doomed to perpetual servitude, and says that he would have no compunctions of conscience *now* to be such a slaveholder as Abraham or Job. As I read his remarks, so disparaging and so hopeless with reference to poor Africa, I wished that old St. Augustin might have risen up from his ashes in Hippo, and confronted him face to face. Not a word throughout the whole discourse that would at all touch the conscience of a slaveholder, but the tendency of the whole to wrap him in a deeper slumber. He asks, triumphantly, 'Why do you not tell the slave-holder what to do?' That question has been answered by some scores* who did not rest until they made their slaves freemen, though it was the result of a plan which required some years for its execution. They are none the poorer to-day, and their sleep is not less sweet. Just in that question hundreds have taken refuge, and not hearing a satisfactory answer, have supposed themselves blameless.

While the South, in not a few of her noble sons, gives such testimony, the North also, in many of hers, keeps not back. There, too, are found champions, who, above the influence of rulers and Pharisees, (I mean simply the repositories of the dominant sway, adopting the phraseology of our text, and with no invidious reference,) are not afraid nor ashamed to be known as the friends of the suffering slave. Contemplate, for instance, the late amiable and profound Prof. B. B. Edwards, when a theological student, admitting a pious black man to be his room-mate, and studying with him at the same table, amid the jeers of some of his fellow-students; and the no less sublime spectacle of the same modest Prof. Edwards firmly resisting the personal solicitation of the great, and we would trust, the good Daniel Webster, to indorse his slavery com-

* The writer's father was one of them.

promise, when, like Samson shorn of his locks, his strength had suddenly left him, by his mistaken espousal for once of the evil cause, and he, a doomed giant, was eagerly casting about to find props to support him. Oh! there was, (as another has said of the sainted Prof. Edwards,) there was a martyr spirit under that mild visage — a spirit that feared not the great nor the learned, where truth and right were involved. The first and the only anti-slavery address to which I ever listened, it was my privilege to hear from his eloquent lips, when he was my college tutor, more than a quarter of a century ago; and the first anti-slavery tract that I ever read, was from his fervid pen, about the same period. I would ask no one to be a more hearty *abolitionist* than was this great and good man, in his retiring, modest, yet decided way, for the last thirty years; and I would not dare to be a less sympathizing friend of the suffering African. The Lord increase the number of such martyr spirits in America, and especially at the North, where rests such fearful responsibility, far more easily discharged than at the South, for the removal of slavery!

IV. *I hold that our beloved native country is in most imminent peril, from the fearful system of American slavery, of falling into deep national disgrace, of calling down upon itself the signal judgments of heaven, and thus of blighting, for a long period, the fairest and the highest hopes of a suffering world.*

If the positions which I have already asserted are tenable, of which I think there can be little reasonable doubt, this follows as matter of course. The majority of good people in America, even at the North, are strangely apathetic or strongly sympathetic on the subject of slavery, and, I fear, more and more so each successive year. And the power and tendency of the system, thus to blind and warp the judgment and the consciences of *good men*, more strikingly than any thing else, reveal its intrinsic subtle wickedness and its wholesale desolating influence. The wakeful, thoroughly determined opposers of the "stupendous wrong," in our country, are comparatively but a handful. The system is confessedly an evil of enormous magnitude, and its removal a most difficult problem, under any circumstances. Add then to the greatness of the evil, and the difficulty of its removal, the general apathy on the subject, on the part of those who are the greatest sufferers from it, (except the poor slaves themselves,) who are in most danger of being overwhelmed by it, and with whom, humanly speaking, rests the power of its abolition, and how fearfully imminent is this peril!

Contemplate the American people, amid their jubilant rejoicings of the morrow, like a mighty gallant ship, coursing proudly and thoughtlessly into the Niagara river, under pressed sail — disdaining every friendly hand or call from either shore, enveloped by the mists and

miasms engendered by the stagnation and corruption which the dark system of slavery creates and sends forth over the length and breadth of our fair inheritance — mists far more dense and bewildering than the lake fog that follows the reckless mariner, or the spray that leaps and soars above the “father of cataracts,” eager to embrace him : Oh ! contemplate that noble ship — its pilot mad — its crew and passengers stupefied — and yet, in their giddy hallucination, esteeming themselves *the only sober ones*, while a gazing, wondering world are all *mistaken, wild, fanatical*, — and thus self-complacently and even *angrily* resisting every remonstrance and entreaty — desperately nearing the fatal falls — blindly bent on *going down* — and we have but a faint emblem of the present attitude, the tendency, and the threatened doom of our loved country, as contemplated by God and angels — yes, and by myriads of philanthropists in our own and in distant lands !

We would not yield to despair. We would trust that the arm of Omnipotence will yet interpose in America for its rescue and salvation. Americans are a chosen people, a royal inheritance. The Lord will not hastily cast them off. But his signal chastisement of his ancient chosen people, should admonish those who would presume too far, in the fond assurance of being the inalienable favorites of heaven. There is such a thing as nations being given over to judicial blindness, in the nineteenth century, as well as in the ages before the Christian era. And if the patriotic, though skeptical Jefferson, could say, in his reprobation of American slavery, “I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just,” what should *we*, as *Christians*, feel and say, as we contemplate that system enormously enlarged, fortified, and extended, since that declaration was made, by the mammoth growth of more than half a century ?

I do not suppose that any one before me questions the correctness of the positions I have taken, viz., that American slavery is the crowning abomination of the nineteenth century — that it is one of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, of human obstacles in existence to the progress of the Gospel — that the responsibility of its continuance rests much, if not mainly, with the Northern portion of our country, and especially with the churches and their ministers — and that our beloved native land is in imminent peril from this mighty evil. I have not attempted to adduce elaborate proofs to establish these positions, for the simple reason that such proofs are known to us all.

But the question may naturally arise, what *practical* bearing has this subject, confessedly momentous, with us foreign missionaries ? We all abhor the abomination of slavery, but what can *we do* to hasten its downfall ? I answer, we can all do something, probably much ; and for the proper use of that something, or much, we are just as responsible as we

are for the employment of our time or our tongues, in preaching the Gospel to the Nestorians, or for the faithful use of missionary funds, placed in our hands for the promotion of the same object. We are in far better circumstances correctly to contemplate the evil, in all its magnitude and bearings, than our countrymen at home, the most favored of whom — I mean those the furthest removed from its influence — are still at least in the *penumbra* of its broad and dense obscuration. As a class of men, missionaries also possess an influence, growing out of the hallowed nature of their high calling and what should be their fitness for it, which few other Christians possess. These advantages, arising from the sacred nature of our work, and our position and relations, all belong to Christ and his cause, and as such should be faithfully and scrupulously employed.

We can all *pray* for the downfall of the fearful system of slavery, and we believe in the efficacy of prayer.

We can all drop a word to our correspondents, occasionally, in our letters—not in the spirit of bitter denunciation, but in kind entreaty, yet with all fidelity; at least often enough to remind and impress them, that we do abhor, from the bottom of our hearts, the iniquitous system of American slavery, as a *crimson sin*, and fear not to contravene the influence of rulers and Pharisees — I mean, the dominant sway — no, not of great and even *good* men, arrayed in its favor.

We can also, as occasion may dictate, speak out in a more public manner on this subject.

Tell me not that we are in danger of compromising the welfare of the missionary cause by declaring ourselves the enemies of slavery, and the friends of the bleeding African. The very idea is preposterous — a libel on our high and holy calling. Our calling *is*, necessarily and of course, in heaven-high and heaven-wide antagonism to slavery, and as such should be known and read of all men. The *missionary* — Christ's free-man and Christ's ambassador, is not, and should not be, muzzled in regard to *any sin*, either at home or abroad; and if his connection with any Protestant Missionary Board involve that condition, (which I do not believe to be the case,) I see not how, as a *Christian*, he could consistently assume the relation. For one, I plant myself by the side of the suffering and the oppressed, the world over. They shall have the poor benefit of my humble name, and my feeble pen; and had I a thousand more to offer, gladly would I lay them on that altar, at the feet of THE MAN OF SORROWS, THE SUFFERING SAVIOUR.

Yes, brethren, while as Cowper said of England, in the days of its thralldom in this same mighty evil, we can heartily say of America, "with all thy faults I love thee still," I yet see not how we can, as Christians or as patriots, *forget* those faults, — and especially its "stupendous

wrong,"—or cease to pray and labor for their removal. *We* surely can not forget, in our missionary toils, our trials, our sufferings, our self-denials, and our prayers, in this benighted land, that this whole Nestorian people is more than thirty times outnumbered by the number of immortal souls, in the heart of our dear native country, groaning under the rigors of an iron bondage, and many of them in a far worse condition than those for whose salvation we thus pray and labor. Our charity, our sympathy, and our prayers, may and should *begin* at home, though they stay not there, but go forth and embrace the world.

"Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?"

No, blessed Jesus, with few exceptions of here and there a noble Nicodemus! Thou art still despised and rejected of men. To the *poor* the Gospel is preached. "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh—not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; and base things of the world and things that are despised hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to naught things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence."

Here, poor, suffering, bleeding African, is thy charter and thy hope!

We *do* glory, but it is in Christ, and in this precious provision of his Gospel. We would not look to the great, nor the privileged, as *guides* for our principles or our practice. We would go to the Bible and to Calvary. We hold that a prophet *has come out of Galilee*. We would make him *our* prophet, *our* priest, and *our* king. We would implicitly follow, trust, and obey him, and recommend him to others as the only Saviour of a lost world. And if the "stupendous wrong," which we have now so hastily contemplated, be ever removed from our dear, *dear* native land, it will be by the power of the cross of Christ—by the energy of his word, faithfully proclaimed in the ears of men, and set home by his Spirit shed forth in their hearts, convincing them, that to hold their fellow immortals in bondage, or to sanction, or abet, or connive at that practice, is a heaven-provoking sin. Just this grand object would we, in our very humble measure, advance, for the well-being of our loved country, and the salvation of myriads of souls, as precious as our own.

Let us to-day seek to approach that mighty, that compassionate, that suffering Saviour, in a becoming spirit—in love, in tenderness, in humility, and in penitence. If the subject of our meditations is unusual here on the Sabbath, and especially at our communion seasons, I trust it will not be deemed misplaced—particularly, coming as it does, in proximity with an anniversary so deeply interesting to every American, and not the least so, certainly, to every American missionary. With us the subject ceases to be a *political* one, and assumes a strictly and

deeply *religious* character. We contemplate it in the light of that "higher law" to which we have referred. Not politics alone, nor mainly, will ever remove the overwhelming evil, while man is selfish, and slavery is a lucrative system. The light of Heaven must be poured through that "higher law," as through a burning lens, on the darkened, warped human conscience, and work its way outward, thus pervading, reforming, and regenerating the politics that legislate on the subject, and then the work is done. The religious press and the pulpit must thunder on this sin, as loudly and unremittingly as they have ever thundered on the subject of intemperance or of popery. A merely political subject! Then whence the sermons, from venerable divines, in support of the system, like the one to which allusion has to-day been repeatedly made? Whenever the pulpit dares to utter a note in condemnation of it, must the hue-and-cry be raised, that politics are desecrating God's house and God's day, while the welkin may be made to ring every Sabbath in support or palliation of slavery? On this subject the ministers of the Lord Jesus have a solemn responsibility to discharge, with a fidelity that characterized the preaching of the younger President Edwards, and the great Samuel Hopkins, and other kindred spirits of a by-gone and more virtuous generation.

We have, this morning, turned our thoughts to millions of suffering men, women, and children, the purchase of Christ's death, and many of them washed in redeeming blood. We have glanced at a "stupendous wrong," inflicted on them by a Christian nation — a wrong which rears its front to Heaven and cries for vengeance — a crushing impediment to the progress of that kingdom for whose weal the Saviour agonized on Calvary — a wrong, in fact, to the Lord Jesus, wounded, bleeding, and crucified afresh in the house of his friends; themes, not altogether unsuited, certainly, to melt our hearts in tenderness, and swell them with sympathy with the sufferings of our glorified Redeemer, in anticipation of approaching his table. Verily, sackcloth becomes us and our countrymen to-day, and on the morrow, and henceforth, in view of our national guilt, as well as for our individual sins.

May the Saviour meet us in the way of his appointment, and grant to us an antepast of the rest and the bliss of heaven — vouchsafing to us richer measures of his grace, and thus preparing us to meet and discharge, better than we have ever yet done, our high responsibilities as immortal men, as Christians, and as missionaries.—Amen.

A P P E N D I X .

NOTE TO PAGE 7.

THE preacher here doubtless refers to the meeting of the General Assembly which took place *thirty-five* years ago. This body met then at *Philadelphia*, which had always been, and long continued to be its only place of meeting. The meeting of the General Assembly (O. S.) in 1852, was held at Charleston; and this was the last meeting of which the author, at the time the sermon was delivered, had seen any account.

The following is a copy of the document referred to, taken from the *Assembly's Digest*, Ed. 1820, p. 341.

A FULL EXPRESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S VIEWS OF SLAVERY IN 1818.

"THE committee to which was referred the resolution on the subject of selling a slave, a member of the church, and which was directed to prepare a report to be adopted by the Assembly, expressing their opinion in general on the subject of slavery, reported; and their report being read, was *unanimously* adopted, and referred to the same committee for publication. It is as follows, namely :

"The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of SLAVERY, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it to the churches and people under their care.

"We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves; and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoin that 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system; it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings, in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others, whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true

God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity, or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery—consequences not imaginary, but what connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed, often take place in fact, and in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place, as we rejoice to say that in many instances, through the influence of the principles of humanity and religion on the minds of masters, they do not, still the slave is deprived of his natural right, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

“From this view of the consequences resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their *brethren* of mankind—for ‘God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth’—it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day, when the inconsistency of slavery, both with the dictates of humanity and religion, has been demonstrated, and is generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors, to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world.

“We rejoice that the Church to which we belong commenced as early as any other in this country the good work of endeavoring to put an end to slavery, and that in the same work many of its members have ever since been, and now are, among the most active, vigorous, and efficient laborers. We do indeed tenderly sympathize with those portions of our Church and our country, where the evil of slavery has been entailed upon them; where a *great* and *the most virtuous part of the community* abhor slavery, and wish its extermination as sincerely as any others; but where the number of slaves, their ignorance, and their vicious habits generally, render an immediate and universal emancipation inconsistent alike with the safety and happiness of the master and the slave. With those who are thus circumstanced, we repeat that we tenderly sympathize. At the same time we earnestly exhort them to continue, and, if possible, to increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern, than a regard to the public welfare *truly* and *indispensably* demands.

“As our country has inflicted a most grievous injury on the unhappy Africans, by bringing them into slavery, we can not, indeed, urge that we should add a second injury to the first, by emancipating them in such a manner as that they will be likely to destroy themselves or others.* But we do think, that our country ought to be governed, in this matter, by no other consideration than an honest and impartial regard to the happiness of the injured party; uninfluenced by the expense or inconvenience which such a regard may involve.

* In this false principle of permitting the continued existence of an acknowledged moral evil, we see the cause of the downward course of the Presbyterian Church, on this subject.—[*Editor of the New-York Edition.*]

We therefore warn all who belong to our denomination of Christians, against unduly extending this plea of necessity ; against making it a cover for the love and practice of slavery, or a pretense for not using efforts that are lawful and practicable to extinguish the evil.

"And we at the same time exhort others to forbear harsh censures and uncharitable reflections on their brethren, who unhappily live among slaves whom they can not immediately set free ; but who, at the same time, are really using all their influence and all their endeavors to bring them into a state of freedom, as soon as a door for it can be safely opened.

" Having thus expressed our views of slavery, and of the duty indispensably incumbent on all Christians to labor for its complete extinction, we proceed to recommend—and we do it with all the earnestness and solemnity which this momentous subject demands—a particular attention to the following points.

" We recommend to all our people to patronize and encourage the Society, lately formed, for colonizing in Africa, the land of their ancestors, the free people of color in our country. We hope that much good may result from the plans and efforts of this Society. And while we exceedingly rejoice to have witnessed its origin and organization among the *holders of slaves*, as giving an unequivocal pledge of their desire to deliver themselves and their country from the calamity of slavery ; we hope that those portions of the American Union, whose inhabitants are, by a gracious Providence, more favorably circumstanced, will cordially, and liberally, and earnestly coöperate with their brethren in bringing about the great end contemplated.*

" We recommend to all the members of our religious denomination, not only to permit, but to facilitate and encourage the instruction of their slaves, in the principles and duties of the Christian religion, by granting them liberty to attend on the preaching of the Gospel when they have the opportunity ; by favoring the instruction of them in Sabbath-schools, wherever those schools can be formed ; and by giving them all other proper advantages for acquiring the knowledge of their duty both to God and man. We are perfectly satisfied, that as it is incumbent on all Christians to communicate religious instruction to those who are under their authority, so the doing of this in the case before us, so far from operating, as some have apprehended that it might, as an excitement to insubordination and insurrection, would, on the contrary, operate as the most powerful means for the prevention of those evils.

" We enjoin it on all Church Sessions and Presbyteries, under the care of this Assembly, to discountenance, and, as far as possible, to prevent, all cruelty of whatever kind in the treatment of slaves ; especially the cruelty of separating husband and wife, parents and children ; and that which consists in selling slaves to those who will either themselves deprive these unhappy people of the blessings of the Gospel, or who will transport them to places where the Gospel is not proclaimed, or where it is forbidden to slaves to attend upon its institutions. The manifest violation or disregard of the injunction here given, in its true spirit and intention, ought to be considered as just ground for the discipline and

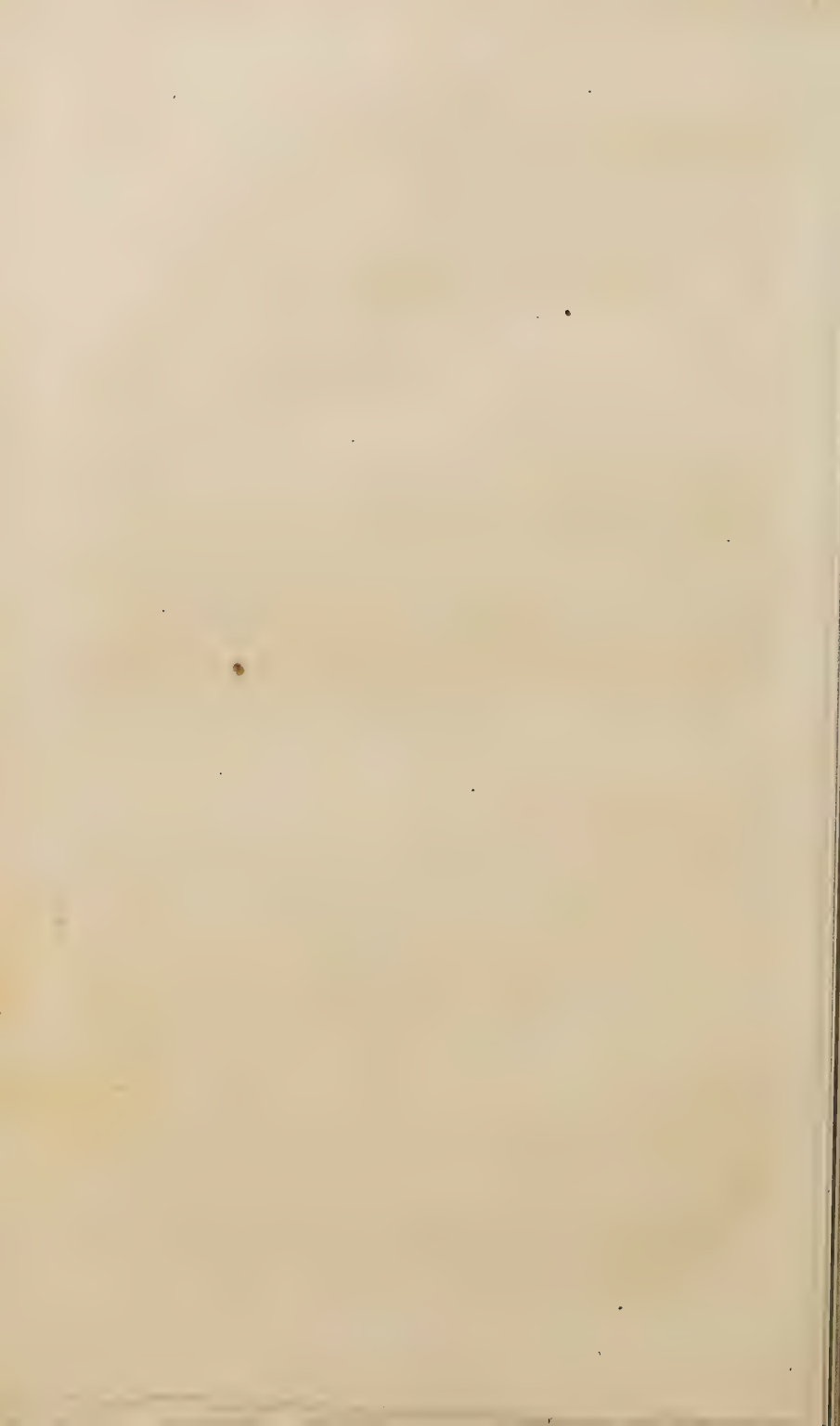
* This expression of the Assembly's views was made in 1818, before the characteristic aims of the Colonization Society were generally understood, and when it was believed, by most ministers, that its influence would be against slavery. Developments have since been made which show that this was a great mistake, and that its tendencies are in support of slavery.—See writings of Hon. Wm. Jay. Also Stebbins on Colonization.—[*Editor of the New-York Edition.*]

censures of the Church. And if it shall ever happen that a Christian professor in our communion shall sell a slave who is also in communion and good standing with our Church, contrary to his or her will and inclination, it ought immediately to claim the particular attention of the proper church judicature; and unless there be such peculiar circumstances attending the case, as can but seldom happen, it ought to be followed, without delay, by a suspension of the offender from all the privileges of the church, till he repent, and make all the reparation in his power to the injured party.”*

The following is the unanimous resolution of the Albany Congregational Convention :

“*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slave-holding States, in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, ‘depart out of that city.’”

* So long as the Church permits the great cruelty and sin of *Slaveholding*, it will be in vain for her to attempt, or to recommend acts of discipline for the incidental cruelties and scandals (including the slave traffic) that grow out of it. The history of the Presbyterian Church proves this.—[*Editor of the New-York Edition.*]



SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPENDIX.

BY THE EDITOR OF THE NEW-YORK EDITION.

THE General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1794, occupied a higher ground than the preceding. In a note to the 142d question of the larger Catechism in the Confession of Faith, they said :

“1. Tim. 1 : 10. ‘The law was made for *men stealers*.’ This crime, among the Jews, exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment. Exodus 21 : 16, and the Apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, *or retaining them in it*. Stealers of men are those who bring off slaves or freemen, or KEEP, SELL, OR BUY THEM. ‘To steal a freeman,’ says Grotius, ‘is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal or *retain* men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth.’ Gen. 1 : 28.”

The same General Assembly of 1818, that adopted the “Full expression of views,” which we have copied, directed *the erasure of this Note of 1794*.

In 1838 the Assembly was divided into two bodies. After this, the “OLD SCHOOL” Assembly has taken no new action against slavery or its “abuses.” In 1838, they declined discussing the subject. In 1843, they laid anti-slavery memorials on the table without reading. In 1845, they said they could not treat slavery as necessarily a sin, “without charging the apostles of Christ with conniving at such sin.” “For the Assembly to make slaveholding a bar to communion would be to dissolve itself.” In 1850, in reply to a courteous communication from the General Association of Connecticut expressing the conviction that the cause of religion required the removal of slavery, they declared that such action was “offensive, and must lead to an interruption of the correspondence which subsists between the Association, and the General Assembly.”

The “NEW SCHOOL” Assembly has twenty slaveholding Presbyteries, between one and two hundred ministers, and from fifteen to twenty thousand members, in the slave States, all walking in religious fellowship with slaveholders.

In 1850, at Detroit, the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :

“That the holding of our fellow-men in the condition of slavery, *except* in those cases where it is unavoidable by the laws of the state, by the obligations

of guardianship, or the demands of humanity, is an offense in the proper import of that term, as used in the Book of Discipline, Chap. 1, Sect. 3, and should be treated in the same manner as other offenses."

This was reaffirmed, at the meeting of the Assembly at Buffalo, and "to correct misapprehensions which may exist in many Northern minds, and allay causeless irritation," &c. &c., the Presbyteries in the slave states were requested to send to the next Assembly full statements touching the following points:

(1.) The number of slaveholders in connexion with the churches under their jurisdiction, and the number of slaves held by them.

(2.) The extent to which slaves are held by an unavoidable necessity "imposed by the laws of the states, the obligations of guardianship, and the demands of humanity."

(3.) Whether a practical regard, such as the word of God requires, is evinced by the Southern churches for the sacredness of the conjugal and parental relations, as they exist among slaves; whether baptism is duly administered to the children of slaves professing Christianity; whether slaves are admitted to equal privileges and powers in the Church Courts; and, in general, to what extent, and in what manner, provision is made for the religious well-being of the enslaved."

This, after a long and excited discussion, was adopted by a vote of 84 to 39. Non liquet, 1. [See "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," pp. 107-8—151-162. Ar. Rep. Am. and For. A.-S. Soc. pp. 66-84.—Minutes of General Assembly. (N. S.) 1853.]

PREMIUM TRACT. "*American Slavery a formidable obstacle to the conversion of the world.*" By WILLIAM GOODELL. New-York: Published by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 48 Beekman street.—Price 6 cents, \$3.00 per hundred.

The Church at Lahaina, (Sandwich Islands) forwarded to the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to be awarded as a premium for the best tract on the subject above-mentioned. A majority of a committee, of whom Hon. Wm. Jay was chairman, awarded the premium to the writer of the above Tract.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE LAWS OF MOSAIC SERVITUDE.—By Hon. WM. JAY. This able work, first published in the *National Era*, and which has received such high commendation, is now to be had in pamphlet form, with cover, at the Depository of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 48 Beekman street, New-York, Price 15 cents single copies, \$12. 50 per hundred.

 PRICE, 10 CENTS SINGLE COPY, OR \$7 PER HUNDRED.

FASHIONABLE AMUSEMENTS:

A SERMON

PREACHED IN THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

OF

JACKSON, MICHIGAN,

LORD'S DAY, JANUARY 30TH, 1848,

BY GUSTAVUS L. FOSTER.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

DETROIT:

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1848. •

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CORRESPONDENCE.

JACKSON, MARCH 20, 1848.

REV. G. L. FOSTER :

Dear Sir:—At the annual meeting of the First Congregational Society in this place, the following resolution was adopted, and the undersigned appointed a committee to present it for your consideration.

“*Resolved*, That a copy of the Sermon of the Rev. Mr. Foster, recently preached on the subject of ‘Fashionable Amusements,’ be requested of him for publication.”

In presenting you with this resolution, the committee deem it proper to state, that it was passed by the affirmative vote of every member of the body from which it originated, and the opinion was unanimous that the publication of the sermon would be productive of good.

The committee therefore earnestly solicit your compliance with the wish contained in the resolution.

Truly Yours, &c.,

A. B. GIBSON, LONSON WILCOX, THOMAS ROCKWELL, M. H. CRAFTS, M. A. McNAUGHTON,	}	Committee.
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JACKSON, MARCH 24, 1848.

Gentlemen:—Your note of the 20th inst. is before me. I have considered your request, and herewith furnish a copy.

Because of certain circumstances with which you are acquainted, I have not taken the liberty to make such slight changes in phraseology, as would have been desirable before coming under the public eye. The sermon was written in haste, as I was attempting to meet the ordinary duties of my position, and I would not now think it worth while to publish it, but for those very circumstances which induce me to give it to the public *as it was delivered*. Very likely that fragment of a wine-bibbing aristocracy yet remaining among us, will not feel complimented by certain adjectives which seemed at the time quite appropriate. But however strong the language at certain points, it was all dictated by a desire to promote the highest interests of those to whom I sustain a very tender relation.

I am yours in a true sympathy,

G. L. FOSTER.

A. B. GIBSON, Esq., and others.



SERMON.

ECCLESIASTES II: 1, 2.—“I said in mine heart—Go to now, I will prove thee with mirth; therefore enjoy pleasure: and behold, this also is vanity.

“I said of laughter—It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?”

How natural it has been for man of all ages to agitate the inquiry for the “*sumum bonum*” of human life—for the *chief good* of man.

The savage as he bounds through the forest in chase of game—expecting soon to return to his companions with the testimonials of his success; or as he dances around the night fire—proud of the exhibition of his physical energy, and welcoming the returning echoes of his own whoop—is eagerly searching for the greatest good of his existence.

He who boasts of being the opposite of an untutored savage—the independent philosopher—so *independent* as to desire to be a metaphysician independent of revelation’s light—treads gravely, solemnly through the chambers of his own mind, feeling for that door which will admit him to that sacred apartment where are spread such keys as when touched will vibrate to the richest strains of human happiness.

All men—from the most ignorant and sensual, to such as are “the living encyclopedias” of the age, and almost the embodiment of virtue upon the earth,—are earnestly inquiring, what will most swell the tide of joy flowing through human bosoms.

In the *practical* exhibition of opinion upon this subject, it would seem that mankind are divided into two general classes. While some have given indulgence to the clamors of carnality, others have attempted to hush appetite and passion—giving conscience and reason control. In one case we view man wedded to indulgence. In the other he is a companion with virtuous restraint. Each of these alliances have produced legitimate fruit in great abundance. The pages

of all the past can teach us profitable lessons concerning what life can yield *us*, as we tread amid the responsibilities of our probationary state.

Suppose one is just looking forth upon the field of a rational existence. He sees that these two ways are before him. He may know the worth of an existence in either,—while onward a little he sees written—“*Retribution ! RETRIBUTION !*”

Is it at all necessary that he go forth experimenting—trying first the one and then the other ? Will he attempt to know the retribution of both ? *Earthly* retribution he may,—but can he know the *eternal* of both ? This latter will be a *vain* attempt, and the former entirely *unnecessary*. He ought to heed the testimony of those who have gone before him, as well as the truthful declarations of Revelation ; for God in this matter has exhibited infinite solicitude. But there seems to be this singularity among mankind—that all are anxious to experiment for themselves. It matters not how beaten may be the path of animal indulgence, by such as have from the end of their course sent back the most positive accents of their folly, as well as the most earnest expostulations that none may follow them ! Every new generation will furnish its headlong mass to tread in the same old way, and to render a similar report.

There is this other singularity also, that the way of carnality is always tried first,

They who have chosen the ascending way of virtue and true religion, have always sent back the richest possible testimony ; and now wrapped amid the elements of an endless felicity, they stretch forth through the aperture which Revelation has made, beckoning hands of most earnest invitation. Yet who has been known to follow them until sin’s way has first been tried ? It would often appear as though men will take the way of death, just to see if it is as bad as thousands going before them have said ; and they will pursue it to show their independence, long after they have found such testimony true—even until terrified with the roar of the wave of their own ruin—when it is too late.

If testimony were of any worth upon the ear of the present self-conceited generation, it would be entirely unnecessary for any having in their hands this world’s history, and the great key of the char-

acter of eternity's events, to know any other than a blessed state here and hereafter.

In this book of Ecclesiastes we have testimony both *human* and *Divine*, concerning this *sumum bonum*,—this *chief good* of man. Solomon wrote his experience for the eye of coming ages, and God in the same, would have the world listen to the solemn accents of His authority.

It is more than the dictate of the Bible that Solomon was endowed with wisdom far superior to his cotemporaries ; and that in old age, after ample experience, he raised his voice to tell the worth of all human enjoyments. Profane history and the Bible are at an agreement so far as the former knows any thing of him. All his *circumstances* and *capacities* fitted him to know the worth of whatever might be gathered from earthly relations.

Will wealth furnish treasures for human bosoms ? He possessed it.

Can an advantageous position in society gather tribute from those less favored ? He knew the power and privileges of kingly exaction.

Will the unrestrained gratification of appetite and passion give to man all he should reap upon the earth ? Who could indulge appetites like Solomon ? Who was more a *prince* of passion ?

All the review of his life as himself gives it, is intensely interesting ; and how condemnatory are the declarations of his own folly !

Upon the present occasion, I would solicit your attention to a single point, as he gives his experience.

In trying one course and then another to see how much pleasure they would yield him, he says, "*I said in my heart, go to now ; I will prove thee with mirth—therefore enjoy pleasure.*" No one can doubt his ability to make a fair experiment in this direction. He did so, and returned a report thus, "*and behold this also is vanity.*"

Such was his disappointment, that he was not satisfied to term this course merely vain, but added—" *I said of laughter, it is mad—and of mirth, what doeth it ?*"

This latter declaration has been appropriately paraphrased thus—"I said of *laughter*, i. e. of those high and constant scenes of amusement, which create an oblivion of God, and of the serious duties of life, *it is mad* ; and of *mirth*, or of those continual levities and frivol-

ities which dissipate the heart, *what doeth it?* what is its possible value when the account of life is made up?"

He intended to say, that in giving his heart to pleasure, he found "*laughter*"—"mad;" and *mirthfulness, worse than useless.*

As I have chosen this experience of the King of Israel *to impress upon you some of the evils connected with an excessive gratification of the love of worldly pleasure*, if I use accents of earnestness, I trust my words will be those of "truth and soberness," coming from a heart alive to more than your temporal interests.

To see a strong tendency to an excess of worldly pleasure, as already intimated, is no new thing under the sun; but there are periods when any given community may more strikingly manifest it than ordinarily: such a period we are in the midst of. The fascinating power of what are termed "*fashionable worldly amusements*," is much stronger here now than a year since. Social interestedness seeks a very different channel, and one in which I believe lie lurking evils. Let me say,

I. That I have designedly used the term *excessive*, in qualifying the love of worldly pleasure, because I have no fellowship with that sentiment which condemns with a sweeping blast, all *kinds and degrees* of worldly amusements.

I have had occasion, frequently, to say to you who have heard me most, that the author of our existence no doubt intended that we should be happy *here*, as well as hereafter, in the proper development of our nature, as we came from his hand. *All* that connects us to *this* world ought to be the efficient medium of communicating from it to us, such joys as will evince the benevolence of Him who made this our temporary abode. If there are not innocent pleasures naturally existing between us and the present world, of sufficient worth to make an existence here desirable, we might question the goodness and wisdom of God in that first work of creation, and in the ceaseless exhibition of omnipotence since.

The earth was, unquestionably, rightly created, and man was properly capacitated; so that whatever there is of evil to us, from our connection with the world, ourselves are responsible for in some abuse of what was intended to happy.

There is a degree—there is a time—there are relations, when all

such appropriate pleasures as are demanded naturally in the connection between man and the world he inhabits—are innocent : as innocent as the joy of Angels in their appropriate circuit around the throne of Jehovah. Such are the pleasures which do not frolic over reason, nor ridicule conscience, when both are in harmony with the word of God. Worldly amusements within such limitations may be ranked among the duties of life. They become appropriate obligations by the side of others of more imperative attention.

Whoever appropriately fills the place naturally assigned him, will almost necessarily be a joyous man. His joys will be worthy the term—*worldly pleasures*—because they are connected with worldly relations which God himself has instituted. Surely one as wise as Solomon would not call these *vain* !

But in my opinion, not only is that innocent pleasure which has a natural and almost necessary existence, as we promptly meet the manifest duties of life ; but to seek to be happy just for the sake of pleasurable sensations, may, in many circumstances, be commendable.

It may be said, that to seek for pleasure merely for the sake of personal gratification, is an unworthy employment for such a being as man. It is to be admitted that such interests as are connected with the most valuable elements of his nature, are of primary importance, and that he ought mainly to find his happiness in a consciousness of having met the duties of his higher relations. But there are recreative amusements, furnishing pleasure, which may be indulged in at such intervals as necessarily exist between periods of important toil. For instance, the *student*, who is really a student ! the *professional man*, who is much absorbed in his profession ! the *business man*, who finds himself constantly pressed, vexed and wearied ! he who extorts from the earth a livelihood, wrung out by a hard hand and purchased by the sweat of an honest brow ; *all* who are actively engaged in a worthy employment, need recreative hours—need to unbend their energies lest they destroy the healthful and happifying elasticity of nature. Worldly amusements, when thus engaged in, of that kind and degree which gives nature new power for more important duties, must be of useful tendency in aiding man to meet his numerous obligations.

Thus, it is right for the *student* to seek such amusements as will take his thoughts quite away from their wonted direction, and give the mind a season of healthful, innocent caper. (I do not say *dissipation*.) He may range through the forest and get himself in harmony with ecstatic and intelligent nature ; or he may go into society where he may feel "the happy glow of joyous sociality"—and for all this he may be better fitted for the work of a student, and for whatever may afterward lie in the path of his earthly mission.

This is true of every professional man. So he who is technically known as a *business man*, needs often to take his thoughts entirely away from what is frequently of such a constant anxiety as to destroy the mind's equilibrium, and send it through the world an object of weakness and deformity. An occasional hour, an occasional day of amusement, would have saved many from insanity and an untimely grave.

But not to specify different classes of persons, with their demands for recreative employments, let me say summarily, *that an argument for some animating, pleasurable exercise, other than belongs to the more necessary duties of life, seems deeply written in the very constitution of man.* Earthly man is an animal. True, he is much more ; and with this "*much more*," are linked his highest obligations, his most imperative duties ; but he is also an animal, and as his animal nature is of worth compared with his higher, so are the employments natural to its proper development, of consequence, compared with what all admit necessary to the development of the higher. Now, every animal upon the earth, and every bird in mid-heaven, and probably every fish in the sea, has its season of amusement with its fellows. This seems to be in obedience to a law of its nature. It would not have a proper development without such enjoyment. Is not then something like this necessary for man ? Who can prove the contrary ? Have not we a strong analogy ? All these beasts, birds and fish, scarcely ever violate the laws of their existence. They sport, and are innocent. So when *man* in his amusements violates no physical law, nor any such other law as may be attached to him, because of his intellectual and moral nature, he is innocent.

But, while these creatures of the animal kingdom may sport and play half their time or more, because they have no more than an ani-

mal nature to develop,—man has manifestly no such permission. He is connected with immense interests that they know nothing of ; interests of almost infinitely more consequence than animal pleasure. If all these claims are regarded according to their value, the time devoted to worldly amusements will be very small ; nevertheless, such a time there is, and it may be innocently occupied.

Generally it has not been at all difficult to make men believe that there is a time for amusement. Believing this, in the absence of either argumentation or exhortation, the tendency has been toward criminal excesses.

You see then, while I am driven by this train of thought to the admission that there is a time in human existence which may be devoted to innocent amusement, I am necessitated to draw around such an admission a reasonable and scriptural limitation. Such I have already done in the declaration, *that man should develop every part of his being according to its worth ; and that he must not violate those most imperative laws of God and nature.* But for a practical purpose I am inclined to be somewhat specific, and therefore propose to say,

II. *That all such worldly amusements are to be condemned as are manifestly demoralizing in their influence.* This would be fairly inferential from principles already seen. There are what are termed *fashionable amusements*, which breathe a moral contagion. In their region, virtue is pale and sickly and often gasps and dies.

Need I specify these ? Your thoughts will at once revert to them.

Horse racing is thought by many to be a most delightful worldly amusement. But steeds at such a scene no more certainly vie with each other than all sorts of vices are raging for the ascendancy. Upon these large public courses of this country are enacted the darkest scenes which blot an enlightened nation. Every command of God is trampled under foot. One has well said, in describing such a place, “as crows to a corn-field, or vultures to their prey ; as flies to summer sweet, so to the annual races, flow the whole tribe of gamblers and pleasure lovers. It is the Jerusalem of wicked men, and thither the tribes go up like Israel of old, but for a far different sacrifice.” So those smaller races which often disgrace our own community are of kindred elements and tendencies, as truly as that the rivulet is water and flows downward as well as the deep river.

So GAMBLING, in all its varieties, is said to be an amusement : but to say nothing now of the exceeding silliness of spending whole nights in shuffling spotted papers, one never gambles long before becoming a spotted character. He will naturally inherit other vices, belonging to the society with which he is necessitated to associate. He must almost necessarily become *dishonest*—then *a liar*—then very likely *a thief*: he will almost inevitably become *profane*, and *a tipler*. His haunt too, is next to her door whose house is far in the way to death. Sustained by the most lamentable consequences, the voice of virtue must utterly condemn this amusement.

So, in this list ought to be ranked the THEATRE and its brood of *satellites*. With this prince of popular evils we have not so much to do as with those miserable emanations, which radiate all around and through the west. If the opinion of such men as Drs. Johnson and Witherspoon, with scores of the virtuous and good now living, is worth any thing, or if the voice of common fame is to be regarded as truthful, there is no class of men and women more corrupt, and which are exerting a more corrupting influence than that which conducts the theatres of our large towns, and which pass in troops doing a smaller, dirtier work through the country. Christianity, morality, and a genuine patriotism all over the land, are condemning these evils. Heathenism and infidelity condemned them long ago. Plato, Ovid, and Aristotle, speak against all such amusements and those conducting them, as if, though heathen, they professed a strong moral sense of the fitness of things. The infidel Rousseau, when it was proposed to establish a theatre in Geneva, his native place, wrote against it with great zeal and power, declaring that *no friend of virtue could approve of it*.

But to the list of these demoralizing amusements, I wish to add yet another—if possible, of more injurious tendency than the ordinary theatre and circus. I allude to those *most reprehensible dancing scenes*, which are conducted by such persons as would glut themselves upon innocency, and play the vulture upon virtue. These scenes are usually connected with such places as are famous for the wildest revelry of appetite and passion. It is often the case that a herd of profligate young men, not finding a sufficient opportunity for the gratification of a corrupt imagination—and worse—plan with

great adroitness to bring about these opportunities, for an attempt to meet such anxieties, as would look horrible were they written out upon the face of the sky. Whose thoughts cannot revert to such gatherings in villages and in various centres of influence through the country? Do you see that promiscuous assembly thrust into some narrow, half-lighted chamber? Do you mark who the ruling spirits are? Have you an unerring eye upon intentions as far as external conduct will evince them? See that exhibition of hellish affection in certain quarters, (too much of what Swedenborg terms *scortatory love*.) See an attempt to add the flame of wine to every other already kindled. Look in upon the congregated spirits of the bar-room, a sort of lower bedlam; get before you an image of the whole place, and its characters—and then tell me if such places of ostensible amusement are where young men should go to learn polite accomplishments? Is it any place for which mothers should prepare their daughters? *O Horrible! Horrible!!* In such places has been spread a dreadful net of entanglement. Around immortal spirits has been thrown the first coil of the undying worm. Talk not of *innocent amusement*, where there is so much of Hell. But with a slight shade of difference as a reason for a change of classification, I would notice,

III. Another class of amusements which are thought to be less exceptionable, and which many think are advantageous to virtuous social interests, but which I would condemn, for the reason, *if they are not absolutely demoralizing, they have a powerful tendency in that direction.*

Among these I would first specify *those more fashionable and well conducted balls*, which are becoming so popular among those who think themselves the choicest elements of human society. I allude now to those gatherings of which public papers make so much flourish in our large towns. I would not contemplate such balls as iniquitous in their immediate designs; but I would not dare guess that always only elements of innocence are found congregated there.

How ridiculous often appear the published intentions of such gay scenes! Many of them exist in *honor* of distinguished persons, and as indices of compliment to such associations as are of public utility.

Thus is honored "*the Father of his Country.*" George Washington honored by such a scene as he would probably never honor with his presence were he living! Such men better be honored by an imitation of their *virtues*.

"*The Father of his Country*" was not any such man as Herod, who would think this pleasure of as much worth as the head of John the Baptist. It would be no compliment to carry such "a charger" to him. That man and his noble cotemporaries, who struggled to raise this Republic from the bosom of a national chaos, knew too well the enfeebling influence of *revelry* upon former republics. They knew that *it*, more than any thing else, unnerved the strong arm and quenched the patriotic flame of Greece; and that, after a long debilitating process, *it finally*, more than any thing else, opened the gates of old Athens to the ravages of the sweeping conqueror of Macedonia.

Is such a man to be honored by millions of nimble feet? Unlike many who would thus honor him, his virtues were rather in his head and his heart.

Thus might appropriately be honored the almost deified *Elsler*, who so recently received such enthusiastic oblations. Let whoever pleases, adore the "divine *Fanny*," but they better seek a new channel of respect for Washington.

So in many of our cities, a fire company cannot perform its appropriate duties without such an *honor*.

But to say nothing now of the exceeding silliness of such nocturnal revels among intelligent beings, and of the vain attempt of thus rendering popular such *nonsense*, by a pretence of doing honor with it to real worth, every friend of virtue should condemn them because of their direct tendency to what is worse. Sin is progressive: "first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear."

Thousands have entered the ball-chamber with no other than honest and honorable desires to prepare for the appropriate scenes of refined society, and have gone so far beyond refinement, that in a few years they are thrust forth from all decent society, fit subjects only for the world's moral dung-hill.

Thousands have rolled their heads in anguish upon their dying pillow, while thought's ear was yet full of the strains of that music,

which first in the ball-chamber, threw the silken cords of its enchantment around them, and which all the way rendered vice attractive until it was loved for its own sake. A remembrance of these early scenes of mirth, has caused dying eyes to glare in vain for a view of hope. It has bathed the face of cold despair with scalding tears, and given upon earth the first note of an endless lamentation.

But I notice *again*, that these scenes of gaiety are often changed from places of public resort to private dwellings. With slight changes in non-essentials, what was *public* becomes somewhat *domesticated*. This change of place merely, is often thought to change their character,—depriving them of objectionable features. When thus domesticated they take the name of *fashionable parties*.

You will now understand me as alluding to such of these as possess dancing as an important element, with the reason-dissipating influence of the wine-cup. As a serpent is as truly a serpent, when playing amid a family of children, as when away in its more appropriate mountain den—so the distinction between these things in public and private, is rather fanciful than real. They are of dangerous tendency to the morals of those who mingle in them.

Now, I would not affect to be a severe censor of public manners here; but one better far go awkwardly—uncouthly—through the world, treading in the path of virtue, than to carry himself genteelly—politely—in the way of temptation and sin, as he hastens into the presence of infinite purity. *Not* the awkward will be excluded from the kingdom of God. *Not* those distinguished for their worldly accomplishments will all enter there.

But are these scenes evil in their tendencies? Have we any proof, or are we impelled by prejudice?

My hearers—what if we could to-day unroll such a canvas as will be spread into the light of eternity! What if we could read the history of thousands of drunkards who have gone to a deep degradation from the highest circles of fashion! What if we could read the cause of the fall of many of the Lucifers of mankind, who have soared high in intellectual and moral worth, only to plunge to a deeper ruin! What if we fix our eye upon such as have evinced an intellectual power capable of rocking halls of legislation according to their will; and a few years after mark that enfeebled mind in an un-

successful effort to roll its filthy body out of the very mire, where swine wallow! What if we could see how female modesty and virtue has been exchanged for what is the most loathsome object of earth, as seen in contrast with what is so beautiful! What if you could see and know all these and more, you would learn that in innumerable instances, the *first step* downward from sober virtue's pure elevation, was taken in these *fashionable parties*.

Shall I briefly instance a case? Parents who had felt the immense responsibilities of their position, brought their son to a New England city, that he might enjoy the advantages of a venerable institution of learning. They had known something of the temptations attendant upon a college life. They would therefore put their son into the midst of all possible virtuous restraints; and so were happy in finding him not only a *boarding place* among respectable school companions, but a sort of *home* in the bosom of a religious family. For two years the lad made rapid attainment in study, and was already reaching ambitiously for college honors. He had excited high hopes among all his friends.

But a low state of religion there, for years, had given ample opportunity for folly to become antic and popular; and such parties as we are now considering the tendency of, became a prominent channel of social intercourse. Such professors of religion as had full as much desire to be *popular* as *consistent*, mingled in these parties and gave them in turn. At length such a scene occurred at the *home* of this youth. He was requested to be present. His accomplishments, though he had never been in a gathering of such a character before, rendered him easy and attractive; so that afterward he was frequently invited to such scenes, and soon became almost an indispensable element in them. His history can now be truthfully and quickly told in saying,—here he formed an unbroken acquaintance with “the wine when it giveth its color in the cup—when it moveth itself aright.” Here he became wedded to dissipation. None can tell the pangs of parental hearts when such a woful truth breathed its blighting influence upon parental hopes.

He left college soon, without graduating—“*expelled*”—and went forth, strolling every where, the creature of ephemeral pleasure.

He shone in the estimation of such circles as he entered. He

might have shown as a star of the first magnitude in an intellectual and moral firmament. He might have been a star whose glory would have melted away into the bosom of an eternal day. But his way was that of a groveling glow-worm, whose brightness was soon crushed into blackness by the heavy tread of death. I remember, that all passing by seemed to solemnly pause, saying "*see the ripened fruits of fashionable amusements.*" Not quite so, for it will take a whole eternity to ripen both the evil and the good.

O, how slow we are to learn in all such instances that ruin is none the less *ruin*, because it is fashionably produced. It is not safe for the young, for any body, to frequent such places. There is usually a heat there, which, beaming upon a heart of purity, may kindle at first into a feeble flame, what eternity will not quench.

A sudden freak of passion ; a single gleam across the imagination ; one bound of the carnal heart, may break virtue's tender restraints, and send forth upon immortality a rebel of God and Heaven.

Here let me say—it is a matter of lamentation that such parties are increasing in popularity in this community. Is such a fact of any honor to us ? Is it any recommendation to our town, in the estimation of such strangers as would find a desirable home for themselves and their rising families, that so many are evincing much more activity of brain in the heel than in the head ? Is it commendatory that so many evince not enough intelligence to be interestingly social without the exhilarating abilities of the intoxicating bowl ?

I am ashamed for the reputation which some recent scenes in this place will certainly win for us abroad.

Is *Bacchus* to come out of those miserable public dens, where he has so long kennelled, that he may revel and riot in parlors ? Are we to become distinguished for being worshippers of this most filthy of all heathen deities ? Such a reputation is not far off, if I am rightly informed.

Are we *here* to perpetuate the succession of Belshazral feats ? If we do, some hand will write our doom. Scenes of revelry have recently occurred here, where, if not the vessels of the sanctuary were used, such hands as handle these vessels, have lifted the wine-cup to such lips as often taste what memorises a Saviour's agony. Should not this have been publicly told ? It is no worse to tell of it than to

do it. Are any to excuse themselves for this conduct by saying that all this revelry is *dedicated to the glory of God*? O, horrible, horrible blasphemy!

Are any ladies to excuse themselves by the assertion, that they “were enticed?” And do they intend to yield to all possible enticements in such a world as this is? Does not every lady know that in *this day* she loses nothing by incurring the displeasure of such as would leave her to the cup of intoxication; but rather renders herself worthy of herself and her position by saying to such, “get behind me satan?”

Am I credibly informed? Yes, I have the most reliable authority, that in a recent bacchanalian scene, more than two ladies to one loafer, cheerily quaffed off the intoxicating draught. *Ladies*, did I say? Originally this term signified “a distributor of bread among the poor;” but how shockingly some of the best terms have been misapplied!

Two women to one man revelling around a herd of decanters in this day! And can it be possible that some of the former as well as the latter became intoxicated? Has it come to this; that while men who care for the good morals of the town, are doing all they can to suppress the ravages of intemperance—to dry up the tears of human woe—that women are lending a helping hand to such as are at least reckless of the public good, for the sake of paltry gain?

Shall fathers, husbands, sons and brothers, do all they can to rescue the nearly lost and to protect the endangered; while mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters, gather in these fashionable parties, and give their influence to such as are engaged in an apostate work? Is a lady yielding to the complimentary bows of one who can smile and smile again, and be none the less vile? Does not she know how she palsies the arm of her dearest friends who may be struggling to promote public morality and virtue? These same enticers will, among themselves, ridicule her weakness. Fathers better look well to the society in which their sons mingle, lest they get many drunkards.

Does any one think I am speaking disrespectfully of the ladies? (I am glad those of whom I now speak are comparatively few.) I care not for any marked attentions from such as will not respect themselves, nor their own conscience, nor common decency, nor

public sentiment, nor the promotion of virtue, nor the restraints of religion ; besides, I have no more authority, amid my responsibilities, to permit a gay bonnet to be a shield from faithful rebuke, than that a beautiful vestment should protect an addled heart from the probings of truth.

I am to stand but a little way hence amid a larger assembly than the present, where all this class of persons will be necessitated to be present, and where I must answer for my fidelity. Does any one say it is none of my business what is done in these fashionable parties, that you wish I would mind my own business ? So I am attempting to do now in faithfulness.

Do any ask—If men and women may not do what they please without being hung up in a gibbet of public remark ? I answer, no—when they do what is publicly injurious. In this free country, at least, it is as much every body's business to do right as to do wrong ; to *expose* evil as to engage in it. I have no other apology to make to such, than that I am ashamed that their conduct has been such as to make these remarks necessary.

Will any say in their irritability, that I am becoming more and more a public nuisance ? My only reply is, “I tread those streets by the commandment of God.”

Do any report the assertion, that I am attempting, by the aid of such as will never forsake me until I forsake the truth, to rule this population ?

Not so, I am only anxious, so far as my influence can extend, that this people should be brought to acknowledge the authority of God, and be controlled by the happifying principles of His government. I am anxious that they should enjoy all such pleasures as appropriately belong to intelligent and accountable beings. Such pleasures as will stretch wings for a heavenly flight when the scenes of earth are over. I am anxious that they should begin to know here, a measure of that joy which will be of worth, when immortality shall suddenly dawn over some hill-top of heaven.

I had intended to speak at length of another class of parties, less exceptionable, and of the *silly plays* often introduced in them. In these are often seen what is very disgusting to a refined sensibility, and what makes human nature look as though it had very little of

the Divine image about it. But a moment's reflection upon the field of common sense, will gather sufficient "*hints of propriety.*" You will quickly say, "*of laughter, it is mad; and of mirthfulness, what doeth it?*"

I have, however, to say briefly, in conclusion, that I can conceive of no injury from social gatherings of rational enjoyment, where immoral influences are carefully avoided. Such gatherings often promote a happy harmony in a community, and christians may gather thus, and show without any denial of their Saviour, that they are none the less capacitated for the enjoyments of social life for being christians.

You know I am not an advocate of any such notions as would prohibit a christian's smiling, or shut him in the cell of some monastery. Great caution is, however, necessary, lest these social visits be too frequently called, and attended with too much expense. All merely social enjoyments should be graduated by the side of those *more weighty* obligations which belong to our relations to God and man.

What vast fields of the richest enjoyments are opened before us! Far richer than through the field which this discourse has led us. All nature is one vast repository of beauties and wonders. The whole world is one broad stage upon which nations are the actors in a most exciting tragedy. We are lifted high when we can see past and coming waves of eternal design. Every where amid agitated and devouring elements, are the *morally lost*. Such as are incarnated God came to save.

Have any of you wealth that you would lavish? Don't make an expensive fashionable party; but go and light up the cottages of honest poverty with joy. Let orphan children, amid the chills of this cold world, call you blessed. Do what you can to tell some benighted heathen of God and His Son. Touch some cord that will send a new strain of joy all through heaven. Would not this give more substantial delight?

Professor of religion, do you know that this broad *sea of worldliness* is that which contains the shelving rocks upon which so many of your brethren have shipwrecked? I ask you to beware! Are any of you now thinking, "well, this is well enough for a minister to preach against these things, but we will do as we please?" Of

course you will, and you can fail of Heaven if you *please*. You cannot however possess an approving conscience, and be a consistent christian, if you follow this round of pleasure.

Those who would flatter you concerning your "*liberal principles*," will despise your religion. They know what consistency is, and ever and anon will send a scathing rebuke upon your conscience, such as an inquiry if you and they are not "*the only representatives of our church*." Your conduct is just what the people of the world point to as an excuse when we urge them to become christians. If any dear to you are yet unreconciled to God, you can bring them to the Saviour by no such process.

You need not think you can attend these parties as a social being, and still hope to act as a christian in other relations. It will be with you much as it was with one who said—"As *Bishop* I may not shed man's blood; but as *Prince* I will lead my men to battle." "But," said his servant, who was too simple to make nice distinctions, "when Satan comes for the *Prince*, what shall become of the *Bishop*?"

There is nothing right in such indulgencies for you, any more than for me. I am as anxious to seek for sources of happiness as you are. If you may have large parties with wine and dancing in your houses, why may not I? Were I to do so, would I long remain your minister? Can you show me a place in the New Testament where you are privileged with, and I prohibited from, an indulgence in these things? Will you bear in mind, that there is nothing right for me to preach, but what would be wrong in you to disregard?

I would say of myself as an eminent minister said of his relations to the theatre:—"Why do not I frequent the theatre? Not simply because I am a christian minister—for I shall not suffer myself to be debarred from any innocent pleasure on that account; not because I have imbibed a Puritan cant, or any other cant, against rational amusements; not because I have not been in a theatre, or am ignorant of its true character; not because I could not relish a good play, nor be fascinated with fine scenery and acting—for I have not yet lost my first impressions of the stage; not because I do not admire good elocution,—certainly, not because I should not enjoy the music, which is to many the chief attraction—nor yet because I would not pay liberally for any proper gratification; but because I

have certain principles which forbid my going to such a place. I wish by the grace of God to be a good man—to form a holy character—to share the blessedness of the pure in heart—to prepare my soul for heavenly felicity. I wish also to improve my time—to do good to my fellow men—to elevate society—to save individual souls. This I conceive to be the true end of life, and I desire to carry it out. Therefore I cannot expose myself to the influence of the theatre. Moreover, I think it better to be a lover of God than a lover of pleasure. In fact, I have conceived of God's friendship as the true source of happiness to my mind; and feeling thus, I am unwilling to sacrifice that friendship for any merely worldly pleasure. Therefore I do not visit the theatre. The difference between a play-goer and myself, as a christian, is not conventional or circumstantial; it is radical. One of us has mistaken the great object of life, and the true source of present and future happiness. He chooses pleasure—I choose God. One of us is altogether in the wrong. I will leave him to ascertain on whose side the error lies."

So, if any of you think you can honor God in a round of demoralizing amusements, and thus prepare for the retributions of eternity, I think very differently; and we will wait for the great day, to decide more fully which is right.





THE CLAIMS OF NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY UPON THE YOUNG STUDENT.

AN

A D D R E S S,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIAL UNION

OF

WILLISTON SEMINARY,

EASTHAMPTON, MASS.

BY RUFUS ELLIS.

[Not Published.]

NORTHAMPTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN METCALF.

1845.

THESE words of counsel were not prepared for the Press. But, as those to whom they were addressed, are desirous of reviewing the suggestions which it is their object to present, they are printed for their use. Should the Address fall into the hands of Adults, they will please to remember that it was prepared for the young, and that, though printed, it is not published.

ADDRESS.

MY YOUNG FRIENDS :—

IN the invitation to address you, with which you have been pleased to honor me, I was not restricted to any subject or class of subjects. I hope that you will not see reason to repent of this allowance. But whether the matter, which I shall attempt to discuss, prove attractive or otherwise to my hearers, I am sure that none other could have awakened in my own mind that interest, which alone enables one to speak at all, or to any good purpose. I am unwilling to discourse to you of any single topic in the departments of Literature, or of Science, or of Art. These topics are treated in the books, and unfolded by your Teachers, more fully, distinctly, and attractively, than I could hope to present them, and besides, the peculiar occasion demands, as it seems to me, a peculiar effort. There is but one word that I can speak to a Society of young students,—and were I to leave it unspoken, I should feel that a noble opportunity had been lost. I shall not discuss any single branch of knowledge ; I shall aim rather to present motives, and awaken a spirit, which may animate you in all your intellectual enterprises. I must speak of *the claims of New England Society, upon yourselves, the Students of this Institution*. As I have said, I can speak upon no other subject,—I cannot choose but throw aside such materials as I have already collected, and make a new effort, for this new, and to me deeply interesting occasion. I have prepared myself in haste, yet a hasty word, so it be appropriate to the hour and to the place, and come from the heart, will not be unprofitable. Your respected Teachers will pardon this liberty of mine, in the selection of such a topic,—for they are too much impressed, I am sure, with a sense of its importance, not to welcome every additional lesson

of exhortation and encouragement. They understand what that Scripture means,—‘Line upon line, and precept upon precept.’

But before I enter upon my subject, I must be allowed to enlarge a little upon its attractiveness, at least its attractiveness for myself. I am not employing one of the arts of the Rhetorician, when I assure you, that I feel a deep interest in yourselves as Students, and in the Institution with which you are happily connected. It is but a short time, since the same studies which now furnish you with so much delightful occupation, consumed my time and engaged my thoughts. I have not lost the feeling of the youthful Student, the remembrance of my school days is still fresh in my mind, and it would not seem strange to me to be seated again at the desk, or to be summoned again to answer the questions of a Teacher. I can enter into your joys and your sorrows, your hopes and your fears,—I can gaze with you upon the opening prospect of life, and survey the scene as it lies out before the kindling eye of youth, beautiful or awful. I can be for the time a student with you, and can regard a successful exercise in Latin, or Greek, or Mathematics, as a very triumph, as a most important event in the history of a day. I can entertain anew the inquiry as to a profession, a calling for life, and look forward in trembling hope to a career of honor and usefulness. Yet though we are separated from each other by so brief an interval of time, an interval which in after years will not be noticed, I have yet preceded you a little into the great vineyard where we must all labor, and I can return with some account of the great tasks which are to be accomplished, and I have been able to learn something about the instruments that are best adapted to the accomplishment of these tasks. I can speak as a brother, yet as an elder brother; I am young with you, yet I have been permitted to strike a few heavy blows, and have learned that only well tempered tools will hold their edge, in the rough work of life. Already do I indulge the common fancy, that were I permitted to return to school, I could study to some good purpose.

And again, you must allow me to say, that I feel a peculiar interest in this particular Seminary. You are members of a

school of learning, which can show resources superior to those of some infant colleges. Abundant means are placed within your reach, for laying deep and broad, the foundations of thorough scholarship. Your numbers are so large, that you are enabled to form a community by yourselves, and to nourish in your midst a common spirit. You are numerous enough for enthusiastic labor, labor inspired by generous sentiments, called out and strengthened by your daily intercourse, each with the other. And what to my mind is more than all, the walls of your School rise in a retired village, not in a noisy city. Here you are privileged to feel the blessed influences of Nature, and can enjoy abundant opportunities for meditation upon the great subjects which begin to engage your thoughts, and awaken your affections. The corruption of cities is known to you here, only by report, and before you are called to mingle in the bewildering scene, you can fashion for yourselves a complete armor of beautiful sentiments. This is the gathering place for young men, who have grown up under the invigorating influences of a country life, who bring to the intellectual exercises of the place sound minds in sound bodies,—bodies uncorrupted by luxury, unsoftened by indulgence, fostered by the strengthening breezes of our New England hills. New England boys, the proper growth of New England, are here assembled, boys of nerve and muscle, boys of ready wit, and skillful hands, and there may and should be a pure New England spirit prevailing here, directing every effort. You come here from homes where labors, not amusements, mark the hours ; where there is no possibility as there is no desire of escaping from earnest toil ; you come from tasks that you may return better able to perform tasks ; you bring simplicity, manliness, and vigor, from your hill-side dwellings. New England is to be redeemed—I cannot too frequently say it—by its country people, and they are deserving of all commendation who found these country schools,—*country schools*, I say, and do you never be ashamed of the phrase, but esteem it the greatest privilege of your lot, that you are country boys. This Seminary may make itself felt in village and in city, if you please.

And do not tell me, that this is fanciful or exaggerated,—that these are only pleasant words, and do not correspond to the reality, that I dream and talk wildly. Do not say, all this would be well enough if some famous Academy were under consideration, if you were addressing Eton, or Winchester, or Rugby boys, the pupils of some great English School. Do not say so, for they who talk thus keep down all noble aspirations. This Institution shall be what you choose to make it,—it may have a world-wide fame, if you please ; it may be accounted a great honor, to have been educated here. New England is as good a place as Old England, only let New Englanders choose to have it so ; the place does not make the people, but the people the place, and men always honor the spot where a good work was begun or finished. By all means magnify your School, and account it as great as any other, great in latent, if not in developed energies. And surely, if outward circumstances be important, you have every thing to stimulate your efforts. The glories of the Natural World encompass you on every side, filling the eye, and cheering, and elevating the soul. The minds that are trained amidst such scenes should be animated by great hopes. As the eye of the golden day slowly opens, as the sweet light of the morning gradually moves down the mountains, striving ever to penetrate the deep recesses of low vales, as the beautiful pale mist, smooth gliding without step, steals from the earth, fleeing before the hot breath of the Royal Sun, and vanishes heavenward from the high peak, when sod and tree and rock shine out in princely raiment, each day renewed,—then surely you may behold the image of a beautiful life, a life to be adorned by your light, to be made genial and glad by the mighty central heat glowing in your heart of hearts, and raying out in unspeakable beneficence. Man and Nature, yes I should rather say the great God whose are all agents and agencies, must not be blamed, if this School of Learning gain no name in the world.

I am right then in maintaining, that New England Society may claim great things of *you*. And I proceed at once to inquire what specially are the wants of New England Society, in

our day? What preparation should you be making to meet these wants? It will be well for you to give some time and thought to the question, that your studies may be carried forward with a definite aim. My reply to the inquiry may be summed up in three words, and would that these three words might sound in your ears, morning and noon and night. We need 'self-sacrificing scholars,'—men entirely devoted to the study and proclamation of the Truth,—the Truth in all its various forms. Only well trained minds can perform the tasks which are awaiting the men of our generation. Let me defend and illustrate my position.

You will soon, my young friends, enter upon a most exciting scene. You will be admitted to a society which is agitated, almost convulsed, by countless questions of the deepest interest. You will not be permitted to slumber, you must in some way, take active parts. Now, I shall not attempt any detailed description of our age, of our present New England world. Only men of mature minds should pronounce upon the signs of the times, and moreover were I to undertake any thing of the sort, I should be compelled to take sides with this or the other party,—a course which upon such an occasion as this would be wholly unjustifiable. But thus much I can say. Whether you are destined to labor in the departments of Theology or of Politics, to serve the Church or the State, you will find that you are summoned to no holiday tasks. The day for sluggards has gone by in New England, and you can get small wages whether of fame or of money, unless you can do much work. Church and State are suffering for the want of master minds, and men are every where dissatisfied because those who undertake to guide them, are so little in advance of themselves. I have no desire to find fault, but I cannot think that our Scholars are faithful to their trust, and to their excellent opportunities,—they do not sufficiently consider that study is their business, just as the culture of the fields is the business of the Farmer, and they do not rise with the husbandman, and toil as he toils. I might specify many subjects which are now, and long will be under discussion, but I will be on the safe side, and be silent. To

this point rather will I speak. You may tell me perhaps that this is an Age of Light, that Knowledge is every where diffused, that the culture of the mind is keeping pace with physical improvement, that every one is able to think for himself, and consequently requires little or no assistance. Now this is true in part; yet we must not over-estimate the advantages of this state of things. We must not forget that new duties are imposed upon us,—in return for these privileges. Every body is enlightened now, but for the present this is no great gain. A little learning is a dangerous thing,—the saying is every day fulfilled in our ears, and before our eyes. All questions are open now, and may be discussed by all minds, but a little learning will not furnish an answer to all questions. We know just enough to fancy that we know every thing, and that we can pronounce an opinion upon all subjects. The people must decide every thing, whilst, with all due reverence be it spoken, the people are not competent to decide every thing. The Scholar is tempted to fall in with the popular current, to cater for the popular taste, and to furnish shallow opinions, for shallow hearers and readers. ‘*Vox populi, vox dei,*’ is the favorite motto of our day,—and it is likely to prove fatal to sound thought and healthy action. It is true only with great qualifications. The Scholar is thought to be of no service, because all men are abundantly qualified to execute his function; and the Scholar is unnecessary, if he will not resolutely advance far beyond his fellows, and urge upon them, with the Authority of the Truth, a Wisdom superior to their own. Society cannot accomplish its destiny without the vigorous agency of mind. Factories, Railroads, Warehouses, Farms will not save us,—we must have well-trained, well furnished minds. There must be men in the Community who will give themselves to thought, and who are familiar with the past experience of the world,—men who will make it their business to study, and consequently may claim to be heard upon all great subjects. A Scholar requires but little capital to set up with, in our land, and accordingly the opinions of Scholars are not much esteemed,—practical men, as they are called, are sought—men who keep just

enough in advance of popular sentiment, to appear to guide it. Do you, my young friends, know something, and speak, when you are bye and bye called upon, as if you knew something. New England waits for men who have a right to be confident, for men who shall be able to guide her, and work out her glorious destiny. The Scholar is the appointed Guide, for it is his calling to fill his mind with every thing true, beautiful, and profitable.

There are those who will tell you that learning is of no use, that what you require is a knowledge of human nature,—by which is usually meant a facility in adapting yourselves to others, that is, again, a facility in letting yourselves down to their level ; —but it is no such thing :—you are exempted from manual labor, that you may perform intellectual labor, and thoroughly perform it. Great mistakes are constantly made in all important matters, because our Scholars only half perform their work, because they bring forward as specimens of their intellectual skill, only the most ordinary articles. For one patient man who consumes the day in his study, we have multitudes who waste hour after hour in the street or in the parlor, and never go much beyond the light reading with which we are flooded, and which is the poorest of all trash. I must warn you upon this subject, because I am sure that young students greatly err in this matter. Your observation of society soon makes you aware, that a certain kind of musty, dry learning, is of very little service, either to the possessor or to those whom he undertakes to influence. School boys soon make this discovery, and they are likely to take up at once an opinion, that their School studies will be of no service, and that their best course will be to pass them over as slightly as possible, and devote the time to reading Novels, Magazines, and Newspapers. In this way, they hope to catch the tune of the times, and to secure something which will tell in the Forum, and sell in the Market. But this is a terrible mistake, and fatal to all intellectual greatness. Mere learning is indeed useless and tedious. Merely to be familiar with the declensions of nouns, and the conjugations of verbs, and the demonstrations of theorems, is truly an insignificant thing ; but to understand the lan-

guage, and the thoughts of a nation, ancient or modern, is by no means insignificant, and you cannot guide the people, unless you have gone beyond what is called popular thought and popular literature. I will not undertake to say what sort of studies should be pursued; no general statement can cover the great variety of cases. Individual tastes are to be considered. And this is a matter which is quite safe in the hands of your Teachers. Yet it must never be forgotten, that to study is one thing, and merely to read another thing, and that a great reader is not a great student—he may not be a student at all. I do not care to enter much into details, yet I must say, in passing, that the assertion so very frequently made, that classical studies are unprofitable, because they have no direct bearing upon the affairs of life, seems to me very unwise. At all events they serve to develope and enrich the mind, to strengthen the intellect, and refine the tastes, and as to the amount of time which they occupy, and the consequent difficulty of carrying them on amidst the active pursuits of life, the greatest exaggerations prevail. The truth is, that students do not economize their time, as tradesmen do their money—they keep no accounts, and are precisely in the situation of merchants who pretend to carry their affairs in the head, but really carry them nowhere, really know nothing about their affairs. A single hour of each day is sufficient to carry out the classical studies commenced at School, and in the course of time, these few moments faithfully employed would make scholars of many, who can now boast no scholarship. The mistake of most young men is this: they neglect the classics for a time, after leaving School, and then it is found difficult, when they feel an awakening love for them, to renew their acquaintance. Let no one plead the want of time, as an excuse for the want of scholarship;—there never yet was a man who earnestly desired to be a scholar, and was unable on account of the want of time. Where there is a will there is a way,—the Scholar's will especially always makes its way.

But it is not learning alone that is needed,—though it is shameful to be without this,—the student must make learning his own,—he must be prepared to use it,—he must be able to

connect the Past with the Present, and to draw lessons for the necessities of our day from the treasures of antiquity. We need men who will consecrate their days to the pursuit of wisdom, ancient and modern wisdom, in all its forms and embodiments and garbs. Do not think—I must again insert a caution, for it is a point upon which I would not be misunderstood—that I am inclined to fall in with the fashionable opinion which underrates *learning*. You cannot have too much *learning*. It directly ministers to wisdom. It will give you a wonderful advantage in the world, and secure for you a hearing in almost every quarter. No one can despise it unless it be connected with a shameful character. Should it ever be your lot to proclaim unpopular truths, and in this time-serving age it must be the lot of every true man, you will find that learning will save you from contempt, and enable you to clothe hard sayings in a beautiful and soft garb, not to the end of diminishing their hardness, or lessening their efficacy,—God forbid !—but for the purpose of gaining for them admission to the ear, and passage to the heart and will. I would say to the young man, learn all that you are able to learn, store it carefully, digest it well, and it will be found serviceable. Remember that seven years of famine must succeed seven years of plenty,—that the time will come, when a fact or illustration garnered now, will save you from dullness which would otherwise be inevitable. *Crede experto*, or rather believe one who has made a mistake, and let his mistake serve some good purpose, if it may be. This neglect of learning proceeds from nothing but indolence. If our Scholars worked one half as hard as our Farmers, we should have a new world soon,—the mind of New England would be wonderfully carried forward,—the life of New England would speedily be elevated. The student's place of business is his study ; learn then to love your quiet rooms, store them with books, few but well chosen,—and look upon these books as tools which are to be faithfully used. Has it never seemed strange to you that our books last so long—so much longer than the implements of manual labor,—that so many of them look fresh and new after many years of possession ?—It would seem that they must be very carefully used, not to say kept.

Once more, I said, you will remember, that we need self-sacrificing scholars. The epithet, self-sacrificing, was not hastily chosen, or employed without meaning. Scholarship alone will not do. There must be a disposition to sacrifice ease, wealth, fame, every thing to the Truth ; the genuine Scholar is devoted to his calling, and accounts it honor and privilege enough to pursue it, for its own sake, without regard to the rewards which may or may not wait upon it. We shall never realize all the benefits of good learning, until it is associated with this elevated and earnest spirit, until study ceases to be a sport, or a mean of gaining wealth and reputation, and becomes work, truly and in the highest sense work, done for its own sake, for its own ends, and because we love to do it, and believe in doing it. In the Preface to a volume of beautiful poetry—by an accomplished English lady—I find the following sentiments, which so well express my feeling about this matter, and are so appropriate to my purpose, that I cannot refrain from quoting them. “Poetry has been as serious a thing to me as life itself ; and life has been a very serious thing : there has been no playing at skittles for me in either. I never mistook pleasure for the final cause of poetry ; nor leisure, for the hour of the poet. I have done my work, so far, as work ; not as mere hand and head work, apart from the personal being, but as the completest expression of that being to which I could attain,—and as work, I offer it to the public.” I will not say with some, that success in the pursuit of literature is not possible save for those who are moved by this earnest spirit. On the contrary, there are many striking instances of great men who were not truly wise,—of men who have labored even in the fair field of learning for selfish ends. Yet such men, after all, are not the greatest,—they are not after all the favorite children of wisdom,—they gain admiration but not reverence, they impart little dignity to life, and their words do not penetrate to the deepest places in the human heart. Such men can do but little for the establishment of a heavenly kingdom upon earth. An eminent English Teacher, the late Dr. Arnold, writes thus. “Mere intellectual acuteness, divested as it is, in too many cases, of all that is comprehensive

and great and good, is to me more revolting than the most helpless imbecility, seeming to be almost like the spirit of the Evil one." And he adds, "The fruit which I above all things long for, is moral thoughtfulness—the inquiring love of truth, going along with the devoted love of goodness."

But although the Scholar may succeed in attaining to much Truth, without the inspiration of the highest motives, yet if he be not a true man, he cannot use this truth to the greatest advantage. He must be independent, free to proclaim what the voice of wisdom whispers in the ear of his soul, and no man can be independent, who is not self-sacrificing. It is often matter of complaint, that literature is so poorly patronized in our country, and that literary men are dependent upon a capricious public, for the poor pittance which is the reward of their labor ;—this it is said is fatal to the independence of the Scholar. But let me ask,—is it any better in other lands, where students are supported for life, upon funds left by the benevolent for that object ? The mind requires some stimulus to exertion, and more Scholars have been spoiled by riches than by poverty. Besides, although these students in other lands, are independent of the people, they are not independent of the institutions, with which they are connected,—but are confined to the course of thought and action prescribed at the outset, by the founders of these institutions. If the American Scholar be the Slave of Public opinion, the English Scholar is the Slave of Church and Aristocracy. The Scholar, in this land, is strongly tempted to cater for the popular taste. The Public with us is the Tyrant,—and woe to the man who refuses obedience. Hence it becomes a great object to be a popular speaker or writer, and to this end all solid scholarship, and all sound wisdom are often sacrificed. The student thinks himself hardly used, if he does not secure wealth and fame as the rewards of his labors. Now this is a poor condition of things. The true Scholar lives for something nobler than all this ;—he has labored in all time, for the love of God and of Truth, and has found sweet satisfaction in the work apart from the reward. When you hear a student say much of money and of what money will purchase, of salaries and of fame, you

may be sure that he has not been smitten with a consuming love for study,—that he pursues it in short for the sake of earning his bread, or building up a reputation. He knows but little of the charms of good learning, who does not find it almost meat and drink, and who is not quite satisfied with the permission to spend whole days in study. The genuine Scholar knows that in the end his words will be prized, that they will bless the world, though they may be of little service to himself, and it does not much disturb him that for a time he is unknown. He has his books and his thoughts, he is free to speak and to write out his mind, he is living for, loving and serving the Truth, and this is enough. My young friends, never make merchandize of the fruits of your minds. Do not allow yourselves to sell them to the highest bidder. Do not re-fashion them to suit the times. You are not educated that you may be led by others, it is for you to be Guides and Teachers, to be the happy and powerful children of Wisdom. I had almost said learn to hate the phrase, ‘Popular Literature,’—for it is often only a summary of popular follies and prejudices. Make the truest and highest wisdom popular, though it cost you your own popularity or even your bread. Learn that a man can be happy within himself, without attracting much attention. A few great thoughts are wealth enough, and if I can converse with the mighty men of the world, through their recorded words, I do not much care whether Messrs. A. B. & C. call upon me.

We read, my young friends, of one John Milton, who lived in poverty that he might be faithful to the cause of learning. There was then no literary public to encourage an author, yet in much necessity, aged and blind, he toiled on. It was enough for him that he could compose heavenly verses,—and the five pounds which were doled out by his publisher for the copy right of *Paradise Lost*, were trifling in his estimation. He was willing to make sacrifices for learning. Let me, since I have alluded to Milton, correct an error which prevails somewhat extensively, as to the estimation in which his great work was held during his life time. It is often asserted that his contemporaries did not appreciate the work. This is hardly true. It was not

the day of books and of printing. Very few copies of the most favorite works were called for. In about forty years—from 1603, to 1644—only a thousand copies of Shakspeare had been issued and sold. In the course of two years after the publication of the *Paradise Lost*, thirteen hundred copies were disposed of. This fact may serve to justify the public of that day. But even at that time, had Milton been as unprincipled as Lord Bacon, he might have sold his splendid talents for splendid wages, and the world would have lost one of its noblest treasures. Prize then the Scholar's work more than the Scholar's reward. Be content with a simple life, so it be honorable, filled up with delightful intellectual labors, passed in the still air of noble study.

My young friends, I have somewhat anticipated your wants, I have spoken to you of a world upon which you have not entered, and of tasks for which you are only preparing yourselves. Yet I trust that the discourse will not be regarded as inappropriate to your years. You cannot too soon select your objects in life, and begin to nourish that great spirit which shall bear you happily and with success, through its changes and chances. You should be manly from the beginning, and pursue your studies like men. Already should you be asking yourselves, why am I here rather than at home,—why within these walls rather than out on those fields?—You should ponder these questions well, and let me add, in a religious, a Christian spirit. The sooner they are well answered, the better. You are here, most of you, I trust, not perhaps to prepare yourselves for what is called a professional life,—there are students who are not professional men,—yet that you may acquire a taste for good learning, and skill to discern the mysteries of Wisdom—Her secret ways. You are here to prepare not for an easier but for a harder life, than is the ordinary lot. You are exempted from one sort of labor, that you may be at liberty to carry forward another sort of labor. Learn then at the outset, that these are not holidays, and that the Scholar must know few holidays. Learn that you are training here and now to be Priests of Wisdom, and devoted Guides of men. It is usual to encourage youth by

holding out the prospect of worldly distinction ;—the young man shall become in time a great Statesman ;—men shall hang upon his lips, and wreath his brows with unfading laurel. I cannot consent to exhort you in this strain,—it is doubtful, in this age of shallowness, whether Wisdom will find her reward. She is not often justified save of her own children, and these children are few. I would say, rather—Gain now a love of learning for its own sake,—unless you can reach this point, you can hardly pursue your studies, with much satisfaction or profit. Strive for the spirit of those old Scholars who wrought not for fame or wealth, but for the good cause of letters, their spirit who annexed not their names to their writings, and cared not, so they left a good book to posterity, though they left also a question as to its authorship. Some of the best works are of uncertain authorship,—it was enough that the word went forth. “ Immense researches have been made to discover the name of a poor solitary in the thirteenth century who composed the famous work ‘*De Imitatione Christi*’—What is the result of so many labors ? —the solitary has continued unknown ; and the happy obscurity in which his life glided has protected his humility against our vain science.” He labored, as we should labor, not that he might please by any sacrifices, a capricious public, but that he might advance the interests of the Truth. He labored in the spirit of the following exhortation, uttered once by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Father of Scholastic Theology. ‘ Be dead to the world, and let the world be dead to you. As if dead, look upon the glory of the world ; as if buried, be not careful for the world ; as if dead, cease from earthly cares. Despise, living, what you cannot possess after death. Study nothing on account of praise, nothing on account of temporal opinion, nothing for the sake of fame, but all things on account of Eternal Life, which may He grant you, who liveth in heaven blessed forever and ever.’

New England is to be redeemed from worldliness by its Scholars in Church and State, and you have and will have no moment to lose, no strength to waste, for ‘ Art is long and Time is fleeting !’

THE PATRIOT SCHOLAR.

AN ORATION

PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE

CONNECTICUT ALPHA

OF THE

PHI BETA KAPPA

AT

YALE COLLEGE,

New Haven, August 16, 1848.

BY CHARLES B. HADDOCK, D.D.

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ORATION.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society,

THE Scholar has duties to perform as well as tastes to enjoy. His social position, important everywhere and always, is eminently so, under free governments and in periods of general intelligence and easy intercourse of mind.

He has, indeed, a world of his own, a world within the world—a life in life—a retreat quite out of the glare and din, the hurrying to and fro, of what men call life,

—— “arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves
Of pine, or monumental oak,
Where the rude ax with heaved stroke
Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
Or fright them from their hallowed haunt.”

He knows the quiet happiness of reading one's own books and thinking one's own thoughts. He would not give it up to enjoy a triumph or to wear a crown. His way, at the first ascent is, indeed, steep and rough, his foot often slides, and his heart beats hard; but he comes, at length, to a resting place, a green little spot, with a noiseless spring, under “the fantastic root” of an old tree; and he sets himself down to enjoy the hitherto unsuspected beauty of his way. The scene grows wider and lovelier as he ascends, till the joy, of which his heart is full, runs over

and spreads itself all round him, steeping his very footsteps with delight.

Can he ever forget the strange transport with which the *Life of Joseph*, *Baron Trenk*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and the *Arabian Nights*, filled up the snatches of daylight, stolen from labor, and held his eyes wide open far into the drowsy night. At a later period, with a somewhat more discriminating taste and deeper feeling, after worrying through six books of *Virgil*, wearing out the bottom of the leaves with his thumb and finger, and leaving, literally, nothing to be gone over again, how satisfied he is to discover that the *Æneid* is an epic poem, a story of life, beautiful life and marvelous adventure.

Years, some years, afterwards, the "*curiosa felicitas*" of expression in *Horace* and *Tacitus*, how new, how delicate the sense of this exquisite art; the admirable propriety of thought, the sunlight imagery, the defined, express, suggestive epithet, how eagerly he begins to relish these severer beauties of composition.

At a yet maturer age we find him, with his child's heart still big in him, as much alive as ever to the romance of adventure and even more keenly sensible to beauty of expression, meditating profounder things and learning to enjoy profounder authors; penetrating beyond the exterior grace, the felicitous images, the natural pictures of literature, to the intimate structure and living principle of its master works; studying to comprehend the great poets of his native tongue. *Spenser* and *Shakespeare* and *Milton* are gradually teaching him to understand them. What a new sense

is now awakened in him ; what a change of life he undergoes ; how altered every thing is about him and within him. How he wonders he has so lately learned to think, and almost fears he shall not live to know every thing. All nature and all life become instinct with meaning ; all invested with beauty ; little daily incidents and mighty revolutions, the sweet harmonies and the terrible discords of life, its transparent lessons and its solemn mysteries, how engrossing, how absorbing they all are. The little birds, the gentle flowers, the dews, the zephyrs, have a new language to him ; he has fellowship with them ; they live with him and for him, and his own life is repeated and multiplied in theirs. He loves to be alone now ; and finds society where none intrudes. The ever living dead are around and near to him,—the patriots and heroes, the sages and poets of history. How populous, how vital is his solitude. Is it strange that he sometimes turns with aversion, with disdain even, from our dusty, feverish, fretful life to the severe companionship of the goodly company of the patriarchs and prophets and sweet singers ? Is it to be wondered at that he sometimes gives occasion for men to reproach him as a recluse and a misanthrope ? How else can a frivolous world interpret the melancholy of his eye amidst the gayeties of life, the passion of his heart for shade and quiet ?

But life is no pastime ; care is heavy on us all ; duty may not be evaded ; least of all may the gifted ones, the true men, think to be exonerated. “Unto whomsoever much is given of him shall much be required.” And it has seemed to me not unbecoming the anniver-

sary of one of the elder branches of the oldest and most select society of American scholars, to invite your attention for a few moments to the proper duties of educated men to their country—the character and influence of the **PATRIOT SCHOLAR**.

It is not an incongruous idea; the sympathies of the patriot are not extinguished in the heart of the **MAN**. We love our own country none the less for loving other countries also. We appreciate the present all the more truly for understanding well and enjoying fully the past and the remote. Nor is a thoughtful and loving spirit, by any necessity, indifferent to the wellbeing or irresolute in the service of its country and its kindred. The ancients were guilty of the unfortunate mistake of regarding the foreigner as the natural enemy of the state. Ignorant of the true nature of commerce and the mutual dependences of all the industrial arts and productive communities, love of country was, with them, a narrow, if a noble virtue, inconsistent with philanthropy and unfriendly to generosity. Inconsiderate admirers of the literature and the art, which have so consecrated this ancient virtue in the memory of mankind, have overlooked the better knowledge of our times; whilst unscrupulous politicians, for unrighteous ends, foster the absurd prejudice, that

—— “lands divided by a narrow frith,
Make enemies of nations.”

It is true, nevertheless, that the purest love of country is associated with the most catholic philanthropy.

Instances of the union of taste with valor and patriotism stand out conspicuous all along the track of ages. The Hebrew lawgiver, a hero of lion heart and a legislator for many generations and many peoples, was a poet also, and master of all the learning of Egypt. David and Solomon, called of God to carry the nation to the summit of the promised glory, were, both of them, poets and scholars; the younger, the wonder of his time for the compass of his inquiries and the affluence of his conversation; the elder, without a superior among the captains or the statesmen of his own age, and without a rival among lyric poets of all ages.

The only female in the line of Jewish sovereigns is the only female author in the Hebrew Scriptures. And the beauty and grandeur of the triumphal ode of Deborah are in entire keeping with the manly spirit, in which she led her armies in person to the field.

The heroic acts of Æschylus at Marathon and Salamis and Plataea, have come down to us intertwined and graced with his tragic victories. The History of the Peloponnesian war and The Retreat of the Ten Thousand, imperishable monuments of profound political sagacity and serene artistic beauty, are, at the same time, monuments of the practical good sense and personal bravery of Thucydides and Xenophon.

The principle figure in the last generation of Roman freemen, is the first example of a truly national Roman author; the position of Cicero in the midst of the great men, and great events of the last days of the Republic, is not more conspicuous nor more central than he holds to this day, in that group of noble minds

to whom we owe the imperial dignity, the graceful magnificence of the Roman literature.

Plutarch, whose splendid parallels have, perhaps, instructed a wider circle of readers than any other single work of antiquity, devoted a long life to the welfare of the cloudy Bœotia, serving with zeal in any office from that of Archon, the chief dignity of his native city of Chæronea, to that of inspector of the public works, in which capacity he might have been seen, the live-long day, measuring bricks or registering loads of stone,—in his lofty morals, approximating to the purity of Christianity, and by a passion for liberty worthy of the best days of the commonwealth,—continued to nourish patriotic sentiments and virtuous principles among his countrymen, long after the despotism of Domitian had banished all good arts, all liberal learning from Italy.

Tacitus, whose solemn Annals of Imperial tyranny, have already furnished the friends of freedom with their best weapons, and life with some of its best maxims, for twice the period of the Roman Empire, it were hard to say for which he is most illustrious, the patriotism of his purpose or the depth of his philosophy and the beauty of his thoughts.

To a gentleness of spirit and a beneficence of life unsurpassed in the ancient world, the younger Pliny added the singular dignity of intellectual and literary qualifications, to which Tacitus paid so profound a compliment, when he refused to begin his own immortal history till he found it impossible to persuade the Panegyrist upon Trajan to undertake it.

But why dwell on remote examples, when English history itself is so full of them, all the way down from

Alfred to Burke? Alfred, a scholar before he was a king and in nothing so much a king as in scholarship; a hero in fifty-six pitched battles, but no where so truly heroic as in his victories over the obstacles to learning in a dark age; the founder not only of the British navy, and English jurisprudence, but of the University of Oxford and the popular education of England—studying the Roman language in his mature manhood and translating from Roman literature, amid the cares of an anxious throne and without the sympathy of a single subject—making it the singular object of royal ambition to introduce his unlettered people to the vast repositories of human thought and art and beauty, in the yet unexplored remains of the ancient civilization of Europe—that dim, distant, mysterious, wondrous past, which the Anglo-Saxon mind had yet contemplated only as a strange, inapplicable, useless, traditionary world—an unknown continent of life.

The same harmony of study and patriotism, of philosophy and life, appears as we descend the path of history in Raleigh and Locke and Milton, opening in full flower and magnificence in the great patriot scholar of the last century, Edmund Burke, the rarest combination, upon the whole, of speculative generalization and practical wisdom, of oriental imagination and attic taste, of comprehensive policy and personal attention and benignity, which the world has seen.

The two hundred years of our own political history, how studded and brilliant they are with those double stars—letters and patriotism. There are Jay, Madison and Hamilton, patriots all; and the authors of a com-

mentary on the Federal Constitution to which the profuse learning of Story and the severe judgment of Kent have added so little, and which, for its admirable English as well as its conclusive argument, will be a text-book upon the constitution as long as the constitution shall be studied.

There too is Franklin, who robbed the clouds of their electricity ; and John Adams, who had enough of it in his own bosom—known, both of them, for their science and their patriotism, wherever learning has a devotee or liberty an advocate ; and the second Adams, who began his career by publishing the best Theory of Eloquence, then existing in English, and ended it with some of the greatest triumphs of the art upon the records of the world.

The service done by the scholar to his country is none the less real, none the less important, for being quietly and silently rendered. The mightiest powers of nature are invisible and unheard ; her most beneficent influences are most gentle ; the light poured upon us, in a daily flood, from its great fountain in the heavens, how softly and sweetly it falls on the eye ; the dews make no noise ; and the powers of life within us and around us animate and beautify all nature, and yet work evermore in darkness and in silence. The selectest agencies of society, also, are the least palpable and the least wonderful to vulgar observation.

But, though subtle and delicate and in danger of being overlooked even by himself, the scholar's power is never unfelt ; it is, in fact, the principal element of social progress. Mind, cultivated mind, underlies all wholesome institutions. This alone devises, invents,

constructs, perpetuates. In the instincts the brutes excel us ; the bee and the beaver begin with a perfection of workmanship, never, within its proper sphere, surpassed by our arts, perhaps never equaled. But that sphere itself how limited ; the field of human thought and skill is boundless. And the erring and imperfect efforts of infant man, matured by experience and made mighty by concert and combination, display themselves in a scene of moral wonders, of which our fellow animals of the earth, appear to have no idea, and which elevate man so infinitely above them, that we feel some hesitation in speaking of him as an animal at all.

This expansion, this progress, is all the effect of mind ; the thinker precedes the actor ; the student goes before the hero ; great deeds are the children of great thoughts. The growth of the race, the progress of the world, is a development of ideas, successive ideas, which have their origin in the quiet depths of the human bosom, and welling up from their secret fountains there, overflow and spread themselves upon the face of the world, giving fertility and beauty and grandeur to the landscape of life.

The true scholar is the true man ; and serves his country by belonging to it and living in it—cultivated, improved man—the model, an approximation to the ideal, of humanity. The elements of our nature appear in him in full development, in beautiful proportion, consistent, harmonious, complete ; no passion fed to exuberance, no sensibility left dormant ; keenness without asperity ; compass without inaccuracy ; fullness, readiness, facility ; truth, honor, grace ; in a word, manliness ; what God gave by special inspiration to

the great scholar of the oriental world, "wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore"—as the bosom of broad deep waters within the sands of the sea shore.

The scholar is no one sided, unnatural, product of a false system of life; no eremite, no anchorite, educated out of his humanity; in the world but not of it. Scholar? (is it not from *schola*, leisure?) one set free from the gross cares of life, the confining, narrowing, perverting despotism of circumstance and want and necessity; free for thought, for harmless tastes and holy loves—the life of the soul.

It was once fashionable to recommend retirement from the world for the attainment of virtue and the enjoyment of life. The melancholy philosophy of the east, clothing life with gloom, and the severer schools of Greece, disgusted with the mortifying picture of human follies and crimes and vicissitudes, invite the thoughtful to the tranquil happiness of the solitary sage. The old prophets prepared themselves for their mission by solitude and self-denial. And even He who was more than a prophet, ventured not upon his divine work without the severe discipline of forty days seclusion in the desert. I am not clear that, in our new, and certainly in many respects improved forms of life, we may not have lost somewhat of that strength of character and sobriety of mind, that calmness of thought, that repose, that inwardness of life, that charming idiosyncrasy, which belong so eminently to the older thinkers. The Greek, it is true, lived very much out of doors, but it was in the society of beauti-

ful nature, amid the ever varying forms and verdure and loveliness of an unequaled coast and an unequaled climate, under the brightest heaven that ever shone above and in the sweetest air that was ever breathed below. The world was his closet; he was alone upon the green glad earth, and by the everflowing sea. Our out of door life is anything but such a solitude, a life of business, *business*, BUSINESS, dry with the dust of the moaning wain and choaked with Vulcanic vapors. If the love of solitude has once degenerated to asceticism, and the means of virtue become its end, it may still, I hope, be a venial sin to covet a little more of the shade and secresy and quietness, which great and good men once loved. No delicate thing can endure the perpetual glare of day. The tender shrubs and gentle flowers wither and droop in the unpitying sun; the dews of the morning are the gift of the night. The birds rarely sing at evening; and still more rarely at noonday; the freshest odors of the field are distilled in the secresy that precedes the dawn. The scholar may have, he must have retirement, seclusion, the repose which nature gives to all the fair creatures of the earth to repair their strength and retouch their beauty for the rivalry of love. It is however, a resource only, not an end. "Men," says Bacon, "have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite; sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight; sometimes for ornament and reputation; and sometimes to enable them to a victory of wit and contradiction; and most times for lucre and profession; and seldom sincerely to give a true

account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men; as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit, or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect, or a fort or commanding ground for strife or contention, or a shop for profit or sale; and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate." The words attributed by Milton to the Son of God,

"Musing and much revolving in his breast
How best the mighty work he might begin
Of Savior to mankind"—

if, as I have sometimes thought, hardly in keeping with the character of that Divine personage, are with some little abatement in the coloring, not inapplicable to the true scholar;

"When I was yet a child no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know; and thence to do
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things.

Victorious deeds
Flamed in my heart, heroic acts, one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
Then to subdue and quell o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
Till truth were freed and equity restored;
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear."

The scholar is the proper link between the present and the past. The past, the mighty past, the parent of the present, where is it? what is it? It is not the pyramids in their silent loneliness by the mysterious

Nile, which flows and reflows, as it did four thousand years ago, and tells no tale. The Parthenon, and the Coliseum, the Illyssus and the Tiber are ruins and rivers only, and of themselves reveal no instructive or intelligible history. The past has been, and is not. All that is left of it is comprised in the mystic words of the scholar, which the scholar alone can interpret to his generation. But for him the rich, inspiring, prophetic past had been all a world unknown, a limitless, fathomless, impenetrable profound.

Nor is it, after all, the real past, that with the scholar's aid we restore and revive. That never comes back again. The landscapes of time, as they recede from us, are softened and mellowed by the distance. The historic eye creates the colors, which seem spread over the picture of dead times. And hence the universal, incorrigible, strange illusion of a golden age in the infancy of the race, of a retrocession from perfection, always the more apparent the farther it is from being real. With his miraculous wand, his talismanic sentences, whereby he evokes the buried centuries from their graves to pass again before us, in new and more glorious forms, in reverend history, and youthful poetry, and many voiced art, sculpture, painting, music, and the more familiar, companionable, heart-moving, heart-moulding romance—with this magic, mighty power for good or for evil, what does the scholar need but a patriot's heart to do a patriot's work, and open to his own dear land the sacred legacies of the deceased ages?

The future, too, the brilliant or the frowning future, is a province of the scholar's empire. It is no entity;

all, all, a creature of the mind. It exists only in the causes which are to produce it. And the scholar is the interpreter of these causes—the true “*Homo, naturæ minister et interpres*,” in the moral as in the physical world.

Nor may he be said merely to vaticinate ; he, to some extent, creates the future ; he is himself one of the causes from which its events are evolved, one of the elements out of which its many colored destiny is woven. The ten years seige of Troy, and the heroism of Greece in that memorable contest might all have been more real and unquestionable even than they are ; but without the tale divine of the blind old man, the entire history of Greece from that day had been other than it is. Had Grecian life been all it was for a thousand years, its worship and its wars, its mountains and its seas, its games, its markets and its homes ; and had not Grecian genius embalmed them all in ever during, ever fragrant words, what one volume of modern history could have been true ? what modern European civilization could have been as it is ? The scholar not only throws upon the dim seen future the light of painfully gathered experience ; he shapes by his own creative energy, the very future, which he foreshadows.

And so our whole of life, the past and the future, both suspended and counterpoised upon this little pivot of the present, we hold at the will of the scholar ; they live only in the *thoughts* of men, and are but as they seem to the eye of the mind. If that eye be single the whole body is full of light ; if it be evil the whole body is full of darkness.

From these, I fear, somewhat cloudy and sterile generalities, let me come down to a little nearer and minuter observation of particular influences of the patriot scholar, upon the land he loves.

And, first, let me say, it is his especial privilege and his duty, to give to our ideas their proper moderation, integrity and harmony—to preserve society from the dangerous influences of crude principles and rash impulses.

There is mind enough in action. Talent, ingenuity, absolute knowledge are not rare endowments. There is almost no where, in public bodies, or more private circles, any lack of acuteness, or logic, or eloquence. Adroit reasoners, confident speculators, impassioned philanthropists are not uncommon. “Every one hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation.” The only rare man is the man of a comprehensive, exact, liberal, regulated, proportioned mind—the only proper basis of a sound public opinion; the main support of public character and of all great interests. A clear, cool, consistent, stable man, of mature opinions, of large and fair views, not unanxious but possessed, confiding, hopeful, is as an anchor of society, when the “waters roar and the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.” Such is the true scholar to his country. Her philosophy, her literature, her schools, all the product of his mind, are all instruments of his power. Through them he reaches the heart of the people, teaching them what to think and how to think, determining, in no small degree, their individual habits and their public spirit. It is thus his grateful task, his enviable responsibility, by his

own example and through the multiplied channels of education, to mature the action and regulate the development of the public mind.

Between infancy and absolute independence, there comes, in nations as in the individual, a period of uncertain authority and of hesitating reluctant submission. At this precise crisis of our destiny, this fearful passage of life, while the powers of good and evil, the upward and the downward tendencies of our eventful being are balancing and counterpoised, and our fate hangs yet doubtful, at this very period of parental or of patriotic suspense and anxiety, the victories of mind over mind are, perhaps, most decisive, and most humane. In just such a crisis do we, at this moment, behold the most youthful, the most enthusiastic, the boldest people of the old world. And was there ever, in the splendid or the gloomy pageants of history, so wonderful, may we not still say, so hopeful a spectacle? Thirty-five millions of people, full to overflowing of the zeal and impetuosity of men just loosed from their fetters, and hardly knowing for certain, each man, the purpose or the feelings of his next neighbor—yet waiting—all waiting, month after month, through almost half the circuit of the year, for the deliberate counsels, the mature polity of the scholars of the country. Lamar-tine, himself, obscured to the popular eye, for the present, by a half luminous, equivocal shadow, does not his late beautiful, scholarlike, statesmanly defense of his foreign policy before the bureau of foreign affairs, give pledge of a not distant effulgence brighter and more grateful even for temporary disastrous eclipse?

Who but the true scholars of a land can be relied upon to give sobriety to the public judgment, to tem-

per the ardor of patriotism and to direct ambition? What security have we against those extravagances of opinion, and practical vagaries, which, even in so-called educated men, unsettle so many minds, and destroy our wonted and salutary confidence in one another and in long settled truths and cherished institutions? What against that pestilent ambition which so truculently urges ingenious desperate men not "*in melius*" but "*in aliud*?" What single adequate security but in the cautious, thoughtful, slow maturing wisdom of our truly educated men?

It seems to me, the scholars of the country, in great measure unimplicated in her mere party politics, unseduced by her immediate, temporary rewards, have a mission of no ordinary dignity and no mean remuneration, in their appropriate vocation, as careful, circumspect, independent, exemplary thinkers, and authors of opinion. And I would rather enjoy the fame of him, who settled for his country and his race the great question of the human will, against whose atlantean work, the surges of opinion are turned to foam; or of him, a more newly graven star in your literary firmament, whose prudent philosophy and patriarchal wisdom, for near a quarter of a century, instructed in all good knowledge, the successive inmates of these venerable halls, charmed evermore by his eloquence, and won to veneration by his gentleness and love; or of him, the great good man, of another faith, and a sister community, who, in his last best years, throwing off the polemic harness, (which never set exactly well or easy on him,) poured out his affluent soul in winning words for freedom and humanity—I would rather

wear their crown, and live with them in the homage of a taught and benefitted world, than to possess "the wealth of Ormus or of Ind," or crowned with the victories of fifty battle-fields, to be borne upon the admiration of a grateful country to her highest seat of power.

The scholar, in the next place, is in duty bound to preserve, so far as in him lies, the sanity and simplicity of the public tastes.

Philosophers and moralists insist on simple pleasures, (the richest and most lasting,) as a needful relaxation from labor, a refuge from care and grief. There may be something in it; there is much in it. To the weary judge, the wan pastor, the jaded politician, a pleasant book, a garden, a cottage on the sea shore, is a timely and a sweet resource. He who never thinks to unbend himself among his children, or to sleep like the royal Dane within his own orchard, or to lie and listen to the sea gull, on the lonely shore, must be a hard featured, dry souled fellow, much like my Lord Bacon's bachelors, "cruel and hard hearted, good to make severe inquisitors, because their tenderness is not so oft called upon."

But in a nation's tastes I include somewhat more than these pastimes—the objects of main preference and pursuit—the sources of our daily and essential happiness. It is the tendency of freedom and of popular equality to lead men to be always looking for happiness out of themselves. They are the government. The territory of the state is their territory; the glory of the state, their glory. Office, honor, distinction, within the reach of all, feed the hopes and

stimulate the cupidity of all. No place is high enough so long as there is one higher ; no condition quite well while there is any better ; never enough if there be more to desire.

In such a state of things, undoubtedly, there will be earnestness, enterprise, all manner of activity ; but there can be no rest, no quiet living, no heart content. There is infinite danger that there will not cease to be coveting of our neighbor's land, and war, and conquest, and glory, abroad, as there most assuredly will be personal conflicts for office, and a party administration, and a prostituted press, and the sacrifice of truth and principle and justice at home. Forgetting the proper ends of government, men come to regard it, not as a mere shield over the industry and happiness of society, a safeguard of our liberties, but as a mint of wealth, a fountain of honor, a mere treasury pap. Disgusted and mortified at such a public spectacle, the true scholar, with another estimate of life, and other ideas of the duty and dignity of man, will give himself diligently and heartily to the amelioration of the tastes and habits of the people. With notions of life and comfort and home, drawn from the natural suggestions of an improved intellectual and moral nature, and from familiarity with our earlier literature, he will not fail to address himself to the task of realizing in his native land the fond idea of a patriot heart. The dying recollections of its primal state, the faded romance of its youth, the touching incident of love or valor, all beautiful, all precious memories, he will delight to gather up and weave into a fitting robe of beauty for the nurse and mother of his infancy, the

idol of his manhood. Her hills, her plains, her streams and sea shores, he will never be at heart's ease, till, cultivated, ornamented, and eloquent of historic truth and sentiment they leave him no place under heaven to desire. His people given to all manner of home industry, home virtues and home pleasures, curious of all natural knowledge, studious of themselves and their duties, content, unenvious, unambitious, it will be his highest happiness to behold them, transmitting their paternal acres and family memorials to a new generation in patriarchal faith and with patriarchal blessings.

Hardly, however, will the Christian scholar be satisfied with opinions, however just, or tastes the most simple and most innocent, till they are all permeated and perfumed by the spirit of our holy religion—the gentleness, and grace, and love of Christ. Untouched of mercy, uninspired of love, genius itself, to his anointed eye, is bald and bleak and cold and barren. Without the light of God's paternal blessing, the sweetest scenery of the earth wears no smile, the best arts and selectest character awake little sympathy in him. An undevout community, heedless alike of the testimonies of nature and the voice of inspiration, forfeiting the benediction of God, has certainly little claim to the confidence or approval of man. A people bearing the name of Christ, and introducing nothing of his spirit or principles into its schools, its literature, its public policy, its social and private life, casting off fear and restraining prayer, an anomaly in history, a mortifying, humiliating contradiction in itself, how can the profound student of the wants of his own nature, or

of the laws of providence, contemplate the spectacle unmoved? It is not to be demonstrated, it hardly need ever have been demonstrated, for we feel instinctively and inevitably, it is the testimony of all times and of all nations, that the fear of the Lord is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding. Wherever the sacred volume is read, in any language, by any people, its clear teachings, its lofty morals, its beautiful devotion, its sublime principle, its divine charity, its touching examples of faith and piety, commend themselves to feelings of our common nature deeper and more vital than reason—feelings, in no small degree anterior to all culture, and only brought into freer and more irrepressible activity by the discipline of education. To these interior, indestructible, instinctive sensibilities, how like echoes from an earlier and a better life appear the beautiful harmonies of the heaven-inspired word; how true the conscious picture in our own bosoms, when once this heavenly ray has fallen upon it.

To interpenetrate with this heaven descended faith, the education, the philosophy, the history, the poetry, the jurisprudence, the legislation, the national policy of his country, to humanize, to Christianize the public sentiments, and permeate with spiritual life and loveliness the entire thought and character and power of his people, is part of the scholar's mission. And he is not the true man, to whom it seems the least, or the least attractive, of his duties to the country in which he lives.

I speak to scholars, to whose ambition it has pleased God to open the noblest field of patriotic enterprise ever presented to learning, the amplest

in extent, the richest in promise. On the educated men of America depend the fortunes of a larger empire, than the heart of any conqueror ever sighed for. Their duty is not to be mistaken; it may not be evaded. Happy for them, if in their successive generations they be able to say to their countrymen, with Demosthenes to the Athenians, "If it please you to note it, my counsels unto you are not such whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians, but they are of that nature as they are sometimes not good for me to give but are always good for you to receive."

Whereupon Lord Bacon is pleased to say, "Learning endueth men's minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the casuality of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation; so that it is impossible for them to esteem, that any greatness of their fortune can be a true and worthy end of their being and ordainment; and therefore are they desirous to give their account to God and so likewise to their masters under God (as the kings and states that they serve) in these words; '*Ecce tibi lucrifeci*,' and not '*Ecce mihi lucrifeci*;' whereas the corrupter sort of mere politicians, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor ever look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the very centre of the world; never caring in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of state, so they may save themselves in the cock boat of their own fortune: whereas men that feel the weight of duty, and know the limits of self love, use to make good their places and their duties, though with peril."

73.
The Problem of the Philosophy of History.

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY

OF YALE COLLEGE,

JULY 27, 1853.

BY HENRY B. SMITH,

PROFESSOR IN THE NEW YORK UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

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THE subject of this Essay, the Problem of the Philosophy of Human History, and the conditions of its right solution, cannot, perhaps, be more appropriately introduced, than by recalling one of the most significant legends of mediæval Europe, as illustrated in one of the most vivid creations of the modern school of German art. Kaulbach, in his picture of the Battle of the Huns, brings before our vision a wide plain, strewn with the corpses of Huns and Romans, who had fallen in a sanguinary contest, while the whole upper air is depicted as filled with living combatants, whose mysterious strife is lighted up only by the dim rays of the pale queen of night. The legend runs, that so fierce was the hostility of the Teutonic and the Latin races, that even the bands of death could not restrain their lust for strife. Even the perturbed spirits of the slain, after the sun had set, left their mangled bodies, to prolong the deadly struggle in the open sky above the ensanguined field of Mars. The perpetuity of the feud of these historic races, at this juncture of times, the angle of modern civilization, is bodied forth in the boldness of the legend. But it also seems to inti-

mate another fact ; that battles fought in the material, are renewed in the spiritual sphere. They end not with the defeat or victory of the hour. They come up again with a wider scope, and under a clearer sky.

And thus may this Battle of the Huns be to us an apt image of what is perpetually recurring in respect to all the great battles in the annals of our contesting race. One of the objects of the historic page is to call up the spirits from the realm of the shadowy past, to make their conflicts live again in the minds of the present, that we may see in a rarer atmosphere the elements and the meaning of the struggles in which they ignorantly fought for us. Thus, though

All changes, nought is lost ; the forms are changed,
And that which has been is not what it was,
Yet that which has been, is.

The turmoil and dust of the conflict pass away ; conflicting passions illustrate permanent principles ; the successive contests of races tell us of the victories of truth, and the progress of righteousness. And so human history becomes, in the eloquent description of Cicero "the test of time, the light of truth, the life of memory, the rule of life, the messenger of antiquity."

One of the peculiar characteristics of the speculations of the nineteenth century, as compared with those of the eighteenth, is seen in the attempts made to understand the present, and even to predict the future, by means of the past. The most remarkable revolution in the method of investigation is probably to be found in the sphere of historical research. To the vain imagination, nurtured by the popular philosophy of the last century, that we are to make all things new, has succeeded the conviction, so well expressed by the inscription on an ancient coin, that "time discovers the riches of antiquity." Even the sciolist has learned to say, with Sir Matthew Hale, "that truth is the daughter of time." That contempt of history, which used to be esteemed the beginning of wisdom, is now seen to be the end of folly. Many a dream of the future has vanished like an unsubstantial pageant, while the forms of the past have come to assume an immortal honor. That superficial egotism which prated of the sovereignty of the individual,

is supplanted by that wiser humility which tells us that "all the world is a wiser man than any man in the world." The individual is seen to be but the nursling of Humanity, and the present as the product of the past. The atomic theory of the race is superseded by the dynamic, thus giving the only condition under which history can assume the dignity of a science. It is studied not as an aggregate of atoms, but as a complex of powers. The race is viewed in the Christian aspect of its unity, and not in the infidel aspect of a mere flock of individuals. It is imaged forth, now, as the life of one man, in its successive periods of youth, of manhood, and of maturity; now, as a growth, through all its stages, like that of a tree with its blossoms and its fruit; again, as a constant ascent in a spiral, steadily aspiring, in spite of alternations, to a high consummation; or, yet again, as the orderly development of one consecutive plan, embracing all nations and races in their progress towards some adequate ultimate end. What is called its antiquity, is seen to be but its youth; *antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi*; and its most youthful races are recognized as its most mature, having the heritage of the past. And the object of the whole historic course, the grand historic problem of the destiny of the race; what is it for? whither doth it tend? is inquired after with an earnestness which betokens its importance.

And accordingly we find the so-called philosophy of history assuming an unwonted space in the meditations of the contemplative, as well as in the dreams of the ardent. Every leading tendency of the times, philosophical, religious, political, moral, and even literary and æsthetic, attempts to justify itself on historic grounds, to construct its philosophy of history. Not mere abstract reason and right are appealed to, but also the concrete testimony of history. The European absolutist and democrat are equally confident on historic grounds. Gervinus is subjected to judicial accusation for lighting that dry light in which he showed that the course of history has been ever, through aristocracy and monarchy, to a democratic rule, in the land in which Schlegel was applauded for teaching, that the supremacy of the Roman Catholic hierarchy is the sense and aim of the historic course. And the revived activity of the

Roman Catholic literature, under Bonald and Demaistre in France, Möhler and Moliter in Germany, Balmes in Spain, Wiseman and Newman in England, has planted itself on this field of investigation, as on no other. By the great modern Protestant theologians and historians, especially of Germany, the very sphere of controversy with the enemies of our faith has been transferred, from the speculative to the historic domain; and our political and social theorists also feel the necessity of finding at least the fulcrum for their levers in that which has been and is. It is almost unconsciously assumed, that every legitimate speculation in respect to government and society, must authenticate its claims by the sure word of history, ere it can be received as a prophecy. Nor is this tendency excluded even from the purely speculative sciences; for from Schelling to Hegel, we have elaborate attempts to show that the whole of history has been ever laboring in the throes of birth with their systems, as the best progeny of time.

This characteristic of modern thought, which has led it to throw itself so resolutely upon the solution of the historic problem of the race, is not accidental, and therefore it is not likely to be transient. It is not the product of enthusiasm alone, nor has it been dissipated in mere imaginations. It is rather to be regarded as a legitimate product of that movement of the human mind, inaugurated by the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The most general characteristic of that movement, as exemplified, though not exhausted, in its religious reforms, may be said, perhaps, to have been the application of the inductive, in distinction from the too exclusively logical, method of investigation to all the spheres of human knowledge. We call Bacon the father of the Inductive Philosophy, but his service consisted in applying to the study of nature that very method which all the leading reformers had previously applied to the Church and to theology. They only went back to the authentic facts and documents to get at the laws and principles of ecclesiastical authority; they went back from the later to the earlier Fathers, and from these to the original source in the Divine Word. And so Bacon bid men go to nature, to study its authentic records, if they would know what nature was. Thus Descartes taught men to study the mind, if they would know the mind. To know what anything is, you must study that thing

itself; first the facts, and then the laws and principles. From the facts learn the laws, and by the laws read the facts—this is the substance of that inductive method which was applied in successive order to the church, to nature, to the mind, to politics, and which is now, in a natural and necessary order, engrossing attention in social inquiries. And last and most difficult of all, it is applied to the solution of the historic problem of the race; in the facts of history to find its laws, and by its laws to read its facts, and to attempt to forecast its destiny. The very pressure of the inductive philosophy leads us to this high inquiry, and it has come up last in order, not only because man must have had a history before he can have a philosophy of history, but also because this is the central stream into which all these other investigations flow.

Of the possibility of such a philosophy of history grave doubts are indeed entertained. The vastness of the problem is confronted with the littleness of our knowledge. The fact that history moves in the sphere of human freedom, leads many to say with Kant, “that even if one should find that humanity has been always advancing, no one could say but that it might to-day begin to decay; for that we have here to do with free beings to whom we may indeed prescribe what they ought to do, but of whom we cannot predict what they will do.” And it further seems improbable, that any one could have both that scope of knowledge and that scope of generalization, which are essential in the working out of so broad an investigation. Will not the very pressure of the inquiry force from the brain its own coinage, rather than the image and superscription of the reality itself? And has the race run so far in its course, that we can see the end from the beginning, and that a definitive solution of its historic destiny is possible? While it may be true, as Dugald Stuart argues, that the largest generalizations about human affairs are of the readiest application, is it not also true, that they are to be made with the utmost reserve, since they can only be made with the utmost difficulty?

And to these general scruples are added, the doubts especially of Protestant Christians, as they see how the extreme conservative and the extreme radical tendencies of the day, the Romanist on the one hand and the infidel on the other, have

been most prodigal of such theories. The latter assumes that the day of Christianity is past, that its night has come, and that "through the shadow of that night" the world is "sweeping into a new and younger day," to be ushered in by reorganization of society in church and in state. The Romanist as confidently maintains, that the ultra-montane view of the Church is the central idea in human history and destiny. And both equally predict and labor for the extermination of our Protestant Christianity. And so it is hardly strange, when history is made to read only such lessons, that many wise men are made willing, in faith, to let the historic problem work itself out, as it is most surely doing, without their aid or comfort.

But if Christian and Protestant men neglect such investigations, will not many ardent minds lend a willing ear to the bold generalizations of both papist and infidel? Will not many an imagination be set on fire by the dream of a splendid hierarchy, or by the vision of an occidental republic? And did not alchemy precede chemistry; and did not astrology anticipate astronomy?

And while we fear, as well we may, the presumption of grappling with the historic problem itself, and propounding a solution of it, are we not, by this sketch of the nature and present state of these investigations, prompted and authorized to ask: What is the real problem of investigation in the philosophy of history? What are the conditions of the right solution of that problem? And in what sequence of historical events must that solution be found, if at all? To such preliminary inquiries as these, it may be the part of wisdom, and not of arrogance, to give an earnest heed. And even if Protestant Christianity is too reverential to attempt a definite solution of the historic problem, there may at least be a vital necessity for its showing, that the theories of its two instinctive foes are premature, and not conformed to the demands of science in this high region of research.

What, then, is the real problem which the philosophy of history attempts to solve?

The philosophy of history proposes to treat history as a branch of science. It takes for granted, that history is susceptible of a scientific exposition; that from the study of its facts,

we can come to a knowledge of its laws and principles. It supposes, also, that only through the facts, can we come to a knowledge of its principles; that in a legitimate way the inductive method can be applied to these facts; and that the induction must precede the deduction, or the application of the historic laws to any future possible cases. The inquiry, then, is the same in kind with that in any other branch of philosophy. It may be more difficult, the causes more complex, and the mass of facts greater; but the process of investigation must be the same as in all the inductive sciences, and that is, from the facts learn the principles, and by the principles read the past, and, if possible, forecast the future.

The facts of human history do indeed cover a long tract of time, and a large sphere of space. They constitute one vast, progressive, connected series of events, having the earth for its material basis, time for its condition, moral freedom for its essential element, and the final destiny of the race for its end. They are the product of human freedom, but so far as they are facts, they have come out of the region of mere possibility into that of reality, and are proper subjects of investigation. Supernatural elements may be intermingled with the natural, but still, as extant in history, we may lawfully inquire for their origin and aim. This body of facts comprises whatever has been done or suffered by man's myriad tribes, so far as the record has survived, from the beginning until the most recent times. And it is with this body of facts, that the philosophy of history has to do; and, as a philosophy, the question it has to answer about them is one and simple, however difficult may be the answer; and it is this: What is the destiny of the race, as that is contained in, and may be inferred from, the whole history of the race? The historic problem is without significance, unless it be understood as seeking for the rational grounds, order and ends of that which has actually occurred in the history of the race.

Many of the so-called philosophies of history have chiefly failed, from not keeping in view the only legitimate object of their investigation. They have not let history explain itself, they have laid their own theories to the judgment of it. They have not sought to infer the destiny of man from his

actual history; but they have prophesied his destiny, and by their prophecy misinterpreted his history.

Who, for example, from the actual facts of history could infer, with Auguste Comte, that the destiny of man was to form a republic with positive science as its means of regeneration? This is not an induction, but the speculation of a phantasiast. In point of fact, just so far as any theory about human destiny is not a legitimate inference from the facts of that history, taken in their integrity and widest scope, just so far does that theory fail to respond to the one legitimate inquiry in the philosophy of history, which is, as we have said, simply and solely this: What is the destiny of the race, as that is contained in, and may be inferred from, the whole history of the race?

Having thus stated what we conceive to be the legitimate purport of the historic problem, we are prepared for our central inquiry: What are the essential conditions of a right solution of the historic problem?

Here, then, is a vast, prolonged, intermingled, continuous series of historical facts, by whose light we are to attempt to read the problem of human destiny. We ask for the essential conditions of doing this aright. These conditions are chiefly four: (1.) That our philosophy of history be the legitimate reading of the whole history itself. (2.) That to this history it assign an adequate law of progress. (3.) An adequate end or object. (4.) An adequate author.

1. The first essential condition, we claim, of a true philosophy of history is, that it be a legitimate generalization from the mass of the historic facts themselves. Our theory must be the burden and the song of the whole history of humanity. It must be the one universal language and consent of all races, kingdoms and tongues. It must be the accord of their varied notes, and the harmony of their discord. If it be not this, it fails in the very first requisite of all proper science. It must be to human history what the "Kosmos" of Humboldt attempts to be to that wonderful Nature, which is but the theatre of this sublime series of facts; and which the more meditative brother of that same Humboldt had in mind, when in his "Correspondence" he speaks of "wishing to form a picture of humanity, to which all nations and ages should be seen to have been con-

tributing," and which he there describes by three successive stages of culture ; that in which we view objects in their wholeness, but unanalyzed ; that in which we analyze their parts, but lose the sense of their unity ; and that in which we see them again in their unity, illuminated and illustrated by the scientific analysis. And a like vision of the history of the race was that which swept before the august mind of Pascal, when he said, " that the succession of men in all the ages may be regarded as one man, who lives always, and who learns continually." So great is the problem of human history, that its solution demands of us an image, a representation, an organic reproduction of the whole life and growth of the race, in its successive nations and stadia, and in all its permanent interests.

Vital as is this condition to a right philosophy of history, yet it is one which is frequently violated in the most ambitious attempts. It excludes, of course, any theory which is applicable only to a portion of that history, or to any single race thereof, or to any arbitrary and partial series of its facts. It relegates all those speculations which contemplate only a future reorganization of society, as the proper end and philosophy of humanity, into the regions of imagination, whence they had their origin ; they may be good as prophecies, but they are bad as a philosophy of history, for they are no induction from its authenticated facts. They would have been just as credible, and probably more so, had there never been any history at all.

And it is in the light of this condition of a right solution of the historic problem, that its grandeur, as well as difficulty, is disclosed to us. For it is a problem in respect to all the tribes of the race which have played an historic part, to all the nations, so far as they have influenced the general interests of humanity. It is a problem which has respect to the whole human family in the successive stadia of its progress ; in all the acts and scenes of that grand drama, disclosed in the successive annals of our race, from its infancy in the plains of Central Asia, through its migratory course, south and north, yet ever westward ; in its conflicts of races and nations around all the shores that skirt that memorable middle sea, the boundary of three continents ; in its yet intenser strife in Central

Europe, its mastery of the shores and islands of the Atlantic, and its adventurous progress, freighted with the treasures and experience of the past, to this, our western world, whither are ever gravitating, as never to another centre, all races, tongues and tendencies. In the solution of this problem, a part must be assigned to the vast oriental despotisms of the East; to the golden Assyria, imaged as a winged lion, to the silver Persia, depicted as a mighty bear, to brazen Greece, that leopard with wings, and to iron Rome, for which no symbol of a beast might stand in the old prophetic word; to the progeny of Shem which has given its stability, and to the descendants of Japhet, who have given its impulse to the main historic stream; to Judæa, whence came forth the law: to Rome the Papal, as well as Rome the Pagan, and to the empire of the Germans, as well as of the Latins; to the conflicts of the Imperial and Papal power in the mediæval times, and of the hierarchy and monarchy with popular and religious rights in our latest era; and that alone can be the right solution which shall show us how, through all these nations, stages, contests, the race has been advancing in its youth, its manhood, and its maturity, in its material, its social, its civil, its artistic and its religious interests, under the dominion of a law and in relation to an end, which are comprehensive enough to be the law and the end of the whole historic evolution.

This view of the grandeur and comprehensiveness of the historic problem, may at least restrain us from lending a willing ear to any proposed solution of it which is not conformed to the first requisite of a correct theory, which is, that it be a legitimate induction from the whole history itself.

2. Equally imperative is our second condition of a true philosophy, and that is, that it should recognize and give us an adequate law of progress in the development of the race.

The learned and versatile Chevalier Bunsen, in his recent work upon Hippolytus, truly remarks, "that the human race does not only continue to exist like other animal races, by the succession of generations, but advances in and through them, by families, tribes and nations, and in ever enlarging orbits of development." And it is only under the general idea of pro-

gress, of growth, that we can conceive of the construction of a real philosophy of history. All that is subject to time, and endowed with life, also grows. There is a law of growth to every living thing. The modern historian is indebted to the natural philosopher for the introduction of this idea into the sciences. It has made a revolution in the science of nature, and also in the science of history. While in its perversions we may find the license, yet in its just application we may also find much of the glory of modern science.

Many good and wise men are indeed repelled from this whole idea of development, by the use which they see to be made of it in most of the infidel speculations. In their reaction, they would destroy the abuse by annulling the use of the whole conception. Rebelling against the notion that any real progress has been made in modern society, some of them go so far, as with certain scriptural expositors, to put the Millennium in the middle ages. In all our material prosperity they see only the acceleration of the velocity of an impending catastrophe. But over and through the catastrophe, do they not also hold to a real Providence which overturns, that it may overrule, and which overrules for its own progressive ends? And does not their faith thus affirm the law, which their doubt denied? And do not both their faith and their doubt suggest the inquiry, not as to whether the race exists under a real law of progress, but, what is the real character of that law? Is it a law of merely continuous growth, or of growth through conflicting agencies?

That the law under which the human race exists is not one of bare progress, like the development of a tree from the seed, or of an animal from the embryo, but is a law of progress through conflict, of "progression by antagonism," as Lord Lindsay calls it, is one of the most patent and conspicuous facts forced upon us by the survey of human history. It is not conflict alone, it is not progress alone, it is such a conflict as involves progress, it is such progress as has the strife and adjustment of contending agencies for its perpetual condition.

In reading the records of history we do indeed, to speak with Milton,

feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce ;

but also the progress of a victorious Providence,

out of evil still educing good,
And better, thence again, and better still,
In infinite progression.

An organizing power is at work in all its crises ; over all its chaos broods the spirit that of old did move upon the face of the waters, giving birth to that fair order of the earth, at whose unequalled vision the sons of God did shout for joy.

The antagonisms which we find in our own moral culture, are but the reflex, or rather, the embodiment, of those which exist in human history. As with each one of us, so with the race. The powers of light and the powers of darkness, Ormuzd and Ahriman, contend within us and for us. That which is imaged forth in the light of day and the darkness of the night ; that which is embodied in the polar forces of the subtlest natural agents, that which is exemplified in the intimate and central powers of attraction and repulsion, under which all nature lives and grows, is repeated in a higher sphere in the whole history of our race. As the harmonies of nature are but the equilibrium of contending agencies, and its peace is purchased by its elemental strife, so are the harmonies of histories and also its peace worked out through its antagonizing forces : so that, if we would learn the rhythm of nature, of history, or of the human soul, we must learn it as the resultant of its struggling powers. And he who would read the law of human progress, without its antagonisms, might also tell the geologist how the world was shaped in its order, without the contest of Neptune and of Vulcan.

Progress through conflict, antagonisms working out a higher unity, is the inmost law of our species. It is seen in the transition from the Jewish to the Christian economy ; it is involved in the very genius of Christianity as a redemptive system ; it is corroborated by our faith in the final victories of that system ; it is read in its deepest meaning by all who are growing in knowledge or virtue in what Plato calls life's "immortal bat-

tle." And thus, while the mere idea of progress is not only superficial but perilous, the recognition of the pervading law of progress through conflict, is an essential condition of the true philosophy of human history.

3. But in order that this law receive its most definite expression, and be exempt from abuse, we need also to add another inquiry, and that is, what is the aim of this progress of race, what is the end to which this law is tending? And accordingly we say, that the third condition of a right philosophy of history is, that it gives us an adequate end or consummation of this whole historic progress through conflicts.

Schelling has remarked, "that there can only be a history of such beings as have before them an ideal, which can never be realised by the individual alone, but only by the race as a whole." And the vision of such an ideal, as the end of the historic course, is necessary to the completion of our idea of history. As illustrating the same conception, we may recall those pregnant words of Cicero, "*omnia sunt, sed tempore absunt*," all things are, but absent in time as yet; they really exist, and they are at last to be manifested in time also. There is a comprehensive end of the whole historic course, which has been working in it from the beginning, for which the nations have been laboring in their toilsome career, for which the earth and all that therein is, was formed and doth subsist. And in the philosophy of human history, the inquiry after this end, this consummation, is central and imperative, for the very heart of that philosophy is in this question, What is the destiny of the race, as inferred from the history of the race? It is comparatively easy to take any single nation and tell its separate part in the epic of the nations, but the question here is of a broader generalization, including the past as well as the still struggling races, and asking, why have they all lived, to what have they been tending? It is unphilosophical, now, in meeting this inquiry, to put at the end of the race some speculative plan or object, which has never yet existed in it, but which it is imagined will at last grow out of it. This is to trample upon all the rules of the inductive philosophy. To be of any scientific value, our idea of the destiny of the race must be a legitimate inference from its actual course, must be seen to be contained in it, in germ, in type, in successive growth.

And with no uncertain sound the voice of history here teaches, that its consummation can only be found, as the moral interests of the race become superior to the material and natural, and as its spiritual interests predominate over the merely moral and natural.

The history of the world, and our own moral consciousness, are consulted in vain, if they do not teach us, that justice and righteousness are to be prevalent in human society. The history of the world is the judgment of the world, emphatically in the sense, that moral laws have controlled, in the long run, the destinies of States, and determined the cause of the race. Human history is thus a faithful and solemn moral teacher, serene and unimpassioned, yet severe in justice. It has been described as "philosophy teaching by example," and the chief philosophy it exemplifies is moral wisdom. Little cares she for the petty strifes and parties of the hour, for her lessons are of "those truths which perish never," of brotherhood, of justice and of rights.

What the wisest moralists as well as the righteous and loving hearts of every age have believed in and foretold, the coming of that time in which injustice shall bow to righteousness, and man as man be honored; in which civilization shall have its blessings for the many, and morals give the outward form as well as the inward law to human life; this vision of the wise, this hope of the best, is enforced, if not by the uninterrupted, yet by the prevalent testimony and prophecy of the history of mankind. Slowly, yet irresistibly, is the sense of brotherhood triumphing over the hostilities of races, the arts of peace over the lust for war, justice over oppression, rights over despotism, and benevolence over selfishness. Men have fought in succession, with legions, with the phalanx, with the scimitar, with the rigid bow and serried pike, with guns and bayonets, with cannon and rifle—so stern was the needed discipline, that they might come to the arbitrament of reason and of justice. Through oriental caste and despotism, the license of the Greek democracy, the iron imperial power of Rome, the perilous luxury of monarchies and the aristocracy, passive obedience to kings and hierarchies, has the race made its suffering course toward the blessings of representative government and religious

liberty. Through the conflicts of race with race, of the sons of Shem with the sons of Japheth, of Asiatic with European prowess, of the Latin with the German stock, of the Celt with the Saxon, have we fought our way to the knowledge of the Christian principle that the race is one brotherhood, and that freedom shall yet be given unto all. Each of the greatest battles of the race has been a step in the progress of human rights; for Europe was saved from Asiatic despotism on the plains of Arbela; the Christian nations triumphed over Attila, the Scourge of God, at Chalons; the cross over the crescent under Charles Martel at Tours; England's free isle was made secure at Hastings; her European influence was the fruit of Blenheim's fight; and on the field of Saratoga our own land was made more free to us and all whom want or hope are driving to our shores. The dawning civilization of the East, was as when the sun at early light salutes the top of here and there a summit; that of classic times was as when some single spots are bathed in brightness, shadows lingering all around; the civilization of mediæval Europe covers wider zones, but the loftiest peaks still cast the deepest shadows; while that to which we are advancing is as when the noon-day sun, full high advanced, scatters its brightness broad-cast, not only enlightening the surface, but penetrating the mass, so that nothing is hid from the heat thereof. And thus do the lessons of human history illustrate what has been well termed the "natural probability of a reign of justice."

And for our best instruction it embodies its teachings in those illustrious examples, the praise of all times,—“the *mag-norum virorum imagines*,” whom Seneca calls the “*incitamenta animi*,”—making them to live again in our very souls, inspiring and elevating. “There cannot be,” said Guizot, speaking of Calvin, “a great *moral*, though there may be a political revolution, without its being concentrated in some great personage.” For us and our example have lived and died those “stars that in earth's firmament do shine.” We call them dead, but they are immortal. Abraham is yet the father of the faithful, and still is Aristides just. Plato is our ideal in philosophy, and we burn with the fire of Demosthenes. The trumpet call of Luther to spiritual freedom resounds in our ears, and our Puritan

fathers exhort us to contend for civil and religious rights. Our patriotism becomes warmer when communing with Washington, our philanthropy is enlarged by the life of Howard. Martyrs still whisper in our ears their dying confessions; the recorded deeds of faithful charity bear fruit a thousand fold, and the cup of cold water becomes in history a spring whose waters never fail. And thus does the historic page give us the very immortality of our race, so that we, however humble, may be inspired by converse with the heroes, the sages and saints of all times. "Even in their ashes live their wonted fires." That the sparks of all the sciences are buried in the ashes of the law, was the boast of a great jurist, and the sparks of every thing that animates the human heart are buried in the ashes of history. As in the calmness of a serene night we gaze into the firmament and see worlds on worlds unnumbered rise, and look upon them all as if here and present, and are thus filled with an adoring sense of the grandeur of the material frame; so in the calm and wise pages of historic contemplation, come out before us, one by one, the lights of other and of distant days, burning with unfading lustre, shaping themselves into constellations and galaxies, purer and brighter than when worn and stained by their earthly conflicts, illuminating our way, elevating our aspirations and deepening our adoring sense of the pricelessness and immortality of truth, of justice and of right.

But in its attempt to forecast the destiny of the race from its history, the necessities of the historic problem carry us to a yet higher point of view than that of human brotherhood, justice and rights. For, as we have said, it not only teaches us that moral ends will come out superior to material and selfish interests, but also that all merely human and temporal ends are to be subordinated to those which are spiritual and eternal. To understand the orbit of the earth we must take the sun as our centre; to understand the course of history we must look at it from those supernal heights, whence we can see its spiritual and eternal bearings.

And this claim is not made alone on theological grounds; it is strictly philosophical; it comes up in the attempt to spell out the meaning of the syllables of recorded time. The temple at Delphi which contained the inscription, "Know Thyself,"

bore also other and more mysterious letters, which many suppose should be rendered, "Thou art." And the annals of the race are written over with a hand-writing, which we in vain attempt to refer to a human original. Its oldest traditions are not of a primitive barbarism, but of a primeval estate of culture. "I regard the original condition of mankind as one of culture," are the words of one of the profoundest of modern philosophers. Vast ancient ruins, in their silence, point back to lost arts and an unwritten revelation. Faith in a revelation has been at the foundation of every great people of ancient or of modern times, and has been their hope and their stay. That old Jewish inspiration, secluded in the ancient world, when it came forth into the historic current gave to it its law and its course. The turning point between ancient and modern history was in the faith of an Incarnate God. All the great crises in human history have been judgments upon a corrupt or superstitious faith and the inauguration of a purer worship, evidences of "God's blessing breathed upon the fainting earth." The supernatural order, centering in the facts of sin and of redemption, and looking forward from time into eternity, has always gleamed through and presided over the natural in the actual faith of the race; and that can only be a real philosophy of history which recognizes the validity and supremacy of those spiritual wants and aspirations, which, like the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night, have led the progressive hosts of the human family in their continuous and unreturning march, from one encampment to another of their onward course. And the philosopher who tries to explain the temporal without the eternal, the natural without the supernatural, must expurgate from earth's records the words that tell its deepest sorrows, its highest joys, its only concurrent testimony.

Just as in the last analysis, the very necessities of thought compel us to bind together the finite and the infinite, and to view the temporal as embosomed in the eternal; so do the necessities and testimony of history carry us back to a divine justice and love, and the revelation of a divine and spiritual kingdom, as the substratum and support of all that has been transacted in the history of our earth.

Only in the vision of such a kingdom, where the supremacy

of man's spiritual wants is insured, can we find an end comprehensive enough to receive into itself the sum and substance of the whole historic course. Only then is the third condition of a true philosophy of history met and answered, that is, that it assign to the human race an adequate destiny.

4. But these three conditions of a right solution of the historic problem being met—that it take in all the facts, and give an adequate law, and an adequate consummation to the course of the history—should we then have satisfied all the needs of a scientific inquiry? We think not, until we have added one other condition, and that is, that we give to human history an adequate author.

Aristotle, after defining philosophy as the science of causes, goes on to say, that of causes there are four kinds, which he calls the material, the formal, the final and the efficient. This analysis of causes has been ~~ever~~ contemned; and it certainly employs the word cause in a somewhat wide sense, though in the thing itself Aristotle was wiser than his objectors. Expressed in our phraseology, he may be interpreted as meaning, that in order to know any thing philosophically, scientifically, we must know these four points: first, its matter, (material causes), second, its peculiar structure and laws, (which he calls its formal causes); third, its use or end, (its final cause); and fourth, its origin, (its efficient cause). To know it under these four aspects is to know it scientifically; and this analysis seems to be at once subtle and profound. And so we say, that to have a science of human history, we must not only have the body of its facts, the law of its growth, the end which it aims at, but also its efficient cause, the energy which has made it what it is. We are compelled to inquire after a power and wisdom adequate to bring into being and carry on that drama which human history displays before our eyes.

The problem is this: Here is a history of countless numbers of free and rational beings, placed upon an ample theatre, living in successive races and periods, through whom as the almost unconscious agents, a vast plan, reaching already through some six thousand years of time has been working itself out towards its consummation. Nations have risen and fallen, and their growth and their decay have helped on the plan. Great

men have played their brief part upon the stage, "taken the instant by the forward top," and on their

quick'st decrees
The inaudible and noiseless foot of time
Has stolen ere they could effect them :

and yet through them has been effected a sublimer purpose, and carried on a mightier plan than any one of them has ever mastered. "They've nursed the pinion that impelled the steel," they knew not whither. They have acted freely, and their very caprice and wilfulness have been worked by an o'er-mastering wisdom, into that web, whose woof no hand of man has held, and whose web and woof together have made up, one grand, consecutive, advancing history. The scroll of time has been slowly unrolled, each nation, each man, has written upon it, as he thought he would, his own brief record, and then it was rolled up, and others came and wrote; and when it is all unrolled and read, we find thereon one epic, the connected history of God and man.

Is not here the grand underlying mystery of earth's history? such a combination of freedom with necessity, such a pre-established harmony in the co-working of such multitudinous facts and instruments; such a rational order growing out of such apparent lawlessness and unconscious agencies? Some have quarried the stones, others with toil drawn them to their site, this and that one has fitted here and there a block into its place, and the edifice has risen up in glory and majesty, and the work is still going on, and no one knows just what the end shall be, no sound of a hammer is heard, and no master builder has been seen by any of the workmen, and yet the edifice is there, a sublime plan visible in its still unfinished towers, chapels, statues, pinnacles, buttresses, arches, to its stately roof, and its spire surmounted with the cross, which is also laid at its foundation! And as we behold its parts, significant of such superhuman wisdom, they all seem to ask us, Who is this master-builder? Who struck these foundations so deep into the solid earth, and raised these walls in their majestic strength, and clothed the temple within and without with such order and grace?

For the completion of our idea of the philosophy of history do we not need to add an adequate author, the builder and the master of this sublime plan of humanity? Must there not somewhere have been wisdom and power enough to make the plan and ordain the instruments, to marshal this long procession of the nations, through victory and disaster, patiently and wisely using them, planting and supplanting, guiding them over continents and oceans, using all their powers and passions, their changeful hopes and fears, as the means of carrying them on to that consummation which may be grand enough to receive into itself the trophies and heritage of all nations, kingdoms and tongues? And is not thus human history, in its very essence, religious, testifying of God, leading us unto Him in awe and worship? Is not the human race, to use the bold figure of De Maistre, attached to the throne of the Eternal by a supple chain, which holds without enslaving us, and which in the most perilous times of revolution is not broken but abruptly shortened? If the geologist may tell us of chasms in the order of the globe, which only a divine power could have bridged; if the astronomer, as he "unwinds the eternal dances of the sky," reads us a lesson from the celestial spheres, of a superhuman wisdom; if the zoologist finds a type running through the animated orders of creation, pointing back to an archetype in the divine original; does not human history also show its gulfs, where nations have been submerged, and yet which have been bridged over by a wise power, so that the catastrophe of the race has been not its extinction, but its means of resurrection? does it not reveal a sublime order of all its hosts, where the most erratic still "serve the law they seem to violate?" and also, more than any plan or type in nature, does it not offer the spectacle of a grand, advancing and victorious plan, not yet completed, and demanding, more than anything in the order of mere nature, the idea of a wise and powerful author? And thus, does not history, more even than nature, testify to the being and perfection of a great First Cause? Can we meet and solve the problem of human history, by supposing some abstract idea, or blind law, or unconscious substance as the ultimate author? Here is one consecutive plan, working, growing, for some six thousand years! Has an idea or a substance made this plan? Can anything ac-

count for it, excepting a living, personal, omnipotent and omniscient author? Can any view of human history, excepting the theistic, meet the conditions and exigencies of the historic problem? Are we not right in making it a condition of the true philosophy of history, that it should give us an adequate author for the whole historic course?

We have thus attempted to set forth the most essential conditions of a right philosophy of history, the preliminary requisitions to be made upon any theory which claims to solve the problem of human destiny. However brilliant may be the theory, it will not wear the insignia of a legitimate science of history, unless it conform to these four requisitions, that it present us with a scheme running through the whole of that history, under a regular law, towards an adequate consummation, upheld by a wise and powerful author. Or, in other words, the real historic problem of the race can be solved only in an economy in which the facts of human history, the law of its growth, the end at which it aims, and its author, all concur and work together. Only with such a scheme can we have an entire unity in our philosophy of history, only such a scheme truly answers the inquiry, What is the destiny of the race as inferred from the history of the race?

In the light of these scientific requisitions let us glance for a passing moment at the most noted systems of the philosophy of history, alluding only to their general import. Bossuet, the eagle of Meaux, in his *Universal History*, discourses chiefly of Providence as seen in the Jewish and the Roman Catholic churches; the Italian Vico, in his "*New Science*," points out a law of "*Returns*" for each individual nation, whereby it grows and declines, not definitely insisting upon any general plan for the race; in the fervid cauldron of the French Revolution, phantastic visions of perfectibility were generated, which have left only a rack behind. In Herder's genial and affluent *History of Humanity* we have a wider scope, and the description of a higher culture, as exemplified in the social and artistic life at Weimar. But it is in Schlegel, in Comte and in Hegel, that we find the problem grasped more firmly, and the solution presented more boldly. Schlegel may be taken as the representative of the Roman Catholic view of history, Comte of the

scientific, and Hegel of the pantheistic. Schlegel views the race under the aspects of the fall and of redemption, in its battle of sin with holiness, but his theory limits redemption to the Roman Catholic communion, and he is obliged to exclude almost the whole of modern history, excepting the Holy Alliance, from the onward progress of the race. Comte finds in human history three eras, the Metaphysical, the Theological and the Scientific. The two former have passed, and what remains to be done is the subjugation of nature through the positive sciences, under the auspices of his philosophy, which leaves us only the knowledge of nature, and denies all knowledge of God. His disciples tell us that the age of theology is past, while England, Germany, Holland, France and Russia are stirred as they have not been for two centuries with theologic warfare. In Hegel's philosophy of history we have the most complete scientific attempt to construct a scheme, running through the whole course of time. The idea of rational freedom in a well-ordered state is the key-note of history, giving to it a law of progress as well as an end to be aimed at. The East, he says, knew that one man is free; the Greek and Roman world that some men are free; the modern world that all are free. In this system the conditions of a right theory are conformed to, in the attempt to bring the whole series of facts under one general idea, that of freedom, under a law of progressive growth, and having respect to a common destiny for the race. But that destiny is too vaguely stated, and the theory assigns no adequate author for the events of time, giving us only an abstract, unreal pantheistic substance at the basis, "affecting godhead." And when Hegel asserts that the end of human history is in Europe, and that the height of human freedom is to be found in Prussia, to all the dwellers in the New World he seems but "to put into circumscription and confine" both history and freedom.

Such is a bare outline of some of the most noted systems of the science of history; and if we have not noticed the dreams of the socialists and radicals, who look for an entire reorganization of society, it is because these theories, contemplating the future and not the past, cannot pretend to be a philosophy of history, for in them we have no inference from the past, but

only a vision of the future. As far as a science of history is concerned, they do, as Shakspeare says, but "smother function in surmise," and to them nothing really "is, but what is not."

Coming back, after this partial digression, to our main inquiry, we ask, whether such a solution of the historic problem is possible, as shall give us an economy, to which the empires and crises of humanity do all refer; which has had an orderly growth under the law of progress through conflicts; which is capable of embracing all the great interests of the race, subordinating the natural to the spiritual; and which holds the whole historic drama under a wise and sure guidance toward its adequate consummation? If there be such an economy, in it must be garnered up the destiny of our race, in it is to be found the philosophy of human history.

Take, then, a historic chart of the globe and trace the progress of the human family in its geographic course from East to West, all round the earth; from its origin in the heart of Asia; in both its northern and southern irruptions through the European continent; in its succession of contesting nations around the Mediterranean and on the shores of the Atlantic; across the Atlantic to our own continent; and here still even westward to our Pacific coast; and through all this geographic march of the nations, encircling the globe, simply ask, what common history has been advancing, what one institution or economy running through and leading the whole race; and to this question there is but one possible answer; and that is, that through the whole history of our earth, as its centre and very soul, runs the history of the Kingdom of Redemption!

Repeat this process with the great historic empires and states which have sprung into successive being, and ask, for whom was the ancient world prepared; whom did the Jewish people bear in their loins; for whose victorious sway was the whole Roman empire made ready; who is the centre between the ancient and the modern world; who subdued the Roman empire unto Himself, and ruled in both its eastern and its western portions; whose name charmed into civilization the rude German tribes, and has been at the heart of the culture of every modern European state; and to whom was this land

dedicated in its historic prime, and whose faith has it spread with its growth through all our borders; and to these questions respecting human empires we get a kindred response, and that is, they all take their law and course from Him, who is the divine head of this same Kingdom of Redemption!

If there be any possibility of a true philosophy of human history, if the necessary conditions of such a philosophy are any where realized, they are so, and only so, in the Christian view of human history, in the idea of a divine kingdom, established in the world for its redemption from sin, and looking for its full consummation in an eternal state of being. The history of our earth in its most complete and comprehensive view is the history of that divine kingdom, whose central idea is well described by England's immortal dramatist, in the words,

Why all the souls that are, were forfeit once,
And he that might the vantage best have took,
Found out the remedy.

In the idea of this kingdom, and, so far as we can see, in this alone, do we find realized all the conditions of a right solution of the historic problem. It meets the first of these conditions, since it can be historically traced through all the records of our earth; it is enstamped upon them, forming at once their strength and their glory; it has run its course through every nation, and also survived the greatest of states; and it is now wider spread than ever before. It meets the second of these conditions, and also explains it; for the progress of this divine economy has been a perpetual growth through perpetual conflicts, of which the highest moral antagonism, that of sin and holiness, has been the elementary source, and into which all other conflicts may be resolved. And though states and nations have often been retrograde, and even, to borrow a striking figure, almost literally condemned to death, because sinful, yet still has advanced both by them, and in spite of them, in immortal vigor, that one kingdom of our Lord. And it also fully meets, as does nothing else, the requisitions of the third condition, for it sets before the human family a grand and glorious consummation, in which the natural and the moral interests, while retaining their integrity, and themselves fully developed,

are also made subordinate to the spiritual and eternal welfare of mankind, thus satisfying wants which nature cannot meet, and answering the high questions of our fate to which mere reason and ethics are dumb; and in this way does this divine kingdom set before the whole race an adequate destiny, comprising the highest purposes of infinite justice and benevolence. And this kingdom of redemption, being God's own work and plan, also fully meets the last condition of a right solution of the historic problem, for it assigns an adequate author to the whole historic drama. And being God's plan, all things in it concur and work together; we have one sublime system of things. The facts of history, its law, its aim and its author together make up one scheme: and in this scheme of history the grandeur of the mass of the historic facts is pervaded by a law of progress running along through the whole line of the facts, conducting to an issue commensurate with the greatness of the facts and the sweep of the law, and the facts, the law and the end are presided over by a power adequate to produce what is greatest and best for both God and man.

On strictly philosophical grounds, then, we are forced to seek the true exposition and idea of history in the Kingdom of Redemption. Here only do we find all the conditions of a right solution of the historic problem fully met. The genius of human history is identical with the genius of Christianity. The annals of the race cannot be constructed into an organized unity, there cannot be found in them the successive upholding of a consecutive plan, unless it be in the growth of the kingdom of God in Jesus Christ our Lord. Here is the "*aliquid inconcussum*" amid the fluctuations of the ocean of human life. We know not how any disbeliever in the reality and final supremacy of the Christian faith, can read the history of his race, and not be bewildered, if not convinced, by the vision.

Try to get the angle of vision in which all the lines of historic time converge; there is but one such angle, and it opens an unequalled scene. Spread out the historic canvass, and in its very centre see One sacred Form—for only one of all who have trod our earth, and borne our nature, can be imagined as having a rightful claim to that historic throne—wearing the crown of universal empire upon his suffering and victorious brow.

The light that streams from Him, a calm, divine effulgence, not generated from earthly sources, lends brightness to all that throng around Him, recognizing his regal and beneficent dominion. The whole background of this immortal canvas, which a divine hand has limned, is filled with those, who, with upturned prophetic gaze, await his coming; the progenitor of our race, to whom was given the first evangelic promise, Abraham, the father of the faithful, Moses, the leader and lawgiver of Israel, the long line of Judea's kings, with David as its crown, and of Judea's prophets, most sublime in Isaiah; while standing more remote, yet still expectant, are the representatives of the vast heathen nations, which, by a divine providence, had in many ways been prepared for that glorious Advent, being congregated in one vast empire, pervaded by one predominant speech. And before Him, and all around Him, is gathered the glorious company, the goodly fellowship of those, who for eighteen centuries in every clime have received from Him the very law of their spiritual life. There are Paul, and John, and Peter, who, with words of fire and promise, kindled the beacon lights among the nations; there is the imperial Cæsar, who unfolded the radiant cross as the harbinger of victory; there are the Eastern and the Western monarchs of the riven Roman empire, equally confessing the name of Jesus; Christian bishops and patriarchs, lordliest amongst them, those of Constantinople and Rome, bring the homage and fealty of the greatest ancient cities; Leo is there, with adoring gaze, while shaping the ruins of the Western empire, and by his side is standing a rude German warrior, awed into submission to the faith; Charlemagne represents the ninth century, the beginning of mediæval times, bearing the crown placed upon his brow in the name of Christ; Hildebrand, the most ambitious of pontiffs; Aquinas, the subtlest of scholastics; Bernard, the most zealous of mystics; Wycliffe and Huss, the progenitors of reform, as well as the knights of a Christian chivalry, Godfrey and Richard of the Lion Heart, and the adventurous explorers of new continents, all meet in that throng, and continue the succession of the faith, through the struggling light and darkness of these middle ages, and all the light they wear is cast upon them from that reverend, central form. And those, too, that may stand on this historic pic-

ture, as the impersonations of the kingdoms, tendencies and centuries that since have been; Luther, Calvin, Fenelon and Edwards, as divines; Bacon, Descartes and Schelling, in philosophy; Michel Angelo, Raphael, Milton, Shakspeare, Haydn and Mozart, in the various spheres of art; the combatants in the conflicts engendered by the Reformation; Spain's haughty monarch, ruling Europe's destiny in the sixteenth century; the king of France, prevalent in the seventeenth; England's royal line, triumphant in policy in the eighteenth; and the freer image of Liberty that stands for our own Republic, the wondrous growth of the present age; these forms, which live upon the historic canvas, can you group them all around any other centre, or see them truly in any other light, than that of Him, who is the centre of the Kingdom of Redemption, the rightful monarch of our earth?

It is He who has ruled historic times, and given them their shape and their law; it is He who has carried the race through the crises of its destiny, that in the consummation of that destiny it might be drawn closer to Himself. The divine right of popes, of kings, and of the people, has been in succession contended for, that the divine right of the Great Head of the Church might be seen to be the rallying-place, and the watchword, for the family of man, in its progress towards the end for which it was made.

And of this vision of human history, it is the triumph and seal, that it is not an imagination or a theory, but the open face of history itself, the legitimate summary and rendering of its facts. And in this point of view it contains the sum, and forms the conclusion of our argument. For Christianity, as has been well said, in its inmost spirit and highest sense, is historical. Its truths are truths of fact, inscribed upon the surface, looking out from the heights and up from the depths of all the annals of our race, so that the whole of human history, according to Edwards' unrivalled scheme, becomes one body of divinity, presenting to us an untroubled mirror of the wisdom of God, and the image of his goodness. And thus is human history the very theodicy of God, a grander apology for the Christian faith than the wisdom of a Butler, or the genius of a Pascal, ever framed.

Is it given to man to know anything more sublime than this spectacle of the building up of the city of God? Through the fickle fortunes of men we read the calm and sure order of an unchanging plan; in the growth and decay of states, we trace the unhasting yet unresting progress of a kingdom, ordained ere time began, to be completed when time shall be no more. It is the transfiguration of the history of our globe, in which a divine glory breaks through and irradiates all that is mortal and transient. In the human race are fulfilled the prophetic intimations, which have been found in the work of creation itself; through his six days of travail and conflict, man is prepared for the full glories of a Sabbath of eternal rest.

THE DEATH OF A YOUNG MAN.

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED IN THE CHAPEL OF YALE COLLEGE,

JUNE 1, 1851,

IN REFERENCE TO THE

DEATH OF ALBERT HEBARD,

JUST BEFORE THE CLOSE OF HIS COLLEGE LIFE.

BY THEODORE D. WOOLSEY.

Preached and Printed by Request of the Senior Class.

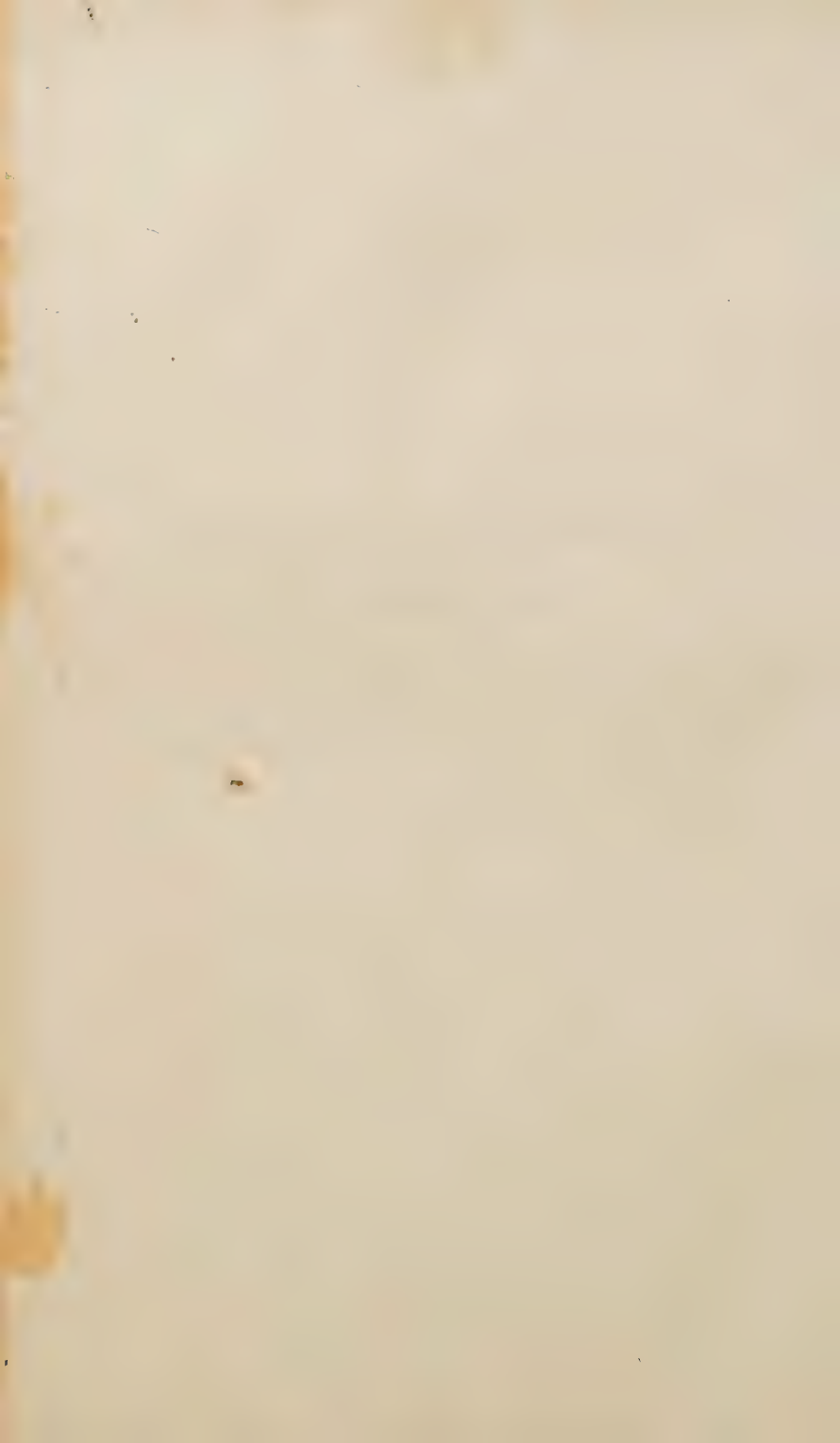
NEW HAVEN:

PRINTED BY J. H. BENHAM.

1851.



TO THE
SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE SENIOR CLASS OF 1851,
IN YALE COLLEGE,
THIS SERMON IS DEDICATED,
WITH THE AUTHOR'S BEST WISHES FOR THEIR TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL
PROSPERITY.



S E R M O N .

FOR DEATH IS COME UP INTO OUR WINDOWS, AND IS ENTERED INTO OUR PALACES, TO CUT OFF THE CHILDREN FROM WITHOUT, AND THE YOUNG MEN FROM THE STREETS.—*Jeremiah ix, 21.*

THE event of death, as a general fact, ordinarily excites little more notice than any other general fact reducible to established laws. It may be owing, in part, to man's depraved nature that this is so; for a mind which has made the present life its all in all, and contemplates futurity with dread, may be unwilling to look an event straight in the face, which will break off all its pleasures and hopes. But apart from this tendency of the worldly mind, and of our fallen state, God, it would seem, does not mean that the universal law of death should have more than a certain small amount of healthy impression. Were it not so, were this law to come home with its full strength to the mind, many of the purposes, for which we are appointed to live in this world, could not be answered. We should abstain from forming plans involving the continuance of life. We should be tempted to take undue care of the

body and spend life in preserving life, or in dreading its close. As things are, the knowledge that death in our own case is inevitable, is all that a reasonable mind needs to regulate its actions, and to counterbalance the eagerness of worldly desires. The probability of continued life admits of the prosecution of our temporal duties, while the uncertainties of life are enough to alarm the sinner in his sins, and to teach the godly person his dependence on the great disposer of mankind. And even were the probability of continued life greater than it is, the folly of those who calculate for this world would be palpable upon the least reflection; for since death would be a certainty, even though it were a certainty removed sixty years from the present time, and since preparation for the future world is consistent with the highest enjoyment of this life; they surely are short sighted and their own enemies, who will reap a small amount of enjoyment here at the risk of losing a great amount here, and all that is possible hereafter.

The departure of the aged and of infants from this world is not in itself, and as a general fact, fitted to make a deep impression of the mind. With regard to the former, we feel that each year increases the probability of their dissolution; and we feel also that having accomplished in a great degree the temporal purposes of life, it is time that the allwise

Author of life and of death should open for them the door of that great temple, of which this life is the vestibule. They die as a shock of corn is gathered in its season. Having fulfilled their part they withdraw from the stage, to reappear as actors in the drama of eternal life. In regard to infants, again, strange as the fact is, that so many are born amid maternal pangs just to drink in the sunlight and to die, or that a troop of mortal disease lurk around the path of childhood ; this general fact fails to surprise us, for we reduce it to a more general one extending beyond the bounds of the human species. Almost every tribe of plants bears innumerable blossoms which are wasted without running into seed. Almost all animal existence is multiplied on a scale to provide against a thousand accidents. In mankind the sway of death over the earlier years is not the result of one form of society or another, but stretches through all ; somewhat limited, indeed, by the comforts and knowledge of civilized races ; but still showing itself a law, which is likely to extend beyond all the improvements of time. For this law of early death, though in the sorrows and pains which it causes a fruit of sin, is evidence also of Divine love by the precious results of such deaths to survivors ; and to say the least, may be attended with the immortal gain of those who are thus early called away.

But when death, in the language of our text, cuts off the young men from the streets, an impression is produced by the event, which is deeper, and in some respects peculiar. It is the reverse of an ordinary law. With the general certainty of death, there coexists a considerable probability, that most of those, who are prepared for active life, or have just entered it, will go forward to fulfill its duties, and to mingle with another generation of men. With this probability, ascertained by observation, there grows up in the mind at this period of life an expectation of living,—an expectation, which indeed is often exaggerated and unfounded, but a degree of which is necessary to the vigorous and hopeful exertions required of the youth and the middle-aged man. Thus his plans, unimpeded by the fear of being cut short, rove over a broad range of time ; and entwine themselves with the plans of a multitude of dependent or connected persons. That the probability exists and is reasonable may be shown by a simple supposition. If one half or two thirds of the individuals between seventeen and thirty were to be removed by a permanent law ; it could not fail to change the whole face of society. Parents would be afraid to emancipate children from their control, lest the inexperience of youth should lay the seeds of death. Colleges could hardly exist, and there would be small stimulus for engaging in professional life when its laborious preparations were likely

to be a dead loss. Plans of business, plans of affections would either not be formed at all, or would not act with the force which they now have of quickening human energies and sweetening labor.

Such is the first feeling which the death of young men produces. It is untimely ; it is an instance of the general law of death extending its reign over a province which it does not usually invade. And with this is immediately connected a feeling of disappointment. The probability was, that those on whom such an amount of parental care was expended, who were trained with labor and expense for life, who were showing powers of usefulness and preferences for a particular sphere, who were in the blossom of life, would not wilt away and die. But God from his throne says that this shall not be. While the clusters of most hopes hang upon them they are cut down. They are "as grass which withereth afore it groweth up ; wherewith the mower filleth not his hand, nor he that bindeth sheaves his bosom." Nor is it their relatives only who feel this disappointment. But when a young man preparing for usefulness, and manifesting good principles is taken away, a thrill of the same feeling runs through the whole community where he was known. Let him have been a follower of Christ, one preparing to preach his master's gospel, and how lively is the disappointment which then arises in the hearts of Christian survivors. How many souls

might have been saved by his means, if he had not withered in the flower of his age. How well he might have filled the places of those aged servants of Christ who are dropping away by death. What a waste of acquisitions, useful in this world, but superseded by better and higher knowledge in Heaven. God seems to frown upon his own work on earth, and to cut off his servants, while others harmful or incapable of usefulness are allowed to live on, mere cumberers of the ground.

With this feeling of disappointment when young men die, is connected one of sorrow. Sorrow, indeed, naturally springs out of disappointed hopes, but in this case it has some sources which are peculiar. When early childhood is snatched away, something of the same disappointment is felt, but it is confined to the family circle and a few sympathising friends. The new comer into this world has had no time to reach the affections of multitudes, nor character to arrest attention and interest by its marked traits, nor power of communication to serve as the basis of companionship. When, on the other hand, the aged die, there is scarcely any disappointment felt, although there may be general sorrow. For not only do men regret the loss of that which they have long revered, but oftentimes a line of descendants parts from the head of the family with a feeling of strong unfeigned love ; and yet

how frequently is sorrow tempered by the prospect of decaying faculties, or by the sight of infirmities such as attend on advanced life. The reverence, too, which is felt for men in the decline of life, after most of their generations have passed away, and they have withdrawn from the eye of the world, becomes similar to that which is felt for the honored dead.

Turning now our thoughts to the sorrow which an estimable young man's death awakens, we find it on the part of parents to be peculiarly deep. Love goes downwards rather than upwards. We love our children, by a wise law of our nature, better than we do our parents, and better than our children love us. Now this love, begun at the very birth of offspring, is deepened as the mind opens, as we see our toil and anxiety rewarded, as we hope for a support and intimacy from them which nothing can interrupt, as we expect that they will do credit to us and themselves, as we sympathize with them in their hopes, fears and perplexities regarding their future life. Perhaps the acme of this affection between parents and children is reached just about the time when the child, now mature in reason and ready to occupy a post in life, stands less in need than before of parental guidance, and appears as a separate individual in the world of men. But whether parental love reaches its flood-

tide then or afterward, how plain it is, that every year after early childhood adds fresh strength to their affection, and a new pang if its object is called away by death. They who have been appointed to mourn for children, who have left them at different ages, are the best witnesses of what is here said. They know when they felt the bitterest pang of separation; and they know whose memory most forms a part of their being, and is most associated with their trains of thought,—their infant child's, or their grown up son's.

And it is perhaps about this season of life that fraternal love feels a separation to be most painful. The little child forgets the brother or sister who is gone. "What does he know of death?" And what feeling has he for others which may not be displaced? And so, when the members of the same family are settled in life,—scattered it may be,—divided by differences of opinion, and absorbed in their own family cares, it is not strange that love, though sincere, should become less ardent than it was, before they, in turn, quitted the parental roof. For now mutual dependence, companionship at the fireside, community of interests, somewhat of the old family feeling has ceased, and if love is kept up, it is by thinking of each other as associated in the family at that happy time of immunity from cares, with a common parental center around

which they revolved. It is at this age, to which their thoughts turn in after life, that separations are most afflictive to survivors, and the brother who dies is hallowed by the most tender recollections.

And if we pass beyond the bounds of the family, we find that the death of an estimable young man invades the circle of warm friendship. It cannot be said indeed that this period of life gathers round itself more acquaintances or warmer friends than maturer manhood. Acquaintances are growing in number until a man begins to seek repose from active life ; and friends continue ordinarily until their ranks are thinned by death. But in general, the time for forming bosom friendships is youth ; and few which are contracted in later years are as close or as tried. For youth is more confiding, more sympathizing, more complying. These traits, which are causes of evil when one is thrown among wicked companions, are also causes of good, and of good which may shape the whole future life.

It is pleasant and profitable to stop here and contemplate the character of a college life in this respect. If friendships are most easily formed in youth, much more are they, where a body of youth, engaged in common pursuits, are shut up together almost out of sight of the world, and made neces-

sary to another ; where the same concerns of their peculiar sphere interest all alike ; where opinion and feeling move electrically through the mass ; where reserve is impossible, were it desired ; and where there are few motives for the insincere profession of regard. And such we find to be the case in fact. Those who are not coldly selfish, and have something in them to excite esteem, do secure it in college, and retain the regard so formed through life ; it may be, after other subsequent bonds of the same kind have given way. But the most pleasing exhibition of college friendships is seen, when the tie of religious sympathy is added to congeniality of temper : when two followers of Christ in youth are brought together by divine Providence in this place, and are led, like Jonathan and David, each to love the other as his own soul. And how it will cement their friendship in future life to look back on these retirements, where they prayed together and warned and roused one another, where they lent one another sympathy, and stood up in concert against evil. If besides this, one of them by God's grace was the happy instrument of the other's conversion, what a joy this will send through their hearts in this world, as they meet from time to time upon their rounds of duty, and rest for a moment in each other's love.

But, if instead of thus meeting again, one of a circle of friends should be removed by an early

death, perhaps be summoned away in the very midst of his college employments, must not the sorrow which is felt be peculiarly tender? And will not the survivors, as they meet in future years, cherish the memory of the honored dead one, after many of the minute points of college history have faded away from their minds. "He went away,—that valued friend of four years' standing—just as he stood on the threshold of college life preparing to step forth into the world. We shall pass our lives,—it may be long lives, without him." Yes, you may pass what you call *life*, and now regard *long* without him; but if you are heirs of the same faith with him, you may revive and deepen your friendship with him through cycles of ages, by the side of which life is but a moment.

Such are some of the feelings which the death of a young man in the strength of his life is fitted to excite. But such an event may be viewed from another point. There are reasons, when an estimable and Christian young man dies, why we should not wish to call him back into this sphere of his commencing usefulness. And here I confine myself to a death like that which has made a breach in your circle and saddened your hearts; to the death of one who aims and hopes, as there is reason to believe, took eternity into view as well as time. The death of a young man or of an old

man, of other principles, has nothing hopeful or cheerful in it. It is simply heartrending to those whom the ties of nature or acquaintance bound to him, and who believe that without sincere piety there can be no future happiness. And when the body of such a young man is conveyed to the grave, the thought which opens the fount of tears is that his account is sealed—that no more time on earth is allowed to him to secure that heavenly blessedness which he had long slighted.

When therefore a young man resembling Hebard in character is called away, one thought which arises in the mind, especially if we have had some experience of life, is the hazard, even to a good man, of living in this world. I refer not to the hazard of encountering sorrow, pain or unmerited disgrace; for in truth these are trifles, when measured by an eye on which the light of eternity shines, and they are more than made up to God's children by the resulting good. But I refer to the risk which we run of doing evil rather than good, or of doing but a small amount of good, even with the best disposition; and to the risk which spiritual life meets with in a world of sin. How often it happens that a man starts forward on his career with high Christian aspirations, with the intention of taking God for his guide, but soon embraces some error of opinion, or makes some wrong judg-

ment, by which he is crippled all his days in his usefulness, and possibly brought into opposition to the true cause of God. Such was the course which Archbishop Leighton took—doubtless one of the most heavenly minded men that ever lived: by an error of judgment, as I must regard it, he encouraged the persecution of true Christians, and strengthened the hands of a most godless faction. He is in heaven, if there be any man there; but we may well conceive of more than one shadow of regret flitting over his soul in the heights of glory that he had not been removed out of life in his early manhood. Or, if the Christian is not often allowed to go far astray in his judgment, how much good is left undone, or not done steadily; how many petty obstacles turn him aside from the right; how much he errs in the way of doing good by infirmity of temper, or dulness of apprehension. Thus oftentimes his life is fragmentary; his usefulness is the treasure saved upon a stormtost vessel; he stands upon the shore of old age, and sees that another course might have been easy and safe.

Still greater are the hazards which attend on Christian character. As the aged Christian looks back upon his inner life, what broken vows does he behold, what shrinking from duty, what love of selfish ease, what insensibility to the claims of God and Christ, what a mass of worldliness. In his

most favored moments his progress is scarcely deserving of the name; and often he seems to himself to have turned his back upon the heavenly Zion. If he has not dishonored Christ before the world, yet what mixed and imperfect motives have given birth to his best actions; and he has had to maintain a hard fight against sin if he bore any fruit. Often therefore he cries with the Apostle, "O wretched man that I am," or with St. Bernard, "*peccator sum, valde peccans peccator.*" Would he gladly live over again such a life, or extend it to an antedeluvian length?—or would he not rather avoid sin by being absent from the body and present with the Lord? He would not indeed shrink with unmanly fear from conflicts, nor would he with more unmanly sloth prefer rest to duty; but he would willingly be transported to another world where his character might grow up to full perfection. If now this had happened long ago, at the beginning of this scene on which he is looking back; if as a youthful Christian he had been transplanted to that better climate; how far he might have surpassed his present attainments, and reached a height of piety which he has never witnessed on earth.

Thus when character is ripening for heaven, that is a better place for its further progress. It is a selfish love which would detain a friend away

from higher employments, higher joys, better companions, a holier life. For this world's sake we may reasonably wish them here still longer. But if God calls them away from his service on earth to his service in heaven, he has not been unmindful either of their interests or of his own.

And in regard to the young man of disciplined mind removed from this world we may say that his acquisitions have not been wasted. What form the human mind is to take in another world we are not able to pronounce: whether for instance its intuitive powers shall be greatly enlarged; or whether it shall still make advances in knowledge by the toilsome processes of induction and deduction. But the principle laid down in the parable of the talents authorizes us, as I think, to believe that improvement of mind, undertaken as a religious duty, shall be rewarded like any other service rendered to the Great Master. May we not suppose in conformity with this that there will be some proportion between the faculties of different souls, as they enter the heavenly state; that as they differ here, so they will differ there; that the cultivated mind will start from a higher level and thus move forward to more advantage,—even as its knowledge might have sunk it to a deeper misery than the ignorant, if that same power of thought had been in the employment of sin. The Christian

student then will probably enter heaven with more improved faculties, as well as higher capacities of usefulness, than if he had never been selected by divine providence for this work of mental culture. And this may be the case, even if we suppose that much of what is called knowledge here is superseded or forgotten. If only the mind remains, it will be, probably, a mind enlarged by past discipline and study. The growth of the mind is not continued through life, but having reached a point where it is fitted for its highest efforts in its earthly residence, it continues there for a time and then sometimes even begins to decay. Perhaps it is ordinarily about thirty that a disciplined mind gains its full strength. It may grow after that in readiness, in self-confidence, in extent of acquisition, in caution, in judgment, but not much in grasp of intellect and in imagination.

When therefore the young man sustaining a religious character is called away by death from the discipline of a college, his toilsome hours spent in acquiring human knowledge will not be lost. What would have fitted him to be useful here has fitted him to be useful in his new residence. If he finds there that much of what he learned on earth was suited only for earthly purpose, related to petty subjects, and is superseded by sciences of grander dimensions ; yet even earthly knowledge is of di-

vine origin and may in part cross the threshold of heaven ; while his *powers*, unfolded on earth according to the will of God by the process of study, are a part of himself as he begins his eternal existence. How happy then is he who has passed through an earthly training, not to apply his acquisitions here below, but to use his powers in the pursuit of celestial philosophy. He is a graduate of earth, and has been admitted earlier than his compeers into a higher school, there to study God, the principles of his universal government and the history of the creation.

Such are some of the reasons why, for their own sake, we should not wish to recall young men of promise and of principle into this scene of their earthly hopes. And if we turn away from them to the divine Providence which cuts them down in the midst of their days, we may see that it intends to convey some special lessons to survivors. The death of young men in general conveys such a lesson. The death of young men of Christian principle conveys another lesson.

To the lesson conveyed by the death of young men in general I have already referred ; but it may be profitable if I call your minds to it yet again. It is an instance, as we have seen, of the violation of that ordinary law of Providence by

which youth and early manhood are comparatively secure from death. The lesson then consists in this that a young man must not act or feel simply according to the probability, but must take into view also the exceptional cases. To be influenced by probabilities, even as to things like life or death which seem more especially to lie under the decree of God, is no sin. What is probability but the conclusions formed by a finite mind, ignorant of the future, that the future under the government of the God of nature will be as the past. He, certainly, who has taken pains to impress us with a conviction of the permanence of natural law, and who opens his proceedings to us in the book of past history, would have us form some conclusions as well in respect to what is *likely* to happen hereafter, as to what is *sure* to happen. But it is a great and a short-sighted sin to look only at such general probability, to be blind to the probability that improbable things may occur even to ourselves,—to look only at natural law, and lose sight of a God who wields it in subordination to his moral purposes. Now this, which is a sin congenial to our nature, is especially a young man's sin at his entrance into life. For he is full of worldly hope, and what he wishes he is apt to believe. The probability of life therefore he will rather overvalue than underrate: in his consciousness of physical strength and his self-dependent energy, he will be prone to forget the

hand which holds him up, which in a moment, by the feeblest cause, can lay him in the dust. He thinks not of the movements of God's providence, he looks only at the outer machinery of second causes ; and placing the divine will out of account, acts on probabilities as if there were no cause beyond those of nature. Have I not a right to fear, my friends and pupils, that some of you are girding you for the race of life with feelings such as these ; that you are laying your plans as if the world embraced all your existence, and you were safe for years from the shaft of death. Now to such feelings, a death like HEBARD'S reads a solemn admonition. It tells you that they are perilous, that they may involve your eternal ruin, that you may be calculating the chances in favor of life the moment before all your stakes are swept away. It tells you that he who will not devoutly recognize his dependence on the author of life is committing the sin of rebellion ; and that he who will not take into view the possibilities of an early death and the consequences of dying unprepared, is guilty of the maddest of all folly. He may lose this world by the fiat of a divine Providence which he would not believe in ; he may lose the world to come by feeling secure of life.

The death of a youthful Christian, I said, conveyed another lesson. It is that if he would be

sure of usefulness he must be useful now. The Christian is not needed by the divine master for his service on earth. None of us, in any station or at any period of life, are so important, that God cannot secure the interests of his kingdom without our help, and even gain by our death besides. Still less are Christian young men necessary to a God, who by his spiritual influences presses many new recruits, of the same age and talents, into his service. Let such young men feel, then, that to do good ought not to be a scene laid in the future, for which the present is only preparing ; but that while this work is going on, they may also be doing good which shall live, though they meet an untimely death. There are means of influence by wholesome counsels and the manifestation of a Christian temper, which may bear fruit in the minds of others long after you are sleeping in the tomb. If by such means you could raise up but one college friend to take your place and act in your stead for religion and the interests of mankind, then you would not have lived in vain. Then a sorrow, springing from grateful love, would shed its tears at your grave ; and pleasant memories of you would live in the hearts of those you had left behind. Then, at the great day of God, you would rejoin the friends whom your brief youthful piety had blessed, and renew with them, in personal presence, the covenant of inseparable friendship.

My friends, a young man of promise and of worth has recently been called out of life from your circle. To many of you he was intimately known. Whatever excellencies and whatever failings he may have had he could not escape the eyes of classmates, beholding him in a great variety of situations through nearly four years. You have no need of knowing what my impressions were respecting him, for of necessity you knew him far better than I did. Yet I shall gratify my own feelings by a brief sentence or two in honor of his memory. By the will of God I shall be deprived of the pleasure of giving him that last college testimony, which, if I live, I may give at the coming commencement to many who mourn his loss. Let me then devote a few words now to his uneventful but hopeful life. To borrow the words of the Roman poet respecting a young man, the hope of Rome, prematurely cut off, his name

*His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere.*

ALBERT HEBARD was born at Lebanon, Ct., in the early part of 1826, and was one of the oldest members of the present Senior Class at its entrance into college in 1847. His age together with his experience of life early gave him an influence in the class which he never lost. He had good native powers of mind, and ranked high in point of scholar-

ship. He was a person of great sweetness of temper, not easily provoked, nor led by difference of opinion into the language of petulence or asperity. I may say that he had all the qualities which secure for a student a large circle of friends among his college contemporaries. He was kindly, pleasant in his address, companionable, and open to friendship, not shy in communicating with others, and apt in expressing his thoughts. His social qualities obtained for him a larger number of acquaintances and friends than young men usually have, both in this city and in his native village. In all the family ties he is said to have been most exemplary, and was met with a large return of family love. May those grieving hearts, from which God has taken away a treasure and a hope, be healed and soothed by his own consolations.

Several years before his entrance into college **HEBARD** made a profession of religion, and came here with the character of an established Christian. His character he is believed to have supported and honored through his college life. Many of you have knowledge of his activity and fervor in meetings for social worship. Some of you can testify to his faithful affectionate counsels on the great subject of your eternal interests. And a few, it is said, trace back to him that influence which under divine grace led their steps in the way of eternal life. If

the discerning eye of Christian friends intimate with him from day to day could discover blemishes in him, they were not such as to touch the essence of Christian character.

Such is a brief sketch of the character of **HEBARD** without exaggeration or eulogy. His Senior year was drawing to a close. Prospects of usefulness were before him, and handsome offers had been made to him of lucrative employment for the interval which might precede a professional career. In two weeks the examination for degrees was to begin, when the tidings reached us that he was no more. He had come back to college in ill health a little after the beginning of the term, and soon found it necessary to return home again on account of the increasing power of disease. The fever was already upon him, which crazed his brain, preventing him thus from testifying in the fulness of reason to the power of the Gospel; and which laid him low in death just a fortnight ago, on Sunday, the 18th of May.

My dear friends, what classmate is destined to be the first to follow **HEBARD** in that train of deaths, which in a few short years will fill the catalogue of your class with stars? Who shall be cut down in his prime and his hopes, and who shall linger until infirmities throw a shade upon the evening of life?

To such questions there is no answer returned from the oracles of God. Instead of gratifying curiosity, those oracles give us warning, and attempt to prepare us for the life that is to come. They tell us that a short life, closed in the midst of earthly hopes, if spent in obedience to God, is a finished one, because the great work of life is finished ; and that a long life spent in worldliness and sin, is an unfinished life, because the great work of living for God has never been begun. Who of you will listen to their voice, seconded as it is by voices from the grave, and finish the work for which life is given. “Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when he cometh, shall find,” so employed. “And if he come in the second watch or come in the third and find them so, blessed are those servants.”

Extract from the Journal of Albert Hebard, Jan. 1, 1847.

I have resolved to commence this new year with a new set of resolutions, and trusting in God for strength to fulfill them, I intend to devote myself more entirely to his service, and to endeavor, as much as in me lies, to spend this year as I shall wish I had done when I stand before the "Great White Throne."

And 1st, *Resolved*, That I will this year have no leisure time, (*i. e.*) I will not be idle a single hour !

2d, *Resolved*, That as a Student, I will be diligent and faithful to myself, and kind and respectful to my teachers.

3d, *Resolved*, That as a man, I will be governed by the strictest honor and integrity ; and in all my intercourse with my fellow men, I will cherish a frank, open, and generous spirit. I *will always be punctual*. And while I meet every man on an equal footing, on the great platform of American liberty, I will never crouch at any one's feet, or be influenced or moved by his opinions or entreaties when opposed to my own deliberate judgment and conscience.

4th, *Resolved*, That as a friend, I will be gentle, kind, affectionate, and ever true. I will not form acquaintances in haste, nor will I discard an old friend without the most positive evidence that I can not longer continue his acquaintance with propriety and safety ; then, after proper inquiry, I find such to be the case, I will immediately withdraw from such person's society, at whatever sacrifice.

5th, *Resolved*, That as a Christian, I will strive to follow the path made plain in the Bible.

With these resolutions, then, I enter upon the New Year, and I hope and pray that if my life is spared, it may be prolonged to some good purpose. I do not suppose that I shall fulfill them entirely in every instance, yet these are my aims.

God's Word Magnified and Illustrated.

A

S E R M O N

ON OCCASION OF THE

DEATH OF MR. DAVID L. DODGE,

DELIVERED IN THE

FOURTEENTH STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

NEW YORK, MAY 9, 1852.

BY

REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH.

NEW-YORK:

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1852.

NEW YORK, MAY 18, 1852.

REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D.,

DEAR SIR :

The undersigned, for themselves, and in behalf of numerous relatives and friends, would respectfully ask the favor of a copy of the Sermon, delivered by you on the occasion of the death of their father, for publication.

With sentiments of sincere regard, we are, Dear Sir, yours, affectionately,

DAVID S. DODGE,

WILLIAM E. DODGE.

NEW YORK, JUNE 8, 1852.

DAVID S. AND WILLIAM E. DODGE, Esq's.

GENTLEMEN :

The Sermon of which you request a copy for publication, did but imperfectly express my deep and cherished sense of the singular worth of your honored father. Yet, as a tribute to his memory, which may commend to survivors the great principles of truth and duty illustrated in his life, I herewith submit it to your disposal.

Yours very truly and affectionately,

ASA D. SMITH.

S E R M O N .

PSALM cxix. 54.

“Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage.”

“THE house of my pilgrimage !” How appropriate this language to every dwelling place of man. We may deem ourselves but sojourners, in respect merely to the present life. From that paternal mansion on which our infant eyes first opened, and where all, to the apprehension of childhood, seemed stable as the hills around it, how soon passed we forth. Beneath another roof-tree we slept, through other windows gleamed the light of opening day. By the old hearth-stone where, at even-tide, the dear household band loved to gather, silence and desolation reign now, or only the voice of strangers is heard. As years have passed away, change has succeeded change ; new homes have been found, and newer still have been sought. What wanderers have we ever been—how, in our greatest permanency, like those who tarry but for a night. Or, if some of us—the rare exceptions in a congregation like this—have thus far been mainly stationary, we know not what the morrow may bring forth. We may

be called, like the traveller over the desert, or the nomad of the East, to strike our tents, as it were, and hasten onward to another of the resting places in the journey of life. Nay, had we but one home for a whole life-time, yet in view of eternity—so near to us, so soon to be our dwelling-place—we should still seem to ourselves but strangers and pilgrims here. We might still say, “Here have we no continuing city.” Though three-score years and ten be the measure of life, or if by reason of strength it be four-score years, yet few as well as evil are its days. They are “as a shadow, and there is none abiding.” He, who but as yesterday was a prattling child—the intervening changes all passed as a dream of the night—comes now, from “the house of his pilgrimage,” an old man upon his bier, to his last resting-place.

Unstable as are all things around us, and brief as life is, how happy are they who have laid hold joyfully and firmly upon the permanent things of eternity! Their earthly habitation may be ever so temporary, but amid its decays, or the farewells with which they leave it, they can say unto God, “Thou art our dwelling place.” The world may pass away, and the lust thereof, or they themselves may be called away from earth, but “the word of our God shall stand forever.” While all else is but shifting sand, that is as unyielding rock beneath their feet. As the worldling comes to his dying hour, he can think of mirth that has been folly, and of laughter that has been madness.

Songs he may have listened to, or may have uttered, whose harmonies seem now as discords, whose every echo falls now on his ear as the death-knell of his soul. But thrice blessed is the man who can truly say, as the shadows of life's evening are deepening around him, and the scenes of the spirit-world are opening to his view,—“Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage.”

Such was the Psalmist's blessedness in the retrospect of life, and that same blessedness, in a greater or less degree, has every true-hearted servant of God. Scarce any mark of eminent piety is more unequivocal than the frame of mind indicated in the text. It is itself the highest form of piety. Let us briefly glance at some of its main elements.

It implies, I remark first, a full recognition of the *authority* of the Scriptures. It was said of our Lord that he spake “not as the Scribes and Pharisees”—not at second-hand, or as a mere commentator, or in a speculative or simply hortatory manner, but “as one having authority.” Just this characteristic has the whole written word; a characteristic which it is all important we should distinctly apprehend. It is not enough that the Bible be received merely as a good book—as having in it, though it be not infallible, much that accords with the will of God. Who shall distinguish between the true and the false? Who shall separate the chaff from the wheat? Is reason to be the umpire—reason as developed in each individual, or whatever the individ-

ual may choose to call reason? Who does not perceive that we are set afloat thus, as upon the surges of the sea, without chart or compass ; that we are at the mercy of every fickle breeze, and are sure to be swept from our course by the many deceitful currents of depraved inclination ? Of little value is the Bible to us—it is no Bible, it is no revelation—unless it be received in its integrity. It must be regarded as all divine. It must be accepted not as truth merely, but as God's truth—as God speaking to man. Thus does the spiritually-minded man apprehend it. It is to him the height of all knowledge, and the end of all controversy. So far as Scripture goes, he is ready to go ; the limits which that prescribes to itself, he dares not overpass. He values a single “thus saith the Lord,” above all the opinions and reasonings of all uninspired men ; a world in opposition were to him of little account—nay, he makes bold to say, with Paul, though “an angel from heaven” were to utter any other doctrine, “let him be accursed.”

He recognises, moreover, the *completeness* of God's word. A perfect scheme of doctrine he finds in it—nothing lacking, nothing superfluous, nothing out of place. Theology, as a science, it is true, or as subjectively apprehended, may be improved ; but not as it lies in the Bible. In us it may be imperfect, not there. As with keener optics or finer glasses the objects of nature may be examined—or as they may be subjected to a more profound and searching analysis—so is it in the

domain of inspiration. Investigation there may be, but no addition. Quite blind are they who look for some new revelation, whether along the lying wires of the "spiritual telegraph," or in Swedenborgian dreams and visions. Not a point of doctrine, needful to be known, but is clearly set forth. Nay, it is worthy of notice, that the main truths of the Christian scheme are so frequently exhibited, so interlinked with each other, so interwoven with the whole texture of the Bible, that an exegetical doubt or perplexity here and there, does but slightly affect them. Were scores of proof passages to be wrested from us by some subtle sophistry, other scores would still remain.

Nor is there less completeness, the devout believer is assured, in the practical bearings of the Bible. In what various forms is duty taught; now by a principle and now by a specification—now by a precept, and now by an example. To what various walks of life do its teachings extend; to what multiform exigencies and conjunctures, internal and outward. Reflection and discrimination are not, indeed, precluded; that were a harm to us rather than a benefit. The practical wisdom we need is to be diligently sought for; and, like gold and silver, is to be found often far below the surface. Yet found it may be. Not a case of conscience has ever yet arisen, for the clearing up of which ample means may not be drawn from the pages of the Bible.

The renewed man, we remark further, has a deep

sense of the *preciousness* of God's word. This the text intimates. It is not merely submitted to, as something not to be contravened; it is not merely approved, as something right and excellent. It is his "song." It so touches the pilgrim's heart within him, that strains of joy and praise are poured forth; nay, of those strains it is itself the material. As of ultimate authority, it may well be revered; as complete in doctrine and precept, it must needs be admired; but over and above all this, the believer sees in it a divine beauty, a beauty apprehended only by those who are themselves "partakers of the divine nature." He delights in it, not merely as it proffers him deliverance from the wrath to come, and even soothes the sorrows which attend his present pathway. It is especially dear to him as a transcript of God's heart and mind, as all luminous with God's glory. It is in this view he exclaims with David, "How sweet is thy word unto my taste, yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth." "Thy testimonies have I taken as an heritage forever; for they are the rejoicing of my heart."

From such apprehensions of the Word of God, there cannot but result a disposition to study it. "It is my meditation," says the Psalmist, "all the day." As given by inspiration, as embracing the principles on which our eternal destiny must turn, as opening up to us "glory, honor, and immortality," it is worthy to be studied. Nor can the renewed soul forbear to dwell upon it. It is his spiritual aliment; it is "a

light to his feet, and a lamp to his path ;” it is the balm divine for the perilous wounds of sin ; it is the music of heaven echoed upon mortal ears ; in his deep communion with it, it is the beginning of heaven in his soul. What he thus studies, I add, he cannot fail to practice. A man may read the Bible in a curious, or critical, or caviling frame, or from the mere promptings of literary taste, and yet walk on in the path of ungodliness ; but he who studies it because he loves it, and loves it the more because he studies it, is sure to exemplify its precepts in his life. “ Sanctify them through thy truth,” said our Lord ; “ thy word is truth.”

Such, briefly stated, is the frame of mind indicated in the text, and such are its practical developments. Thus does every true and devoted Christian magnify and illustrate the Word of God. We have been led to this topic, I hardly need to say, by a recent solemn and afflictive providence, and by the precious memories it has awakened in our hearts. Again has a breach been made upon the circle of our eldership. Again, as before, has death chosen “ a shining mark.” That venerable servant of God, not only the oldest member of our session, but, if I mistake not, of the whole eldership of our city, having finished the work God had given him to do, has been called to his reward. How pertinent to his whole Christian course the theme our text suggests. Amid the many and varied excellencies of his character, how prominent

was the disposition to exalt God's Word. His reverence for it, his delight in it, his constant aim to exemplify and illustrate it, how, as golden threads, did they run through the whole course of his life ; how, as vital principles, did they inform and fashion his whole character ! As that hoary head lay before us in the coffin, a serene and unearthly dignity mantling the countenance of the sleeping victor, a voice seemed to issue from the pale, closed lips, saying, "Thy statutes have been my songs in the house of my pilgrimage."

DAVID LOW DODGE was born in Brooklyn, Conn., June 14, 1774. He was a descendant, there is reason to believe, on the maternal side—though the genealogical line is not fully made out—from a branch of the royal house of the Stuarts. His mother's maiden name was Mary Stuart. To lineage of this sort, however, he attached little consequence ; a privilege and an honor far more exalted did he deem it to have a godly ancestry. His great-grandfather was a Congregational minister, it is supposed from Wales. He is said to have been a learned man, and was for a time settled somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cape Ann, Mass. At the next link in the chain of descent, I meet again the grace of God. Mr. Dodge's grandmother is spoken of, in a sketch I have been permitted to read, not only as possessing superior natural endowments, but as a truly pious woman. She resided with his parents for a time, while he was an infant, and more than once was she overheard, while carrying him

in her arms, earnestly supplicating for him the blessing of God. We cannot doubt that those prayers were prevalent. Largely have the church and the world been indebted, in every age, to "the unfeigned faith" of many a "grandmother Lois." Though Mr. Dodge's parents never made a public profession of piety, they were not only persons of great amiableness and uprightness of character, but rigidly observant of the external ordinances of religion. The Sabbath they scrupulously kept, catechetical and other religious instruction they imparted to their children; and the very year their son David was born, the father, as the result of special seriousness on his part, established the family altar.

In adverting to the early scenes of our deceased friend's life, we are forcibly reminded of that oft-quoted saying of the poet :

"The child is father of the man."

The circumstances of his youth were well fitted, indeed, to form just the decided energetic character he afterwards exhibited. He had no large inheritance in expectation; he was trained to habits of steady and severe industry; as to success in life, he was well aware, he was thrown mainly on his own resources; he expected to be, as in fact he was, under God, the artificer of his own fortune. In the matter even of education, the attainments he made, such as prepared him to become himself a teacher, and subsequently an author of no mean ability, were made under disadvan-

tages which would hardly have been surmounted by a less resolute and self-reliant spirit. As his school privileges were very limited, he sought to supply the deficiency by improving his leisure evenings at home, and especially by devoting to study several periods of incapacity for labor by reasons of wounds variously received. In these last mentioned efforts he had a distinct object in view, that of qualifying himself to take charge of a common school. He made his first essay as an instructor when about nineteen years of age. After several successful engagements in the public schools, he took charge permanently of a private establishment in Norwich, Connecticut. It was at this place on the 7th of June, 1798, that he was united in marriage with her who, after having been the partner of his joys and sorrows for more than half a century, still survives to mourn her irreparable loss. Soon after his marriage, a favorable opening presenting itself, he entered as a clerk into mercantile life. About the year 1800, he commenced business for himself in Norwich, Connecticut. He was afterwards, for a season, a merchant in Hartford, and subsequently, for a long time, in this city. He was, at one period, the principal partner, so far as the management of affairs was concerned, in one of the largest importing establishments in the dry goods line, then existing in the country. In mercantile pursuits he was ever assiduous, systematic, wary and efficient. Through the manifest fault of others, he did indeed incur great losses. Yet

he never failed in business. Not only was every just claim upon him liquidated, but through his eminent prudence and sagacity, favored by a kind providence, a remnant of his once large fortune was retained by him till the close of life. At one period, his mercantile pursuits having been intermitted, he was connected as chief manager with a manufacturing establishment in Bozrahville, Connecticut. His distinguished business talents were here no less conspicuous, than in all his other spheres of secular action.

It is however, in his religious history we are chiefly interested. All else, save as intertwined with that, of how little consequence to him now! He received his first serious impressions when about six years of age, under the teaching of a venerable Irish maiden lady. In addition to the rudiments of human science, this truly pious woman imparted to her pupils much religious instruction. She taught them Watt's Divine Songs, texts of scripture, and the Shorter Catechism. "I venerated and loved her," said Mr. Dodge, "next to my parents." Some of the hymns he learned then were never forgotten by him; and there is reason to believe, the impressions made on his heart and conscience, though they did not issue in immediate conversion, were never wholly effaced. It is well that the fidelity, to which, perhaps, his ultimate salvation was owing, should be thus distinctly noted. It suggests anew, both to parents and teachers, that scripture injunction, "In the morning sow thy seed."

After various alternations of comparative indifference and deep interest, he was brought, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, to embrace by faith, a proffered Saviour. His exercises on that occasion, though he himself laid no special stress on the fact, were of a somewhat extraordinary character. In a solitary journey, much oppressed by a sense of his lost condition—brought indeed to utter despair, and feeling that he could not long endure such exquisite anguish—he came at length to the resolution to cast off, if possible, all serious thought. As a means of diverting his mind, he directed his attention to the face of the country around him. Some partial success seemed to attend this effort; when suddenly there burst upon him such a view of the plan of redemption, and of the exceeding glory thereof, as quite overwhelmed him. Like Paul on his way to Damascus, he paused in his journey—a long pause he made, hardly conscious of the lapse of time. His tears fell like rain-drops, and at length coming to himself, he rode on in a kind of ecstasy, the very heavens above him seeming to declare the glory of God. He who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, had evidently shined in his heart. He soon afterwards made a public profession of his faith, receiving at the time the ordinance of baptism, and connected himself with the Congregational Church in Norwich, Connecticut, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Walter King.

From that time to the day of his death, though he

was doubtless conscious of variations of feeling, and was sometimes ready to exclaim, "My soul cleaveth unto the dust," yet his course was, in the main, onward. In the retrospect of his Christian life, indeed, he recognized one of its earlier periods as a season of comparative spiritual deadness ; and he even doubted at times whether grace had then a lodgment in his heart. An interesting account he has left, of a new impulse which was subsequently given to his religious feelings. This, it can hardly be doubted, however, was only one of those fresh baptisms of the Holy Spirit, so common in the history of those whom God designs for eminent usefulness.

In the course of a somewhat eventful life, he found it necessary, in connection either with changes of residence, or with movements for the advancement of Christ's cause, to make a number of changes in his church relationship. In Connecticut, he was connected for a time with the Congregational church in Hartford, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Nathan ~~King~~ ^{Strong}, with the church in Bozrahville, and with that in Norwich to which Rev. Dr. Joseph Strong ministered. On removing to this city, he joined first the Old Collegiate Presbyterian Church, "the mother of us all," of which the Rev. Drs. Rogers, McKnight, Miller, and Milledoler were pastors. On the division of that body, he was connected with the first Presbyterian or Wall Street Church, under the ministry of the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. He was for a time a

member of the Rev. Dr. Cox's church in Laight street; afterwards of the Prince street church; at a later period, of the Presbyterian church in Plainfield, New Jersey; and subsequently of the Sixth street church in this city. Of the Fourteenth street church, as you know, he became a member at its organization, May 18th, 1851. In the year 1808, he was elected an elder of the Old Collegiate Presbyterian Church, but, with characteristic modesty, declined the office on account of his youth. He was, however, re-elected the year following, and was ordained and installed by the Rev. Dr. Miller. The elders inducted into office with him were Messrs. Robert Lenox, James McGill, John P. Mumford, and Peter Ludlow. Of those thus associated, he was long the sole survivor. He acted as elder also in the Laight street, Prince street, and Sixth street churches. It was his sixth installation that took place in this church. As he had borne office at two different periods in the Wall street church, ours was the fifth Session with which he had been connected. To us he brought a maturity not only of judgment and of Christian experience, but of official wisdom, which made his grey hairs, as he moved among us, precious and venerable in our eyes.

In all these various relations, which our limits allow us barely to indicate, the sentiment of our text had abundant illustration. He was eminently a Bible Christian and a Bible elder. High views did he entertain of the Divine authority of the Scriptures; not

the slightest sympathy had he with the lax notions of some on the subject of inspiration. All who were familiar with him, will remember how frequent was his reference to the oracles of God, as his alpha and omega on all matters both of doctrine and practice. As the flimsiest gossamer to him were all the speculations and hypotheses of mere human wisdom. Not the weight of a feather in his view, had the loftiest name in the annals of theological research, unsustained by God's word. Gathering his opinions directly from the Bible, in the exercise of his own independent judgment—calling no man master—it were not strange if his views on some points had a shade of peculiarity. In certain minor particulars, he did differ from many of those with whom he loved to associate. Yet he held firmly the system of doctrine commonly called Calvinistic, and ever regarded the Westminster Catechism as one of its best expositions. On two great themes of the Bible he was wont to dwell with peculiar emphasis, the mediation of Christ and the work of the Spirit. Christ was to him, both in his creed and his life, all in all. How jealous was he of the Saviour's glory—how careful, in prayer, to recognize His advocacy. It pained him if others, in coming to the throne of grace, failed to come avowedly in the name of Jesus. It was not enough that they rested on Him in their hearts; a trust so essential and fundamental, he felt, should have distinct expression. On the Spirit's office-work, especially as connected with

the present dispensation, the views of many, he judged, even of the evangelical, were quite below the New Testament standard. It was his habit and his delight to magnify that work, as he believed it to be magnified in the word of God. To the prophetic parts of the Bible he attached great importance. They should be diligently studied, he held; by many, he feared, they were unduly neglected. Some peculiar views he adopted in this direction; but they were not of a visionary sort—they were sober, well digested, and not at all incongruous with the great fundamentals of our common faith.

One of the most remarkable manifestations of our beloved friend's regard for the Bible, was the unwearyed diligence with which he studied it. Of great consequence did he deem correct doctrinal views. It was an oft-expressed, and doubtless a sound opinion of his, that false *teaching* is much more harmful than injudicious *measures*. The measures are in their nature temporary; the erroneous belief is a permanent source of evil. Besides his devotional reading, he was, most of his Christian life, in the habit of going through the Bible once a year, in a critical manner. By this it is not meant that he entered into an examination of the original. For that his studies had not prepared him. When light was specially needed as to the construction of the Greek or Hebrew, he was wont to resort to some divine in the circle of his acquaintance. I have seen, in his own hand-writing, grateful mention

of aid rendered him in this particular, by the Rev. Drs. Miller, Romeyn and Abeel, and especially by the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason. His reading was critical, in that he searched carefully for the mind of the Spirit, by all the means within his reach, chief among which was a collation of Scripture with Scripture. The Bible, he held, is its own best interpreter. At the close of the last year, he had perused it thus in course forty-two times. He recommenced it on the first of January last for the forty-third time.

Nor did he read merely; he committed to writing, from time to time, often when engaged in extensive and pressing secular business, the systematized results of his inquiries. He has left a large number of manuscripts on religious subjects, all most carefully and legibly written,—a monument at once of his deep interest in such studies, his untiring industry, and his marked ability. These manuscripts embrace most of the leading topics of Christian doctrine and practice; such as man's original state—the law under which he was placed—the fall and its effects—the atonement—regeneration, including the various phases of “the exercise scheme”—the terms of acceptance with God, repentance, faith and obedience—the nature and design of the gospel ministry—the doctrine of baptism, its import, mode and subjects—the subject of prophecy, in a great variety of aspects and relations, including especially the visions of the Apocalypse—the doctrine of retributive justice, and the subject of capital punishment—

the question of war in its various phases—the relations of God's people to human government—the duty of prayer, secret and public—self-examination, and family government. These discussions are chiefly in the form of letters to his children; they are written with great simplicity and perspicuity; and they evince an amount of well-digested and systematized theological knowledge, a familiarity with some even of the most recondite points of divinity, such as few laymen have been privileged to acquire. Great blessedness did he find in these explorations of divine truth. As he was prompted to them mainly by his deep spiritual affections, so by means of them were these affections strengthened. There was a delightful harmony, in his case, of the theoretical with the practical, of the dogma with the life. Few servants of Christ have more happily exemplified that saying of Lord Bacon, "Certainly it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the poles of truth."

Time would fail us to note all the practical developments of our departed brother's truly Scriptural piety. In his business transactions, he was not only efficient, as we have remarked, but eminently upright. As illustrating this trait of his character, an incident has been mentioned, which occurred at an early period in his mercantile life. An opportunity presented itself of taking part in the purchase of a tract of land, on which there was supposed to be a very valuable mine, of the

existence of which the owner was ignorant. He positively refused to profit by that ignorance, deeming it not consistent with the golden rule. He was a man of far-reaching, intelligent, and active benevolence. Largely concerned was he in originating some of the most important of the philanthropic and charitable institutions of the age. He was the chief agent in the organization of the New York Peace Society, the first of the kind, probably, ever formed in the world. At an early stage of his Christian career, he had adopted peace principles of the most decided kind, and several productions of his pen in elucidation and defence of them were given to the public. The first of these, entitled "The Mediator's Kingdom not of This World," printed in 1809, attracted much attention, and was more than once republished; and if the testimony of the Friends be excepted, was the first means of awakening inquiry in this country on the subject of war. In relation to this subject, as to all others, he based his views not on the ground of mere expediency, but on the more solid foundation of the divine testimony. In the origination of the New York Bible Society, and the New York Tract Society, he was a prominent agent. In the early missionary movements in this city, he took an active part; and he was much engaged, at the same period, in promoting the education of pious young men for the ministry. In the spiritual welfare of the young, we may here remark, he was all his lifetime greatly interested. Some of you will remember the recent

testimony of one of his fellow elders in regard to the deep emotion with which he was wont at communion seasons to see youthful converts take upon themselves the vows of God. In an unusual degree did he sanctify all his business relations. It may be doubted whether the world has ever seen, in this regard, a manufacturing establishment like that already named, which he conducted at Bozrahville. When those concerned first met to decide on commencing it, they looked to God in prayer for his guidance and blessing. Having determined to go forward, they signed a sort of covenant, binding themselves to aim, as a primary object, at making the establishment a moral and religious one. To that end all its regulations and appointments, were admirably suited. The manufactory was hardly ready for use, before a revival of religion commenced among the operatives; and repeated visitations of the Holy Spirit were afterwards enjoyed. As a further indication of that fervor in spirit which our departed friend connected with diligence in business, it may be stated that, with a single exception, all the clerks he employed during his mercantile life, became hopefully pious. But I cannot enlarge in this direction. He was a lover of all good things, and of all good men. He was a friend and active promoter of revivals of religion. He was eminently faithful in all his church relationships. In life's decline he was still bringing forth fruit. A green old age was his, in respect as well to his Christian usefulness, as to the vigor of his mental

powers. One of his last efforts was the preparation of a catalogue of all the members of our church, with the design, if his strength should permit, of visiting them all. But he rests from his labors, and his works do follow him.

He died as he lived—lowly, yet not desponding; confident, yet not boastful. Very gradually, for successive weeks, and even months, did his strength wear away. Most precious to myself, and I trust profitable, were my pastoral interviews with him. As I visited him on the first of March last, he said to me, with much emotion, “The early Christians thought a great deal of *seeing the Lord*. My imagination sometimes works in regard to heaven; but I return and rest in this, that I shall not be disappointed.” He remarked, before I left him, that he expected to behold in heaven no other divine form than that of Christ. “I desire,” he said, “to have no anxiety about my recovery. God is excellent in counsel, wonderful in working.” He said, as he looked at himself, he felt he was vile, but he was consoled by the promise, “He that believeth hath eternal life.” At the same interview he remarked, that as he had been reading in the book of Samuel, he had been much struck with the long suffering of God. On another occasion he told me he had been thinking of the 84th psalm—

“My soul, how lovely is the place
To which thy God resorts!
'Tis heaven to see his smiling face,
Though in his earthly courts.”

At another time he repeated emphatically, as appropriate to his state of mind, the scripture, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Through all his illness, even when the flagging of the powers of nature seemed to preclude mainly both thought and emotion, his trust in the Saviour was unwavering. Upon the Divine word, as upon adamantine foundations, his soul still rested; the statutes of the Lord were still his songs in the house of his pilgrimage. At times his mind, through the power of disease, or the effect of opiates, would lose its balance. But let the subject of religion be mentioned, and his wandering thoughts were at once recalled. The word of Christ, as of old it quelled the stormy waves of Galilee, calmed at once every tumult of his soul.

One Sabbath afternoon, not long before his death, he remarked to a relative, that he had been repeating a hymn respecting the Church :

" We are a garden walled around,
Chosen, and made peculiar ground,
A little spot enclosed by grace,
Out of the world's wide wilderness."

He said, in dwelling upon this hymn he had found his mind disposed to enter into a calculation of the proportions of the heavenly city, as set forth in the apocalyptic vision; but, for fear of pride, he had restrained his thoughts. "Christ," he said, "will do all he has ever promised, and we must trust all to him. The great plan of salvation is all fully adjusted

and settled, and God will carry it out to its final completion, and in its full proportions, just as he has determined it in his own infinite mind.” He remarked, at the same time, “We must keep ourselves so armed that Satan cannot reach us. There is one rock on which we can stand and be safe, that is Christ.” “I had entertained the vain idea,” he added, “that I had got Satan so low, that he could not fire a single dart at me ; but I found I was mistaken.” “I have been thinking,” he said further, “how important it is that we be faithful in fulfilling our oath, and bring up the children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. I want our dear young people, that are growing up so fast, to live so near to God, that there may be a constant intercourse between them and heaven—not let their minds be so filled with the vain things of this world.” He said, at the same interview, he had found it very difficult to realize that it was the Sabbath—he had been so long confined to his bed, and kept from church, that every day appeared alike ; but if he should get a little more strength, he should want to have a little prayer-meeting in his room—not preaching, but a little season of prayer and exhortation. “I had hoped,” he added, “that another twenty-four hours would have finished up what God had for me to do ; but God knows best.”

The Monday evening before his death, he had requested that eight of his grandsons then in the city, all about of an age, should come and see him, as

he had some things to say to them ; but he had a repetition that evening of the peculiar hemorrhage connected with his illness, and so failed of his purpose. It may be remarked here, that of his children and grandchildren, ^{twenty five} ~~eighteen~~ have already made a profession of religion.

On the morning of his decease, April 23, he remarked, "I shall go home to-day." When he was evidently struck with death, he said he felt that his earthly tabernacle was fast giving way. He had before requested that when he came near his end, his children should be gathered around his bed. As they were standing there, he said, "Children, I have very little strength." Then, with a holy solemnity and dignity, carrying our thoughts back to the death-scenes of the ancient patriarchs, he added,—“The Lord bless you, and keep you all from the evils of this wicked world, and preserve you for his heavenly kingdom, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.” He then requested that prayer might be offered. After which he said, “Now sing one or two stanzas.” A portion of the hymn, “Oh, where shall rest be found?” was then sung, in which he seemed deeply interested. A few moments before his death, he was asked if his trust was still in Christ alone. He replied with great emphasis, and as if surprised at the inquiry, “Certainly !” Gently and peacefully then passed his spirit to its rest, and the songs of his pilgrimage were exchanged for the songs of glory !

What a re-union has he now with that goodly company of his companions on earth, who had gone before him! How soon has he met again that surviving friend, by whose suddenly occurring obsequies the completion of his own was delayed. A mourner at *his* grave was our brother Huntington. His own stricken widow and children are here in their weeds to-day! Brewster and Dodge—united so lately as elders here, united now forever as kings and priests above—how seldom from a single church, in so brief a space, are two such servants of God called away! Whatever of the divine blessing has attended our enterprize, my brethren, I ascribe, in no small measure, to the prayers and the tears with which they hallowed its very foundations. Let us seek to catch their falling mantle. Let us magnify, as they did, the blessed and immutable Word of God. Be that the standard of all our beliefs; be that the basis of all our hopes. Diligently let us study it, constantly and fully let us illustrate it in our lives. So, when to us the mortal hour shall come, there shall gleam from its pages upon our death-stricken countenances, a light above the brightness of the sun—a light which shall pass soon into the still more glorious effulgence of heaven.

NOTE.

PAGE 29: "*How soon has he met again that surviving friend,*" &c.—
On Friday evening, May 30th, just one week after the decease of Mr. Dodge, Mr. JOSEPH C. HUNTINGTON, the husband of his eldest daughter, died very suddenly of a disease of the heart. In consequence of this event, the foregoing Sermon, which was to have been delivered on the following Sabbath, was postponed to the 9th of June. Mr. Huntington was a man of singularly genial and affectionate temperament, a devoted and exemplary Christian, and an esteemed officer of the church from which he was taken.

A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

REV. CHARLES HALL, D. D.,

DELIVERED IN THE

CITY OF NEW YORK,

SABBATH EVENING, JANUARY 1, 1854.

BY

REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D.,

PASTOR OF THE FOURTEENTH STREET PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

NEW YORK:

PRINTED FOR THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY,
BY BAKER, GODWIN & CO., 1 SPRUCE STREET.

1854.

NEW YORK, Jan. 10, 1854.

REV. ASA D. SMITH, D. D.,

DEAR SIR,

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society, on the 9th instant, the following minute was adopted, viz. :—

“ *Resolved*, That the thanks of the Committee be presented to Rev. ASA D. SMITH, D. D., for his Sermon, preached at their request, commemorative of the character and labors of Rev. CHARLES HALL, D. D., late Secretary of the Society, and that a copy be requested for publication.”

In communicating to you this action of the Committee, you will permit us to express, for them and for ourselves, our deep interest in the Discourse, as a graphic and truthful delineation of the character of our lamented associate, constituting it a fitting and most acceptable memorial to be presented to the missionaries and friends of the Society.

Very truly, yours,

MILTON BADGER,
DAVID B. COE,
Secretaries of the A. H. M. S.

NEW YORK, Jan. 16, 1854.

REV. MESSRS. BADGER AND COE,

Secretaries of the A. H. M. S.

DEAR BRETHREN,

Gratefully acknowledging the kind terms in which you have been pleased to communicate the action of the Executive Committee, I herewith submit to their disposal the Discourse of which they request a copy.

Yours, very truly,

ASA D. SMITH.

DISCOURSE.

— ♦ —

MATT. 6: 22.

IF THEREFORE THINE EYE BE SINGLE, THY WHOLE BODY SHALL BE
FULL OF LIGHT.

THE figure here employed is one of great beauty and expressiveness. A high place does the eye hold, in some respects a chief place, among our various physical organs. In the language of the context, it is "the light of the body." If it be "evil"—in other words, if disease fall upon it; if a film grow over it, so that through its exquisitely moulded casement but a glimmer of daylight steals; or if peccant humors pervade it, so that objects are duplicated to the view, or are blent together in perplexing and painful confusion; then, indeed, is the whole body "full of darkness." All its faculties are used to comparatively little purpose. The odors come to it as from an unknown land; that which the fingers touch is but half apprehended; the ear listens as to sounds from a realm of shadows; the tongue pours forth its utterances as into some cloudy abyss. The work to be done is hidden, and the hands falter at it; the path to be taken is obscured, and the feet stumble in it; the goal sought is wrapt in gloom, and the erring steps fail to reach it. Not so

when the eye is "single;" when in its sound and normal state it discriminates keenly, apprehending every thing in its true proportion and relations. Then have all the other faculties their most facile and effective play. Then is our work disclosed to us, and the way of our feet clearly revealed; and whatever mark or prize we propose to ourselves, stands distinctly forth in its own commanding shape, and secures our intensest and steadiest gaze. Our whole body, then, is "full of light."

What the eye is to the body, that the heart is to the soul. It was of the workings of the heart,—or of the chief desire or governing purpose of the mind,—our Lord had just been speaking; and it was for the further illustration and enforcement of his views, that he called to his aid the peculiar phraseology of the text. He had bidden his disciples beware of earthly affections, so corrupting and debasing in all their influence. He had enjoined upon them a supreme regard for heavenly things, a state of mind so conducive to all that is pure and exalted in character. In the words of the text, under the figure of the eye, the illuminator of the physical man, he represents the heart, considered in its purified state,—with the spiritual discernment which then pertains to it, and the high and holy unity of aim which results from such discernment,—as shedding a heavenly radiance over our whole moral being. Our thoughts are brought, then, by the passage before us, after whatever refinement of interpretation, to the very topic which the plainest reader would naturally find here, the excellence and blessedness of *a true singleness of purpose*,—or, as it is often expressed, of "an eye single to the glory of God."

This high Christian attainment is commended to us, in the first place, as a source of *joy*. Prone though we are to look for happiness to the outward, its chief spring is in our own bosoms. Of the soul it may be ever said,

“If right itself, then all around is well;
If wrong, it makes of all without a hell.”

Nay, when the seat of variant and contending affections, it is itself a hell. Of such affections it must ever be more or less the prey, while diverted from its proper center, God. Selfish desires and passions, while they war often with each other, must all unite in warring with conscience. A dreary sense of unrest there must be; distressful gnawings of remorse; and fearful foreshadowings of coming evil. Nor is all this limited to men of avowed worldliness. The hours of gloom and despondency which chequer the pathway of so many Christians, have their origin mainly in a secret consciousness of divided affections. He whose eye is single, on the contrary, cannot but experience the purest and profoundest joy. He may have many trials; in his peculiar mood of mind there may be little of boisterous exultation; the very framework of his physical being may be such, that raptures are hardly possible to him. But there shall be in his heart serene depths of bliss, infinitely dearer than all earthly gladness. Living *on* God, his soul must be satisfied. Living *to* God, he shall have the testimony of a good conscience. By no secret stings of self-reproach, by the thwarting of no selfish plans, by the dashing in pieces of no cherished idols, shall his peace be marred.

Nor is his “whole body” full of the light of joy alone. The radiance of *wisdom* is there. Nothing can be judged of aright, except as seen in its legitimate

relations. You were but a babbler to talk of a planet of the solar system, with no regard to the central orb. So the Scriptures pronounce him practically a fool, who lays his general plans of life, and settles the oft occurring particular points of conduct, with no controlling reference to the glory of God. To aim at that, is to fall in with the broadest wisdom. It is not only to harmonize with the nature God has given us, but with all other natures. It is to run, parallel with all the lines of Providence; it is to move in the light of all the suns of all the systems of worlds; nay, it is to walk in the light of the glorious Sun of the universe.

There is a divine *beauty*, too, in a true singleness of purpose. The charm of love is there, love too intense to be diverted from its object. The lofty grace of rectitude is before us; for the glorifying of God is but simple righteousness. All that is attractive in godliness is involved; for unless there be in you a likeness to God, you will not thus cleave to him. A captivating symmetry presents itself. The character, both mental and moral, must, in the absence of the trait we dwell on, be either partially formed, or sadly distorted. It is with the one great Christian aim alone,—that aim which, in its necessary scope, embraces the whole duty of man,—that you have before you, duly developed, the whole man. It is only thus, too, you copy that highest conceivable form of human loveliness, the character of Christ. All the lines of beauty in that character had their center in the glory of God; in that convergency lay the chief element of their beauty. “I seek not mine own glory,” said Jesus; “I honor my Father.” And in his last prayer with his disciples he exclaimed, as summing up his more than angelic life,—“I have glorified thee on the earth.”

We might pass, indeed, beyond the region of mere beauty, and affirm of the aspect of character under consideration the highest *sublimity*. It is sublime, in relation to the object contemplated—an object lofty as the throne of God, vast as the divine nature. What, compared with it, are our trivial names, or the petty interests of a world,—or, if it were possible to discriminate, the well-being of the whole creation even? In contrast with the simple but exalted aim that fills the Christian's eye, the proudest exploits of the mere worldling, be they deeds of martial daring, or feats of statesmanship, or whatever heroic achievements have adorned the tablet of earthly fame, shrink into insignificance. There is, besides, a certain subjective dignity in a single hearted working for God—the dignity of the worker himself. A firm, unbending purpose, in spite of all possible oppositions and seductions; a purpose maintained amid whatever tears, and toils, and sacrifices; a purpose that lives on while other aims, by myriads, are born and die, is in itself sublime. The attribute of sublimity can hardly be abstracted from resoluteness of will, even when the chosen motto is, "Evil, be thou my good." How much more, when all evil is repudiated, and the soul's vision is filled with all that is majestic in infinite goodness!

To singleness of purpose, I add only, belongs, pre-eminently, the element of *power*. That element could not but result, indeed, from the confluence of all the others we have named. It comes, too, from the very continuity of effort. The flinty rock feels, at length, the force of the unbroken series of tiny drops. There is power in the coral insect,—little and frail enough, yet ever toiling,—to break in pieces the huge ship at last. Much more is power evolved, when the

high faculties of man's nature are all combined, and persistently concentrated. Weakness comes often of the mere dissipation of strength—of the diversions and distractions to which men needlessly subject themselves. Let a man have but one generic purpose, and that the true one; let it run, as a line of heavenly light, through all his scheme of life; let him meet with a stern denial all solicitations from whatever plain of Ono; and let his face be set as a flint to do with his might whatever his hand findeth to do; then, however lowly may be his estimate of himself, however quiet and unpretending the method of his working, he shall wield a power unknown to many a more ambitious career. He shall leave deep traces of his influence, however unostentatiously graven, on the generation that survive him; and more and more shall it be seen, in the lapse of years, how much better the world is for his having lived in it.

The train of thought we have thus indicated, has been suggested, it has doubtless occurred to you, by one of the saddest events in the history of the year just departed. It is, indeed, no strange thing, at the close of a twelvemonth, to think of precious names enrolled in the list of its dead—names dear to the church, and prominently connected with all its schemes of beneficence. From our great national Associations for evangelical purposes, beloved Secretaries have, from time to time, been removed. We call to mind the devoted and far-seeing EVARTS; the large-hearted and indefatigable CORNELIUS; the wise and earnest WISNER; the spiritually-minded and fervent ARMSTRONG; the loving, patient and laborious NORTON. But, for the first time in the history of these societies, has a man of God been

called away, whose whole public life, and that of more than a quarter of a century, has been identified with one of them; who began with its beginning, and grew with its growth; all the tissues of his character interweaving themselves with its whole structure. On such an occasion, something more becomes us, we judge, than merely to utter in private our sense of bereavement. It is fitting, surely—not on his account, for he hath higher rewards than we can give, and would hardly turn from his Saviour's smile to listen to our poor praises—but for our own sake, and for the sake of the great interests to which he devoted himself, that we gather here this evening for this more public commemoration. And now that we speak of him, what topic better suited to our purpose than that the text suggests? What aspect of character was more exactly his? As, by the aid of his private journal and letters, added to my own remembrances, and the testimony of surviving acquaintances and friends, I have traced his course from his boyhood to his decease; as the young Christian—the collegian—the theological student—the minister—the secretary, have successively passed before me; as from the public relations he sustained among us, I have turned to the more private,—sitting with him again in the family—walking with him again to the house of God—communing with him again in the circle of christian brethren; no other passage of the Bible has seemed so to sum up his life and labors. I could think of no other as my theme. In his whole life, there was, indeed, a holy and blessed unity. Everywhere, and at all times, his eye was “single;” and for us, for his family and friends, for the church of God, and for a perishing world, his “whole body” was “full of light!”

The Rev. CHARLES HALL, D. D., was born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, June 23, 1799. His father, who some years since departed this life, was a man of strong, well-balanced mind, retiring in his manners, of singular integrity, and of simple, intelligent and child-like piety. His mother, who still lives, and of whom we may not, therefore, speak at large, possesses, it is believed, some of those very traits of character, that clearness of discrimination and independence of judgment, especially, which were so fully developed in her son. She, also, is a Christian. Charles, the first-born, was solemnly and formally dedicated to God, and whatever of divine grace has shone out in his life, may be reckoned among the innumerable testimonials to the faithfulness of a covenant-keeping God. While he was yet in his infancy, the family removed to Geneva, in this State ; and there, amid all the felicitous influences of a religious household, and a highly privileged christian community, a large part of his boyhood and youth was spent.

Charles was a modest, amiable boy, uniformly correct in his deportment. He early exhibited a decided taste and aptness for study. It is remembered that he first learned to read, at two or three years of age, by tracing the letters and words on the sign-boards in the village. He was not only remarkably conscientious in childhood ; but, at a very early period, he evidently experienced the awakening influences of the divine Spirit. When only about five years old, as he himself has related, a little book, called "A Token for Children," fell into his hands, and the reading of it much impressed him. He had had a child's self-righteousness, thus far, having trusted in the prayers he had been taught to offer, and in his general propriety of

conduct. Now, a sense of sin and of danger possessed him, and he began to cry with new earnestness for pardon. Soon, however, his attention was in a measure drawn to other things, and his solicitude subsided. From this time to the period of his conversion,—as I learn from a minute and very discriminating narrative, written by himself when about twenty-one years of age,—he was subject to various alternations of feeling—never wholly at ease, often much disturbed. Now his thoughts would be diverted by play, by study, and by romantic reading, and he would either shun the pages which had troubled his conscience, or peruse them with a stern purpose not to be moved. “I well remember,” he says, “that about my sixth year, I commenced arithmetic, and found a relief from my concern of mind, in the pleasure which the solution of even a simple sum could give me.” Again, good books, the pious instructions of his parents, and the winning conversation of his aged minister—who, like his Master, it seems, took much interest in children—availed to re-awaken his fears, and put him upon a new course of effort. At one time, he determined to pray every half hour during the day, and for a short time faithfully performed the task, taking no little complacency, as he intimates, in this extraordinary course of devotion. At another period, convinced that he must come to Christ, and that in order to do so, he must have a deeper sense of sin, he would spend whole days “in thinking over the commandments,” in order to see the guilt of his life in the comparison. “I labored, and toiled, and tugged,” he adds, “to have it in my power to say, ‘I am now ready to believe, I have convicted myself, I am now fit to come.’” So he went on to his thirteenth year. In connection with family worship—a suggestive fact—his

impressions were then deepened, and he gave himself to religious duties with new earnestness, and with a sort of delight; yet without cherishing, or, in his own subsequent judgment, having reason to cherish, the christian hope. By diversities of feeling much like the foregoing, several succeeding years were marked. When about sixteen, he engaged in school-teaching, and under a sense of duty, and in spite of no little derision and persecution, prayed with his pupils. Forbidden by my limits to give at greater length his own analytic and characteristic account of these preliminary religious exercises, suffice it to say, that I see in them, in many points of view, "the seeds of things." He was increasing constantly in religious knowledge. He was acquiring, with a thoroughness which affected his whole subsequent life, a knowledge of his own heart, and by consequence of human nature. And if that oft-quoted remark of Coleridge be true, as to the tendency of our spiritual conflicts to "awaken the faculty and form the habit of *reflection*," he was constantly making progress in the best kind of intellectual discipline.

His final and joyful submission to the terms of salvation, was at the age of eighteen. The last struggles of the unhumiliated heart were of the most marked character. "I took up my Bible," he says, "which always lay on my writing desk, and tried to read it, but could not. My thoughts dwelt only on my own dismal situation, and refused attention to anything else. The conviction of my guilt seemed now complete. I saw that I was a sinner, in the widest sense of the word. But it was not the conviction which is connected with godly sorrow. I could not brook it that all my doings should be at last but filthy rags. I murmured and found fault with God, for not converting me as well as

others; and while my reason and all my mental powers approved the sovereignty of God, my heart rose against it, and such a malignant feeling of opposition to the supremacy of his will possessed me, as makes me almost shudder at the recollection." This was the last tumult of rebellion in his soul. At the voice of Jesus, as on Galilee, the stormy waves subsided, and "there was a great calm." "O what a change!" said he, referring to his altered views of the character and ways of God. "Everything seemed new and interesting. I was surprised and delighted with so fine a theme of thought; and, as I pursued my reflections, the plan of salvation—God's dealings with me—the love of Christ—seemed to be topics enough for the universe to talk of. All these things were so sweet, so mild, so proper; the sublime truths of religion, of whose excellence I had before but a speculative conviction, now seemed so glorious, so important, and crowded in such magnificent forms upon my narrow mind, that I felt bewildered among them. Myself, too, so poor and unworthy! No language could do my feelings justice. It was some time before I recovered myself, and then the first sentiment of my heart was, 'Lord, it is enough! I will love thee. I will not murmur any longer. All is right. Do with me as seemeth good in thy sight!'" Then, for the first time, the obscurations of sin removed, his "single eye" was filled with the glory of God. Then was struck the key-note, not of his whole subsequent life merely, but of that anthem which he is singing now in the world of glory!

It was an early cherished desire of the parents of Dr. Hall, that he should devote himself to the ministry. Partly, it may be, from a knowledge of their views, but quite as much, probably, from his love of

learning, and the serious cast of his mind, his own thoughts, even for a considerable period before the change just related, had taken the same direction. His design was favored, especially after his conversion, by the excellent Dr. Axtell, pastor of the church in Geneva, in connection with which, in the year 1817, he made a profession of religion. His pastor had, indeed, ever taken much interest in him, having early perceived his unusual promise. The circumstances of his father were such, however, that he could render him but little aid in the prosecution of his studies. He was thrown mainly upon his own resources. Though a severe trial, this was well, doubtless, so far as the formation of his character was concerned. He learned to "endure hardness"—to rely on himself—to encounter and surmount obstacles. He was the better able, in subsequent years, to sympathize, not with the indigent student alone, but with the home missionary, toiling amid manifold privations and hardships. His preparation for College was accomplished under great difficulties. For one winter, at least, I have been credibly informed, his grammar and Virgil were studied by the light of blazing pine knots, in a lonely mill, on the outlet of Conesus Lake. Here, while the machinery he tended was doing its work, he would pursue, as he could, his intellectual task; and long after the laboring wheel had ceased its motion, he would bend still, by his rude lamp, over the classic page. His eye was "single," then; it was the hope of glorifying God, as a minister and a missionary, that urged him on. An incident has been related to me, which I cannot forbear to repeat, as illustrating, in many points, his history at that period. The avails of his labor in the mill, were to form his outfit for Col-

lege; but knowing how inadequate it would be, his sympathizing father made him a visit during the winter, bringing with him a bank bill, saved at home by economy and self-denial, for the purpose of helping on the beloved son and brother. It was at the close of the day he arrived, and they spent the evening together. Both were deeply affected, as the gift was delivered; for it was an offering, both knew, which had cost much, and it was consecrated to a holy purpose. They sat by the fireside—that father and son—talking long and earnestly, and when, at length, they rose to retire, the bank note was missing. Charles remembered taking it, and holding it in his hand, and thought he had put it in his pocket; but it was not there. Returning to the fireplace, he discovered a little piece of it lying on the hearth. As he had been absorbed in conversation, it had fallen from his hand, and all but a mere fragment been reduced to ashes. Thus, by a new disappointment, was his faith tried, a disappointment the more severe, as it trod on the heels of such newly-awakened gladness and gratitude. Dr. Hall has often referred to this incident; and trivial though it may seem in some points of view, it cannot be doubted that, in the memories and colloquies of father and son in heaven now, a place is found for that gift and that loss in the old mill at Conesus.

Having prepared himself in the studies of the Freshman year, Dr. Hall entered Hamilton College, as Sophomore, in 1821. With great energy and self-denial did he here hold on his way. I have heard touching statements in regard to weary journeys performed by him on foot, and other economical expedients, designed to suit his outgoes to his limited means; expedients involving sometimes, perhaps, too

great a degree of hardship, yet ever illustrating his holy singleness of purpose. He acquitted himself most creditably in all the walks of scholarship; and graduated in 1824, with the first honors of his class. Rejoicing to near the goal of his fondest wishes, he entered, in the autumn of the same year, the Princeton Theological Seminary. Here he remained, earnestly and successfully prosecuting his studies, endearing himself to all his associates, and commending, in his daily deportment, the Gospel he was preparing to proclaim, until, having nearly reached the close of the three years' course, he was called to that field of labor, in which, as it proved, his great life-work was to be done.

The American Home Missionary Society was then in the first year of its existence. That broad river, which has sent a fertilizing influence over so many wastes, was formed by the confluence of various streams. It were interesting and instructive, had we time, to trace each to its distant source. There was the United Domestic Missionary Society, having its center in this city, itself constituted by the union of several smaller Societies; two, at least, of which—Young Men's Associations—had their origin, as reliable tradition affirms, in a Young Men's Prayer Meeting. Some zealous young disciples met for prayer; it was natural to connect with it their alms; and, as natural that, for the wise disposal of those alms, an organization should be provided. This one organization, in the course of Providence, became two. There was the old Connecticut Missionary Society, which, as early as 1798, began to care for the new settlements. There was the Massachusetts Society, formed but a year later in Boston, by a number of benevolent persons—

“a small group,” it is said, “which the smallest public room in the city would suffice to accommodate.” There were the State Societies, also, of Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode Island. These had all been laboring to good purpose in their several spheres; but it occurred to some of the wisest friends of evangelical effort, that in union there would be strength, especially in a union which should involve a needed enlargement of aim. The growing wants of our country, and the immeasurable importance of its thorough evangelization, were becoming more and more apparent. Nothing less must be attempted, it was felt, than to follow, with gospel institutions, the ever deepening tide of emigration, until the length and breadth of the land should be hallowed and gladdened by them. So, by a Convention, composed mainly of the friends of the various Societies which have been named, assembled in the city of New York, in the year 1826, that National Association was formed, whose sore bereavement has gathered us here this evening.

It has been already intimated, that Dr. Hall's feelings were early interested in the work of missions. It was his design, at first, if God should open the way, to consecrate himself to the foreign field. Before he entered College, when Bingham and Thurston were preparing to go to the Sandwich Islands, he had serious thoughts, in view of the difficulty of prosecuting his studies, of going with them as a teacher. While a member of College, he remarked, at one time, to an aged friend with whom he had been conversing about the heathen world, “I am almost afraid they will all be converted before I am permitted to carry to them the Gospel.” These missionary aspirations accompanied him to the Theological Seminary. His

thoughts were even turned, at one time, to a particular field, that region of all hallowed associations,

“Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which, eighteen hundred years ago, were nailed,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.”

Nor did he relinquish all designs of this sort, until he became fully satisfied, that in the high sphere of duty to which Providence called him in our own land, he could labor more effectually for the promotion of that one great end which engaged his whole heart, the universal upbuilding of the Redeemer's kingdom. In whatever change of plan, the “eye single” was still manifest.

It was in March, 1827, Dr. Hall was called to the office of Assistant Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society. In the autumn of 1837, he was appointed one of the Co-ordinate Secretaries for Correspondence; in which office he continued until his death. It was early apparent, that he had singular adaptations to the department of labor on which he had entered. His eminent piety fitted him for it; his entire devotedness to his Master's service, and his special interest in the great work of missions. None who knew him, could call in question, even in periods most rife with partisan jealousy, his simplicity of purpose. To the unsectarian platform of the Society, and to the meeting of those exigencies, which conflicting opinions and interests would, at times, occasion, the marked catholicity of his spirit, together with the habitual gentleness and kindness of his demeanor, was happily suited. He had, indeed, his private denominational preferences; he would forbid such preferences to no one. But as an officer of the Home Missionary Society,—nay, in his inmost heart,—the object which

towered above every other, was the spreading of the knowledge of a crucified Saviour.—The cast of his intellect fitted him for his work. He had great clearness of judgment; his mind was comprehensive, well balanced, and strikingly logical in its habits; he had an almost unrivaled discernment of character. This last trait was early developed. In a private communication of his to an intimate friend, written at about the age of twenty-one, I find an analytic sketch of the personal peculiarities of a number of individuals with whom he was temporarily residing, which, for clearness of conception, exactness of discrimination and graphic skill, forcibly reminds one of some of his later performances. In this specimen of word-painting, a transcript of his thinking, touch succeeded touch, not one, apparently, at random or amiss, till the whole family group, each figure having its own peculiar lineaments, is distinctly bodied forth. Largely as the Home Missionary Society is concerned with men, and injurious as wrong estimates of character may prove, it is easy to see how serviceable to its interests must have been this quickness and keenness of apprehension. In a quiet conversation, when the person concerned had little thought, perhaps, of the processes of which he was the subject, Dr. Hall would often take his measure and calibre, as accurately, almost, as if he had known him for a lifetime. He doubtless sometimes mistook, for to err is human; but those who knew him best were ever slow to dissent from his deliberate judgments. He was a man of method, too, and of punctilious exactness in all business concerns. He was a genial fellow-laborer—unselfish, appreciative, considerate, sympathizing. I listened, recently, to affecting testimony from the lips of the first Secretary of the Society, the Rev. Dr. Peters, with whom Dr. Hall acted as Assistant,

touching the tender cordiality of the relations which subsisted between them; and with tearful utterances is like testimony borne by the now surviving Secretaries. He was a reliable man. Mild, indeed, he was in manners, and gentle in speech; of such demeanor, at times, that a stranger might almost have thought him timid or vacillating. He was wisely compliant, if occasion required it, on unimportant points. Yet when a matter of principle was in hand, when he was evidently called to take his stand for truth and righteousness, then, whoever or whatever might oppose, he was steadfast and unmovable.

Intimately connected with his usefulness, was his high appreciation of the work in which he was engaged. To say that it was linked, in his view, with the great end for which he lived, the advancement of the Redeemer's cause, was to do but partial justice to his convictions. Its connection with that end was, in his soberest judgment, of no ordinary sort. He loved all good enterprises. To the whole round of evangelical charities, he gave ever his sympathies and his prayers. He would unduly disparage no one of them. But it was by the foolishness of preaching, chiefly, he judged, the world was to be saved. The gospel ministry held, to his apprehension, a chief place in the circle of beneficent agencies. Little, comparatively, he believed, could be accomplished without it. Other forms of influence are not to be intermitted; if used wisely and in godly sincerity, the divine blessing will not be withheld. Yet is the pulpit, God's institution, suited with divine skill to man's nature; not to this or that particular time, or place, or character, or condition, but to man as man; to man in all circumstances and all ages. Other appliances are as the scanty draughts of water borne from afar to the travelers fainting on the

desert. The pulpit is as the refreshing fountain gushing forth at their feet. Establish the gospel ministry in a destitute place, and all other fitting instrumentalities shall cluster around it, and derive support from it. To all good machinery it shall be the permanent main-spring. With these views of the ministry, were connected, in his thinking, the most enlarged conceptions of the importance of our country as a field of evangelical effort. He had pondered its history; he had studied deeply its capacities and resources; with a clear and comprehensive foresight, he had contemplated its unfolding destinies. His eye had swept over the vast plains of the West, even to the shores of the Pacific. Deep had answered to deep, as he mused; and with these ocean-murmurs, the voices of the many millions had mingled, who at no remote period are to throng what now are wide spread solitudes. Nor, deeply patriotic though he was, had he thought as a patriot merely. His motto was, Our country, not for its own sake alone, but for the sake of the world. He marked, with unutterable interest, its increasing power. He saw it the center and the glory of all lands. He beheld it, affecting more and more, through the channels of commerce, of diplomacy, of travel, of literature, of various evangelism, the whole family of man. He noted the deepening tide of emigration, bringing to us, representatively, the whole world; binding us by new ties of sympathy to all the nations, and opening before us a thousand new channels of influence. He was convinced not only that the hope of universal liberty was suspended on the perpetuity of our free institutions, but that the spiritual interests of the world depended greatly, under God, on the maintenance and diffusion here of the pure and untrammelled forms of

Christianity, bequeathed to us by our godly ancestors. Let infidelity prevail here, and the note of its triumph shall be a note of woe to the nations. Let our land become Immanuel's; a land of Bibles and Sabbaths, and faithful preachers of the Gospel, and humble worshipers of God; and over all lands the chariot of salvation shall speed on its way. Such were his convictions; and it was with such great thoughts, stretching from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth,—yea, reaching up to the throne of God, and down into the eternal ages,—that he gave to the Home Missionary work both the dew of his youth and the vigor of his manhood. It was under the influence of such considerations that he toiled on, with a diligence never remitted, with a zeal that never waxed cold, with a concentration of mind that would scarce admit of needful relaxation, till, worn out at length, he lay down in the grave.

Few persons are aware of the amount and the severity of labor devolved on the Secretaries—I might say of all our great benevolent Associations, but I am now mainly concerned to say—of the American Home Missionary Society. Think of the pulpit appeals to be made, and the platform addresses; and the frequent presentations before various ecclesiastical bodies. Think of the plans to be laid for the advancement of the Society's fiscal interests; and of the various uses of the press for the enforcement of its claims. Think of the examination of proposed fields that becomes necessary; the consideration, at times, of conflicting claims; and, especially, the careful scrutiny of character so often required. Think of the supervision,—not ecclesiastical, for that is not assumed,—the general and appropriate supervision of more than a thousand missionaries; men

of various peculiarities, at various points, having various difficulties to contend with, and obliged often to roll heavy burdens on the officers of the Society. Think of the more than one hundred letters received weekly, many of them not only requiring answers at length, but embracing questions of a delicate and trying nature, questions calling for not a little deliberation and investigation. Think—if secular life may help me to an illustration—of a firm of three partners, having more than a thousand agents, in as many scattered places, all doing an important and complicated business; and you may be helped to an apprehension of the burdens which, in common with his associates, our departed brother bore. In the line of public speaking, indeed, he did not largely engage. In the view of all who valued chiefly richness and spirituality of thought, in pure and forcible diction, he was an able preacher. But his physical frame was feeble, and his voice had little compass. He judged it best, therefore, that in the necessary division of duties, his should be chiefly those of the pen and of the office. That judicious, well-arranged, tasteful and most effective publication, the “Home Missionary,” has, for a large part of its lifetime, been mainly edited by him. Indefatigable were his efforts, through that work and other channels, to enlighten and arouse the public mind in regard to the importance of the Home Missionary enterprise. Among his labors in this direction, I may name prominently, that little pamphlet called “Our Country,” first embraced mainly in the Society’s periodical, and afterwards published by the Executive Committee in a separate form. Unpretending though this pamphlet is, I know no more impressive embodiment of considerations and facts on the subject of which it treats. It has been a thesaurus of material

from which many others have drawn ; and has exerted a wide-spread and powerful influence in behalf of the evangelization of our land. In the correspondence of the Society, a sphere of effort less patent, of course, to the public eye, Dr. Hall's labors were not less felicitous or useful. On any subject, and for any purpose, he wrote both readily and well. His style was characterized by the most perfect clearness ; not a particle of mist ever hovered over his pages. He had a nice and cultivated rhetorical taste, too ; and there was, in no small measure, beauty as well as strength in his periods. Many of the papers he was called to prepare in the line of official duty, are models of their kind. In correspondence, however, an important part of the duties of the Secretariat, and one to which he had occasion much to addict himself, he seemed peculiarly at home, and all his varied powers were called into most effective exercise. Here, some have judged, was his forte. In his more private letters, I am sure, there was not only good logic and all christian wisdom, but a lithe and buoyant play of intellect, an out-pouring of the heart, a variety, and freshness, and often brilliancy of style, seldom equaled. Now a condensed and pithy statement would arrest your attention ; now an apt and striking figure ; now a fine descriptive touch ; now an outburst of most heavenly emotion. In every direction, the brightest gems of thought and feeling were scattered. I remember a characteristic expression of admiration, called forth from the late Professor Stuart, some twenty years ago, as he had occasion to listen to certain striking passages in some private letters of Dr. Hall. The same general characteristics, though possibly in lower degree, pertained to his official letters. Many a perplexing and embarrassing difficulty has been disposed

of by his skillful, but honest and transparent diplomacy. To the soul of many a weary, troubled, faint-hearted missionary, his discreet and genial words—his utterances especially of the spirit of Christ—have brought light and consolation. They have been—words “fitly spoken”—“as apples of gold in pictures of silver”—nerving the spirit, amid whatever difficulties, to intenser effort and a loftier courage. If to all these forms of efficiency, we add that wisdom in counsel, which grew out of the native characteristics of his mind, his christian spirit, his long official experience, and his varied knowledge of men and things; you see, in the outline, what he was to the Society, and what a breach God has made upon us in his removal from earth.

Shall we speak of the results of his labors? Eternity only can fully unfold them; yet something may be said even now. He found the Society in its infancy; he left it in vigorous manhood. I overlook not nor disparage what others have done; their praise is on earth and their reward shall be on high. I speak of what no one man could accomplish alone; but of what he, by God's grace, had an important part in achieving. He found the Society with one hundred and ninety six missionaries; he left it with nearly eleven hundred. He found it with a revenue of eighteen thousand dollars; he left it with an income of one hundred and seventy thousand. He found it just entering on the work of evangelizing the Great Valley; ere he left it, it had aided in planting the standard of the cross on the shores of the Pacific. Ask you for results? Sum up, if you can, what the American Home Missionary Society has accomplished. Call up to your mind's eye the one hundred and twenty thousand souls that have been gathered into missionary churches—aye, listen to the harpings of

many of them before the throne of God. Think of the hundreds of young men who, in such churches, have had their thoughts turned to the ministry, many of whom are now preaching the Gospel. Think of the Sabbath school influences which have been sent forth, and the influences in favor of temperance and of all good morality. Think of the power which has been wielded for the shaping aright, and the duly cementing, of the foundations of society; nay, for the rearing aright of the social edifice. Think of all these potencies in their marvelous progression, in their ever-widening sweep of beneficence, as the tide of time rolls on! I would not, I repeat it, give undue prominence to the labors of our glorified brother. Could he speak to us from his heights of bliss, he would forbid my doing so. He who, in his lowliness, felt at times as if his life had been "a failure," would love to magnify what his fellow laborers have done, and to exalt, above all, the power and grace of Christ. Yet, if we speak of instruments, was he not, in all we have adverted to, one of the chief? As, at the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, in the noble cathedral of which he was the architect, we read this significant inscription, "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice*,"—"If you seek his monument, look around;"—so, may we not say, For our brother's best memorial, look over our land. In every church formed or fostered by the agency of this Society, from the lakes to the Gulf, and from the highlands of Maine to the land of gold,—in every waste that church has reclaimed and beautified,—you behold his monument!

Nor were his beneficent labors confined to his official sphere. Some there are, whose goodness is so limited, that you can scarce help regarding it as perfunctory. Away from a certain post, or out of a certain range of prescribed service, they become as other men.

It was not so with Dr. Hall. The same heart that throbbed in the Home Missionary office, he bore about with him everywhere. His eye was ever "single;" he had everywhere the missionary spirit. It was not strange, therefore, that on connecting himself with the Society, and especially after his union with her, who, having been the partner of his joys and sorrows from almost the commencement of his public life, still lives to mourn her loss, he should take a deep interest in the spiritual necessities of the great city where his lot, both as a missionary secretary and as the head of a family, was cast.

While the Allen Street Presbyterian Church, then called a mission church, was yet in its infancy, and in great feebleness, he largely concerned himself in its affairs. With an eye to doing good, he transferred his family to it; and his presence, his sympathy, his counsel, and other personal services, were greatly helpful in carrying it through its period of early embarrassment. It was in part owing, I believe, to that discernment of character, of which we have spoken, that the Allen Street church secured, at length, the pastoral services of the late excellent and eminent Dr. White. That church brought, with the divine blessing, into good condition, Dr. Hall turned his thoughts to another field. Impressed with the spiritual wants of the eastern section of the city, he made arrangements to establish a preaching station at the place where the Brainerd Church was subsequently formed; of which movement that church was the result. Though others co-operated with him, he was the chief agent in the new enterprise. Leaving the Allen Street congregation, his family connected themselves with it. Of the earnestness and efficiency with which he labored to advance it, you may

learn something from his own words. Writing to a friend, at an early stage of its history, he says: "On Christmas day, I sat down and drew up a statement and appeal on behalf of a large section of the city, peculiarly favorable to evangelical effort, and addressed it to four good men; told them the sacrifices they would have to make in coming to take hold of the work of building up a church there, and then told them *to decline if they dare*. Well, our good people have been praying ever since; and I have strong hopes that two of the four, will, at considerable expense of convenience, money, and dear old associations, remove their residences to that section of the city, and bear the burden of the congregation." Among the men, who, by these or other like influences, were drawn to the new church, were Harlan Page and Joseph Brewster. Of others, still living, I may not speak. Largely concerned was Dr. Hall in all the work of laying the foundations of the Brainerd Church; and whatever good may have resulted from it, or shall yet accrue from organizations and enterprises which it has either partly or wholly originated, may be in no small measure ascribed to his agency.

May I be pardoned here a brief personal testimony? It was in that church, young and inexperienced, I began my ministry. I was an inmate of his family. He was my senior in years, and in the ministry; my confidant, and my kind and wise counselor. He was my hearer; and some of my dearest remembrances of him are in that relation. You have a sure clue to the religious character of a man, if you do but know the quality of his hearing. From intimate acquaintance, I understood the cast and compass of his intellect; its large demands, and its capacity for searching and even

scathing criticism. Advice I had, as it was needed, given in the most felicitous manner; but when I rose up in his presence to utter the word of God, it was no cold-hearted captious censor that sat before me; it was a little child in Christ Jesus. When I left the desk, burdened, perhaps, with the thought, that little had been done for the spiritual benefit of the people, it would be no strange thing if my heart was soothed by some such remark from his lips, as, "It will do us good; it was just what we needed." Not the lowliest member of the flock could have received with greater meekness "the ingrafted word." Very pleasant wast thou unto me, my brother, friend of my earlier and my later days; and pleasant shall it be to review those scenes of the past, in our blessed re-union before the throne of God!

A not dissimilar testimony have other pastors borne, with whose congregations it was the lot of our departed brother to be connected. Nowhere was he merely an indifferent spectator. His whole soul flowed forth in the services of the sanctuary; he delighted in the gathering for social prayer; he took a lively interest in whatever related to the conversion of souls, or to the edifying of God's people. Especially did he take pleasure in laboring for the upbuilding of new or feeble congregations. Declarations to this effect, the most emphatic, did some of us hear at his funeral, from the Pastor of the High Street Church, in Newark, the Rev. Mr. Poor, with whose congregation his family have, for several years, been connected. In the same strain speaks the Rev. Dr. Condit, formerly of Newark. "I think of him," he says, in a recent letter, "when a worshiper in the Second Church; where he so often indicated his sympathy with the preacher and the truth,

now with a countenance lighted up with joy, and now with a tear, not less expressive, perhaps, of inward joyous emotion. That connection with him was ever pleasant to me. By no look, or word, or act, did he do aught but cheer me."

By still other forms of excellence and usefulness, is the memory of Dr. Hall endeared to us. One of the best presentations of the duty of "Systematic Benevolence," that have ever been given to the public, was a Report on that subject, originally prepared by him for the Synod of New York and New Jersey, and afterwards published with a valuable appendix. It is clear, scriptural and comprehensive, embracing, indeed—*multum in parvo*, as it is—the substance of nearly all that has been wisely written on the subject. At an early date in his public life, he commenced, and continued for a time, carefully husbanding his moments of leisure for the purpose, and trenching often upon the hours that should have been given to sleep, an exegetical work of a serial character, called the "Daily Verse Expositor." While he was a good general scholar, striving ever to keep abreast with the age, he specially excelled in biblical studies. He loved and magnified God's word; and delighted in whatever tended to shed light on its pages. The work just referred to was, for the purpose it had in view, that of condensed, simple, yet accurate annotation, admirably executed. To Biblical Archæology, he gave much attention. With the geography of the Holy Land, especially, he was uncommonly familiar. You might have suspected this direction of his studies, from a glance at the pictures suspended upon the walls of his dwelling. There is one there still, hanging by his silent, yet speaking portrait, a view of Jerusalem,—which, though correct enough in the estimation of most

intelligent persons, was to his apprehension quite faulty. "That is a good view," said a missionary from Palestine to him once. "No!" he promptly replied, "it is not a good one;" and he soon convinced the man who had been favored, above himself, with a personal observation of the original, that the picture was inaccurate. When Dr. Robinson was about to publish that invaluable work, his "Biblical Researches," so deeply interested was Dr. Hall in it, and so eager to possess himself of its treasures, that he actually begged of the author the privilege of perusing the sheets, as they successively issued from the press. I have been recently assured by Dr. Robinson, that he found no other man in América so deeply interested in the geography of Palestine, or so well acquainted with it. He not only prepared an appropriate notice of the "Biblical Researches," for one of our leading religious papers, but wrote, also, an extended and able review of it, for the "Biblical Repository."

If we pass from his public relations and labors to the inner circle of his excellences, to his private christian virtues, his social and domestic affections and habits, we find his character still one harmonious whole. He was in all things eminently conscientious—careful to encroach upon no man's rights, to render unto all their dues, and above all, to "render unto God the things that are God's." Especially remarkable was his strictness in keeping holy the Sabbath. Neither by labor, by recreation, nor by travel, under whatever urgency of temptation, would he desecrate the blessed day of God. After a week's toil in a narrow room in the crowded city, he would resolutely decline walking in his garden on that day, however solicited by the early flowers, the Spring birds, and the balmy air. He would avoid

the very appearance of evil; he would not even seem to saunter away the holy hours. On his return from his tour in Europe, the ship that bore him arrived at the wharf, in this city, on Sabbath morning. His family were at Newark; a little more than half an hour's ride in the cars would have taken him there. His affectionate heart yearned to greet them; but it was the Lord's Day, and his eye was still "single." So he tarried in the city until Monday, "and rested the Sabbath day, according to the commandment." How he delighted in congenial society; how affectionate, and courteous, and winning were all his ways there; what a charm his intelligent, sprightly, and yet christian-like conversation imparted to the social circle; there are many present who need not be told. How careful he was to injure no man's feelings; how prompt to heal a wound which had been undesignedly made; how ready he was to enter on the most spiritual themes, and with what unction he would dilate on them, opening to you the very portals of his heart; how forward he was to rejoice with those that rejoice, and to weep with those that weep; how faithful he was in reproof, and how kind withal; what love for souls possessed him, and with what holy earnestness and perseverance he would labor, often, to lead individuals to the Saviour; on these, and other like traits, I may not enlarge. According to his limited means—yea, and beyond them frequently—he was a liberal man. Many of the sons and daughters of poverty rise up and call him blessed. Especially did he take pleasure, remembering his own early embarrassments, in aiding worthy but indigent students for the ministry. "The assistance he gave me," says one, now preaching the Gospel, "in my efforts to gain an education, was most substantial, and

was always bestowed with a cheerfulness and delicacy that made the gift doubly welcome, and constituted him a *model giver*."

It is scarcely fitting, that I should enter the sanctuary of his domestic affections. Yet it is impossible to do justice to his character without adverting briefly to the depth of his tenderness, and the varied forms of his fidelity there. Home was a charmed word to him. There, next to the throne of grace, was his heart's dearest refuge and resting-place. How, in his journeyings—especially in his European tour—did his soul often pine for it; how solitary did he feel himself! Amid the attractions of London, he writes in his journal: "Felt sad—I greatly need sympathy. I have been so long accustomed to pour out my heart into the ear of listening affection, and to have reciprocal expression of thought and interest, that without it, pleasure is no pleasure to me." He recognises, again, with a gush of fatherly feeling, the recurring birthday of one of his children. He calls them all to mind. "I looked at their pictures," he writes, "till my heart almost broke." He receives letters from home, and speaks of making haste to get alone that he might "read, and weep, and give thanks, and pray." Amid rural scenes of surpassing loveliness, he says of his dear ones: "I longed, first for one, then for another, for *all* of them to be with me." He is among the mountains of Scotland, and by associations characteristically delicate and touching, his thoughts are again sent homeward. "My attention," he says, "was arrested by a tree, which frequently occurred, growing over the precipices, and loaded with clusters of red berries,—in every respect like the mountain ash, except that the head of the tree is not so trim and graceful as that is. I asked

one of the young gentlemen in company, 'What tree is that?' 'The Rowan tree.' Oh, how there rushed to my heart a tide of emotions! 'The Rowan Tree' is the title of a song which my dear girls sing, full of sweet thoughts of home and home scenes; and the tune is touchingly plaintive. Those thoughts—that tune—those scenes 'of hame and infancy,' of 'bairnies' and their 'mither dear,' came back to me here in the highland birthplace of the poetry and the music, and I melted under their power. I sought a place to weep, while I sat on a stone and sang a verse, holding in my hands a branch with its scarlet berries." But I may not enlarge in this direction. I have already, perhaps, been tempted too far. Yet why should I not show you, as it was, the heart of our dear brother? I will add only, that in all these domestic relations and sympathies, his eye was "single." He had consecrated his children to God, and for him he sought to train them. He longed, with unutterable desire, to see them all not only Christians, but eminent Christians. In a letter to one of his sons, after a vivid sketch of the peculiarities of the age, a passage follows, which may be taken as a specimen of his parental advices and appeals: "You will soon come, if your life is spared, upon the stage, right in the *forenoon* of a day of action, such as the world never saw. I would fain impress you with the idea, that you are to live in an *uncommon era*; and that you owe it to your own character, to God, and to the interests of human nature, to *be* more, and *do* more, than if you had lived at another time.

'On the world's wide field of battle,
In the bivouac of life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle—
Be a hero in the strife.'"

A blessed legacy to the children, are the counsels and the example of such a father !

Though Dr. Hall's physical habit was, through most of his public life, delicate rather than robust, yet he was ordinarily able to accomplish a great amount of labor. For several years preceding his death, however, there was a very manifest decline of his health. In connection, probably, with derangements of the digestive economy, with which he had long been afflicted, he became subject to severe attacks of inflammatory rheumatism. So seriously was he affected, that the mental efforts which had ordinarily been both easy and delightful, became at times a task and a weariness. It grieved him to find his vigor at all diminished. The thought of being, in any respect, an unprofitable servant in the vineyard of his Master, was ever painful to him. He sought to avoid, or to repair deficiencies, by extra exertion. The pleasures of social intercourse, which he relished so keenly, he would often readily sacrifice, that he might accomplish seasonably some official duty. Often when he returned from his office at night, exhausted in body and spirit, he would turn from those quiet enjoyments of the domestic circle which had ever such attraction for him, to make up, at his writing-desk, what he regarded as an imperfect day's labor ; at the same time mourning that he had so little strength to devote to what he was wont to call his "blessed work." He sought, at times, by temporary rest, to re-invigorate his frame ; but seasons of relaxation it was difficult to secure, under the constant pressure of business at the office. Loving his work as he did, unwilling as he was to impose additional burdens upon his colleagues, he was ever reluctant to be absent. When obliged to be away, the sight of a num-

ber of the "Home Missionary" would be to him as the sound of the trumpet to the war-horse. Too soon for his health, he would hasten back again.

Near the close of the year 1851, it occurred to some of his friends, and the thought came at length to be favorably entertained by himself, that a longer period of absence—a voyage across the ocean, and a tour of months, with entire freedom from his ordinary cares and labors—would be the most hopeful means of restoration. Dr. Robinson was about to sail for Palestine, with the design of further prosecuting his researches there, and he invited Dr. Hall to become his fellow traveler. Most delightful to him would have been the proposed tour—

"As far as to the sepulchre of Christ."

It would have been the realization of some of his fondest dreams. Only by a great struggle could he relinquish the thought of it. But considerations connected with his official relations interposed, and he bowed to the will of Providence. "I have given it up," he said to a friend, "and I feel better." It was another of his sacrifices to his single purpose. The derangement of his health still continuing, however, that European tour was the following year determined on, to some incidents of which I have already alluded. The design was facilitated by the praiseworthy generosity of certain friends both of the enfeebled Secretary and of the Society, and by his colleagues cheerfully assuming whatever additional duties his absence might impose upon them.

He sailed for Havre, July 10, 1852. From that city he crossed the channel to England; and after a brief stay in London, went to Liverpool, and thence northward, through the beautiful lake country, to the High-

lands of Scotland. Returning by way of Edinburgh to London, he visited some of the most interesting localities in the neighborhood of that city, and then made his way to Paris. From Paris, he passed, by way of Germany, to Switzerland, among whose Alpine wonders he made extensive excursions. In one of the mountain passes, the Tête Noire, he narrowly escaped with his life. The mule on which he rode, making a false step, rolled from the path with him, into the rocky bed of a river below. It was marvelous that the effect of the fall was only a few bruises and a momentary stunning. It was of God's goodness; that he might die among his kindred, and that religion might be honored by his last utterances. By way of Marseilles, and other cities on the Mediterranean, he visited Rome. After spending a short time there, he returned through France to England, and thence sailed for home; the whole period of his absence from the country having been less than five months.

The developments of his character during this tour, as his journal and letters present them, were of the most striking kind. While the restoration of his health was his main object, he diligently availed himself of his many opportunities for observation and improvement. He had a highly cultivated taste for the fine arts; and great was his delight in exploring the galleries of Europe. Yet he passed through them as a discriminating and independent critic; never praising things, as his notes evince, because others had praised them; but venturing to stand alone, if he must, in his judgment of the productions even of a Rubens or a Raphael. He was especially a lover of the beautiful and sublime in nature; and in this respect his tour afforded him the most exquisite enjoyment. Amid the

enchanting scenery of the West of England—in the vale of Keswick, at Rydal Mount, at Windermere, and the neighboring lakes; among the Highlands of Scotland; at Windsor, at Blenheim; at a thousand points in the Swiss Oberland, language seemed inadequate to utter his emotions. “Such combinations,” he writes, in the West of England, “of grandeur of outline in the close-shutting mountains, and of beauty in the lakes and clear, lawn-like meadows, I never saw before.” “Magnificent and inexpressible!” he exclaims, at the rimsel Pass of the Alps. “The half was never told me, nor can it be communicated in words.” We are chiefly interested, however, in the manifestations of his piety. Abundantly evident is it, that wherever he journeyed, whatever he beheld and enjoyed, whether the finest and noblest works of art, or the loveliest and most majestic natural scenery, his eye was still “single,” his heart rose above and through all to God his portion. He writes from the ship in which he sailed to Europe, as it floats out of the harbor: “I am well supplied with tracts, and hope to-morrow to begin my mission in a small way.” He meets a beggar in Scotland, and the entry in his journal is, “Talked to him about his soul.” At Stratford-upon-Avon, he writes, “The great enemy has this day sorely buffeted me, so that my joy has been turned into mourning. I go to my bed looking to Jesus—or *towards* him, for Oh, I do not perceive his smiling face. ‘Return, O Holy Dove, return.’” He visits Blenheim, the famous country-seat bestowed by Queen Anne on the first Duke of Marlborough, and after a most graphic account of it, adds: “As I wandered through these grounds, and opened my heart to these forms of beauty, I could feel the rivers of delight rolling in upon my soul. I forgot the

Duke of Marlborough ; I had no appreciation for his military glory, or for his royal mistress. I thought only of God, who made this majesty and loveliness. I felt that he intended and adapted the world—its creatures—its lakes—its forests—its landscapes, to speak of him, to lead up our hearts to him. I felt that there is no mistake as to the oneness of the Godhead in Revelation and in nature. And my heart praised him ; I cried out for holiness—that there, with such beauty of the natural world, there might be nothing but moral consanguinity in my soul.” Amid the mummeries at Rome, he says : “I feel, as I see the disgusting pretense of this formal worship, this *fresco piety*, that God must be offended with formalism ; and I am more put on my guard to deal honestly and truly with heaven in my devotions.” In the valley of Oberhasli, in Switzerland, he says : “My soul has been lifted up amid the grandeur of these everlasting hills. I have felt the grandeur of God ; I have felt my own littleness ; I have felt that it was an inexpressible condescension for Christ, having built this mighty earth, to die for the sinful creatures who creep on its surface.” And at Chamouny he writes : “Here, amid the sublimest of God’s works, I have communed with him, and have endeavored to reconsecrate myself to him. O Lord, who by thy power settest fast the mountains, exert that power to make this poor, vile heart all thine own.” Such were the outpourings of the heart of our wayfarer in Europe—a pilgrim still to the heavenly city !

He came back with but little apparent improvement in health ; yet the hope was cherished that essential benefit might ultimately accrue from his tour. That hope was destined to disappointment. Month after month he struggled with his old infirmities, till on the

14th of October, he left the Home Missionary office for the last time. Oh, had he known that it was the last, what mingled emotions, too tender and deep for utterance, would have been concentrated in his farewell look! The illness which detained him at home, he trusted would prove but temporary. It was soon discovered, however, by the medical skill which was so faithfully and lovingly exerted on his behalf, that disease had made its inroad upon the citadel of life. An affection of the heart, of a dropsical character, connected, probably, with the inflammatory rheumatism that had so often and so severely afflicted him, gave decisive indication that his end was near. Having traced his life thus far, it only remains, now, that we gather around his dying bed.

He was ready to die—need I say it? Death to his thoughts was no remote event. He had kept his house habitually in order; his papers and his concerns generally, were in a remarkable state of preparation for his departure. It is said by one who traveled with him in Europe, that as they sat together on a lovely Sabbath, in the valley of Chamouny, he “distinctly expressed the apprehension that he should not live long,” and while he manifested a truly christian reluctance to leave his cherished work in the family and in the Home Missionary Society at all unfinished, he expressed also “a strong desire and a full hope to be with Christ hereafter in his glory.”

The first full development of his feelings, during his last illness, was about a week after its commencement. He had been suffering not a little, but having found partial relief, he was sitting at the window, looking out upon the pleasant grounds around his dwelling. The flowers had nearly all passed away, and the autumnal

wind was scattering the many-colored foliage upon the paths of the garden. His countenance wore a deeply serious expression, with perhaps a slight tinge of sadness. "Are you watching me?" said a friend, coming to him from the garden. "No;" he replied, "I was not watching you, I was *taking my leave of the leaves*." Then, after a moment's pause, he added, "I shall probably never see them fall again." "Is it not delightful," his friend replied, "to think of that brighter world, where the leaves do not fade nor fall, nor the flowers wither?" "No," said he, "nothing *delights* me now. This suffering has exhausted my spirits." A hymn he had loved to sing—"Jerusalem, my happy home"—was then mentioned to him. There was no specific response to this; but he soon remarked, as if he had been examining the foundation of his hope, "The most that I can say now is, that I have a calm trust in God. It has become the habit of my mind to trust him. I believe he will save me. I have been a poor, miserable, unfaithful creature. I am grieved that I have done so little to honor him; that, with the opportunities I have had for doing good, I have accomplished so little." Here he wept like a child. Recovering his composure, he alluded to the condescending goodness of God, in having put him into the ministry, and called him to such a post of usefulness as "*the blessed Home Missionary work*." He spoke with affectionate tenderness, as he was accustomed to do, of his beloved associates in the work. "Dear brethren!" he said, "I feel for them; they have to bear their own burdens, and mine too, now." He added, "I think my public labors are probably at an end." "Do you really feel," his friend replied, "that your Heavenly Father is about to call you to rest from your labors?"

"I do not know," he answered, for substance, "how that may be; nor do I feel solicitous to know. I leave all that, with all my interests, however great or dear, to the disposal of infinite wisdom and goodness." The fullest evidence did he give, by remarks in this strain, that though his worn and languid frame was scarce capable of ecstasy, he had what is better, the most perfect and cordial submission to the will of God. In a few moments, he spoke again of his deep sense of unworthiness and guilt, and then of the "fullness of Christ." Here he became eloquent; every trace of sadness disappeared; his eye kindled, and his soul seemed to dilate as he dwelt on the glorious theme.

No other conversation was had with him so extended as this. He continued to suffer much, and in a variety of ways, especially from pain in the region of the heart, and difficulty of respiration. Yet he bore all with the most perfect patience. The last Saturday of his life, he exclaimed aloud, after a season of great bodily distress, "God of mercy and grace, thy will be done!" Toward the last, it was difficult for him to say much. Whatever he did say, however, was indicative of peace within. As texts of Scripture, or verses of hymns were often repeated to him, he would invariably respond by a look of intelligence, and by repeating the last words or line. The Sabbath but one before he died, his eldest daughter read to him, from the "Gems of Sacred Poetry," the hymn beginning:

"My times are in thy hand;
My God, I wish them there.
My life, my friends, my soul I leave,
Entirely in thy care."

He gave his attention quite to the end, and then said, with emphasis, "I think I can say that."

On the morning of his last Sabbath on earth, as the day was breaking, a friend who had been sitting with him said, "Dear brother, it is the Sabbath's dawn. May the Sun of righteousness arise, with healing in his wings." He replied, "The Sabbath—the Sabbath—the sweet, blessed Sabbath!" His friend then repeated the lines,—

"Welcome, delightful morn,
Thou day of sacred rest!"

He added—

"Lord, make these moments blest."

As the sun was lighting up the east, the chair in which, from difficulty of breathing, he was obliged to sit, was drawn toward the window, that he might look out once more upon the loved face of nature. It was one of those serene and beautiful Sabbaths, that had often called from his lips the exclamation—

"Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky!"

A member of his family, not being aware of what had passed, said to him, "It is the Sabbath." "Yes," replied he, "It is *a smile of the Lord*." A person who had been passing the night in the family, coming to take leave of him, he shook her hand, and said, "Good morning; the Lord bless you!" Then looking around on all present, he raised his hands, and pronounced, with animation and fervor, that beautiful benediction; "The Lord bless you, and keep you; the Lord make his face shine upon you, and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace." To this he added, "Blessed Jesus, bless them, as thou only knowest how to bless. Blessed Saviour,

give them that peace which thou only knowest how to impart;" with other petitions of the most affecting and heavenly character. These were his last audible supplications on earth.

His strength began soon to decline rapidly; and it was thought his departure was at hand. This was told him; but he evinced no emotion, and made no distinct answer. It is probable he then felt unable to answer. Later in the day, his wife said to him, "We think this is death. Do you not think so?" There was still no reply. Again, she said, "We think you are dying. Can you say, as you did yesterday, 'God of mercy and grace, thy will be done?'" Hours passed, and then, in one condensed utterance, the answer came. Calling her from the adjoining room, and throwing his arms around her neck, he said, "Triumph in death! Triumph in death!" She asked, "Is it triumph in Jesus?" "Yes," he answered, "in Jesus!"

He spoke no more, but lingered till the following day, the 31st of October. For the last hour of his life, a slight film had been gathering over his eyes, and a tear had started forth, and made its way partly down his cheek. Suddenly the tear dried, the film cleared away, his eyes became bright, as one present has expressed it,

"With more than reason's ray."

His whole countenance was radiant as with heavenly joy. Literally, it seemed, "his whole body was full of light;" and "he was not, for God took him."

He is before the throne, now, with White, and Baldwin, and Nitchie, and others, his fellow laborers on earth; with many a glorified missionary, and many a ransomed soul, won to Christ by Home Missionary instrumenta-

lities. "I saw him again, in my dreams, of late," said one of his dear surviving friends recently. "It was the same countenance, only the fullness and freshness of youth were there." That was not all a dream, blessed be God! The weariness and the painfulness of disease are all gone, and the lineaments of care and sorrow. He rejoices now in immortal youth, and immortal vigor. Rest thee, dear brother, in thy home above! Incited by thine example, we will toil on as thou didst—striving to keep ever the single eye; and when our work is done, we will go up, to cast, with thee, our crowns at the Saviour's feet.

Benevolence above Righteousness.

A

S E R M O N

PREACHED AT THE FUNERAL

OF THE

Hon. Nathaniel O. Kellogg,

AT VERNON, CONN., MAY 15, 1854.

BY ALBERT SMITH,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN VERNON.

Hartford:

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S E R M O N .

ROMANS 5 : 7.—FOR SCARCELY FOR A RIGHTEOUS MAN WILL ONE
DIE ; YET PERADVENTURE FOR A GOOD MAN SOME WOULD EVEN
DARE TO DIE.

INTEGRITY is a great excellence, but it is not the highest element of character. It is not enough that we are honest; we must be good. In the text, the difference between justice and benevolence as elements of character, is strikingly stated. “For scarcely for a righteous man”—merely just—“will one die; yet peradventure for a good man”—kind-hearted, benevolent—“some would even dare to die.” The just man has a claim for justice, but it is only he who loves that can expect to be beloved. There are many who think that if they do *about right* this is all that God will insist upon, and all that their fellow-men can reasonably expect. Of the correctness of this view I have at present nothing to say, except that if this is all their fellow-men may expect from them, it is also

all they can expect from their fellow-men. No man is loved because he pays his debts, not even if he might have legally evaded the claim. Men approve of justice, possibly they may admire it, but they never love it. To give birth to love in the human heart there must be that other, higher quality with which in the text mere righteousness or justice is compared. ‘There may be a man,’ says the apostle, ‘so full of goodness, and in consequence possessed of such a power of drawing to himself the hearts of others, that some would be willing even to die for him.’ Our Saviour teaches us that this would be the highest reach of human love. “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” And as that love which is ready to die for a friend is the highest human love, so that goodness which can attract to itself such love is the highest human goodness. There is a more sublime benevolence than this. There is a goodness which is willing to die even for enemies. But that goodness is not human, it is divine. “But God commendeth his love toward us in that while we were yet sinners [enemies] Christ died for us.”

But while there are very few men whose goodness is of sufficient purity and strength to induce other men to die for them, there is a much

larger number whose characters contain in greater or less measure the elements of a goodness of the same kind. There are righteous men, and there are good men. There are men who in all their dealings with others aim to be fair, honorable, just, in a word, to be righteous in the literal sense of the text, and there stop. There are others who seem to do all this as a matter of course, and then add to it deeds of kindness, acts of generous liberality; who show a lively sympathy with suffering and sorrow wherever found; who feel a pleasure in removing the cause of grief so far as they are able, and where they are not, in applying those opiates and cordials of whose composition mere righteousness is totally ignorant, and which only the friendly hand of Christian tenderness can administer. One of these classes command the respect of their fellow-men, the other win their affections. A poet has said,

“An honest man’s the noblest work of God.”

The apostle in the text teaches that there is something much nobler. Integrity is good, but charity is better. Honesty is human, benevolence is godlike. “For scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.”

I have referred to this passage of Scripture because I think it appropriate to the occasion. We have not come to attend the funeral of a merely righteous, honest, just man. We have come to bear to his grave not only one of nature's noblemen, but a leader and a prince in Israel, a man whose character was developed, modified, and moulded by the gospel of Jesus Christ, and whose life was filled up with benevolent deeds, and those not such only as were prompted by the movings of natural pity, but also such as had their source in that higher charity which the Spirit of Christ produces; a man of whom it is fitting that it should be said as of Stephen, "Devout men carried him to his burial, and made great lamentation over him."

I know and feel the difficulty of my position; the danger on the one side of wounding the feelings of near relatives by entering even in a friendly spirit that inner sanctuary which shrinks from exposure to the public gaze, and on the other of incurring the charge of partiality, and even of adulation. But when a pillar in the temple of God is shivered, and falls with a crash by which the whole building is made to tremble, I think it unreasonable to expect that he who ministers at the altar should feel, or act, or speak as if only

some earthen vessel had been dashed in pieces. When a man like him whose death has now so deeply moved this whole community, and whose loss will make itself felt in a much larger circle, is followed to his long home by more than a township of mourners, I think it would be wrong to suffer such an opportunity to honor religion, and to use a good example for the benefit of youth, to pass by unimproved. At the same time, the suddenness of this death, the time of the week at which it took place, and the labors of the Sabbath, disable me from doing what I think the occasion demands.* All that can be done under these circumstances is, in connection with the leading facts in the life of our departed friend, merely to mention certain traits of his character with reference to such brief illustrations of them as most readily occur.

Nathaniel Olmsted Kellogg, fifth son of Ebenezer and Abigail Olmsted Kellogg, was born at Vernon, Connecticut, February 26th, 1796. His grandfather, the Rev. Ebenezer Kellogg, was the first

* Mr. Kellogg's death occurred, after an illness of only five days, on Saturday preceding the services of a more than usually exhausting Sabbath, and he was buried on Monday. Yet it has been thought best that the sermon, with the addition of some particulars, chiefly respecting his life, should be printed as nearly as may be as it was delivered.

pastor of the church in Vernon. The ministry of this ancestor, extending from the organization of the church in 1762, to his death in 1817, embraced nearly double the length of time included in the united pastorships of his four successors, and must have contributed in no small degree to the formation of the character not only of his posterity but also of the people of this town.

But whatever may have been that influence on others, there is reason to believe that on this grandson it was alike strong and salutary. By the loss, at the age of eleven months, of a praying mother, who had given herself and her little ones to the Lord, he was brought very early in life into a closer relation with his grandparents than would otherwise have been the case. Many were the evenings spent by him during his childhood and youth by the fireside of this venerable pair, either enjoying the benefits of their conversation, or reading the volumes of the parish library kept by the pastor. Under the watchful care of a pious father, in connection with such influences as these, the foundation of his character was laid. He was constitutionally of a happy disposition, quiet and peaceful in his demeanor toward his associates, and more than ordinarily free from peevish and irritable tempers. In these qualities, exhibited

during childhood and youth, are seen the elements of the power which he possessed in after life of winning the affections, gaining the confidence, and influencing the actions of others. At the age of twenty he commenced business in the place where he spent his life. In the infancy of manufactures in this country there were many difficulties to be encountered. The woolen business in particular, in which he was engaged, was for a long time greatly depressed, so that a majority, it is said, of those who embarked in it became bankrupt. His pecuniary embarrassments were very perplexing and were protracted through a series of years. But in these trying circumstances he maintained a hopeful frame of mind, and in the belief that with the blessing of God, well directed effort will overcome almost any obstacle, he cherished a constant expectation of that success which finally crowned his efforts.

In the political and religious affairs of his native State, he was known as a man of intelligence, energy and influence. He was a member of the legislature as a representative in 1846 and 1848, and as a senator in 1849. In 1848 he was one of the presidential electors, and in the State election of 1853, he was the candidate of the party to which he belonged for the office of lieutenant-

governor. In 1848, he was made a corporate member of the A. B. C. F. M., of which society, with the kindred benevolent institutions, he showed himself a steady and consistent friend by the unusual liberality of his annual subscriptions, and by such a disposition of his property in his will as will give them a large part of his estate. In the spring of 1850, his health was first seriously impaired so as partially to disable him from attending to business. He had been accustomed to manage his affairs, and keep his accounts, with less help from others than is common in a business of similar extent, and although few men could do the same thing with less of that tension of mind which is to the physical frame what wear and tear is to ordinary machinery, yet there was a constant draught upon his powers. In the spring of 1853, he barely recovered, and that not entirely, from a severe illness, and in August of that year sailed for Europe for the benefit of his health. Although he was disappointed in the results of this tour by another attack while abroad, as will presently appear, yet he was afterward so far restored as to resume that post of duty and of usefulness, at which his actions as well as his expressed desire that he might "die in the harness," showed that he wished to be found, and at which he *was* found

by the brief and severe illness that terminated his life on the 13th of May, 1854.

Of his early religious impressions little is known. To a friend he at one time incidentally mentioned that at the age of nineteen, while at work at a place in which the society was not congenial with his taste, he was in the habit of spending evenings in reading religious books to an aged lady of intelligence and piety. On his marriage with Miss Eliza Nash, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in the year 1822, he immediately commenced family prayer, which practice, although it was not until ten years from that time that he made a public profession of religion, was never afterward relinquished. During these years he was also in the habit of attending the weekly prayer-meeting of the church. He no doubt entertained more or less hope that he was a Christian, or at least desired to become one. At that time he showed more reluctance than afterward to take part in these social religious exercises. In the great revival which prevailed in this town, as in other parts of the country, in 1831, and the following year, his feelings were deeply interested, and the result was that in 1832 he united with the church, of which he has since been a strong pillar.

With reference to the thought in the text I said

that Mr. Kellogg was not a *merely* righteous man. But in the hasty glance at his character which is possible at this time, it would be injustice to his memory to suppose there was in that character any want of integrity. The sincerity of his regard for right, the strictness with which he acted even in small matters on principles of justice, and the faithfulness with which he inculcated such principles on others, may be illustrated by a fact. A young man in his employ was boasting that when he went through toll-gates he commonly managed to get through for nothing, or at most for half-price. "That is not right," replied Mr. Kellogg, "I advise you not to do so. Whenever I pass through a gate in the night, or for any other reason do not pay, I make it a point to pay next time. You ought to do so too." He knew well the influence of such things, not on reputation merely, (though they are sure to be known,) but what is more, on conscience and on character. "Many persons," he said at another time, "in striving to get a shilling from this neighbor, and to save a sixpence from that, are engaged in frequent broils with those around them, by which a great part of their lives is embittered, while the whole sum thus gained or lost in a lifetime would not purchase a barrel of flour."

In looking at his character there are other points that may properly be specified.

He was a man of more than ordinary courtesy. Both his manners and his feelings were gentlemanly, kind, winning. He had an intuitive perception of what was proper, with sufficient self-control to prevent the escape of words or looks, even if feeling might have prompted them, that would be unpleasant, and give pain without sufficient cause. He was a man whom it was always pleasant to meet. And this courtesy was not of that sort which says "Yes, yes," to everybody and to everything. He had a mind of his own, and expressed it. He had strong points of character whose tendency was directly opposed to such a habit of universal assent. But they were kept in their place.

He exhibited more than is common of the spirit, and therefore possessed more than is common of the power of conciliation. "Blessed are the peacemakers," said our Saviour. And our friend was one. If there were difficulties to be adjusted, animosities to be removed, conflicting claims to be settled, no man so proper as he to be called on to do the work, no man so likely to succeed in it.

This was true in small things, but more especially in matters of importance. There was a time when this community was in a divided, and most unhappy condition. That feud was not left to eat like an inveterate canker into the heart of society, or to wear itself out only after it had infected the whole mass. Reconciliation was effected. Certificates were recalled, seats in the house of God were resumed, and what was more, kind feeling was restored. And this was done, I am told, more by his influence than by that of any other man, perhaps of all other men. And what he did on a large scale he was ready to do on a small one. Nothing of this kind was too trifling to receive his attention, and nothing too great for him to accomplish.

He was distinguished for his public spirit. When Dorcas died, the widows gathered round the apostle with tears, and showed him the coats and the garments she had made while she was with them. In like manner I think it natural and right to refer to some things that we owe to our friend who is gone. It is not long since this house was not God's in fact but only in name. It was not held in trust for public worship, but in fee-simple for private use. Who broke up this selfish and exclu-

sive plan that always works so badly for society and for religion, and substituted another, more in accordance with the spirit of the gospel, and better fitted to promote the welfare of the community? I do not say that others did not do much to effect this; I neither say nor believe that any one did the whole. But if we would ascribe to each his just due, we must give to him more than to any other man. Certainly I at least have always understood that in this he was first in counsel and in action. Whether the same was true of the whole work of remodeling the church I am not able to say. Perhaps it was not. But in the removal of the debt, which has since pressed so heavily on the society, there is no doubt respecting his share of the work. It was the closing public act of his life. He originated the movement, he pressed it forward, and carried it through. He paid, as he was wont to do, one-quarter of the whole, and then added what was necessary to make up the sum. Without him it would not have been done, at least, not at present.

It is not easy to distinguish between many acts of public spirit in Christians and deeds of *religious benevolence*. The religious charities of our deceased friend were numerous, large, and universally diffused. They were world-wide. When he had

set down his one hundred or two hundred dollars to the annual subscription for the American Board of Foreign Missions, he said to the missionary who was going out under that board, "If you are allowed to keep a private purse, here are twenty or thirty dollars for your own use." In a conversation on the disbursement of money to benevolent objects, another very liberal gentleman said that in some years he gave several thousand dollars, in others nothing at all, because his rule was to give all the profits of his business whether little or much. Mr. Kellogg replied that he did not proceed on that principle, but on the ground that his business was one which was on the whole worth following, that he gave in general about the same sums, so that in certain years his subscriptions were not diminished, although, instead of having made anything, he had lost large sums. There are those who think that the donations of such men are all made for the sake of reputation. I believe they are much mistaken. While our friend did his part in the common religious subscriptions, as he might reasonably be expected to do, and more than his part, there is reason to think that he was also in the habit of performing on a very liberal scale, deeds of unostentatious charity, which were known only to a few and

that by accident. The general prosperity which he enjoyed in the latter part of his life, led, in the minds of many who were not sufficiently aware of the large liabilities attendant on a business like his, to an over-estimate of the amount of his property. These persons probably thought that he gave only of his abundance, and that it was easier for him to subscribe his hundreds than for them to cast in the widow's mites. Perhaps it was *easier*, but not in the sense supposed. I believe it was *in faith* that he gave, and promised to give money. The agent who came to him for a benevolent object would not learn from his conversation that he had recently lost some thousands of dollars. Laying it down as a first principle that judicious giving would not impoverish him, he made such giving a matter of business. He gave away money that he knew he should soon need, when the means of replacing it otherwise than by borrowing, were not evident. But as in the affairs of life confidence in men is the soul of business, he felt that in doing good confidence in God is equally appropriate and needful. It is right to say that God did not fail him. In ordinary cases he was enabled to meet promptly, and in all cases eventually, these benevolent engagements, which he entered into in the belief that trust in God is always justified by results.

In respect to the character of his piety, if I have rightly understood it, its characteristic feature was that *it was a religion of principle*. It was not emotive. I do not mean that it was destitute of emotion, for religion is love, and love is an emotion; but I mean that it was not chiefly characterized by lively emotion. It was not impulsive. Such was not the constitution of his mind. He acted from principle. The consequence was that in all the interests of religion *he was a man to be relied on*. Unless absence from town or some pressing necessity prevented, he was always in his place, not only on the Sabbath but also at the weekly prayer-meeting. He never declined praying when called on, and without ever being forward to speak, everything he said was characterized by excellent sense, and by a good spirit. He prayed in his closet, and when abroad he was in the habit of keeping up this closet devotion under circumstances in which it is often omitted.

His business was conducted on religious principles. His office was fitted up for religious meetings, which were attended weekly, or more frequently, for many years. The operatives in his employ were expected to attend public worship, for which

he took great pains to provide them with facilities. Religious influences of various kinds, under his direction and with his earnest co-operation, were brought to bear upon them. And what was the consequence? One-third of all the additions to this church, on profession, for the last ten years, have come from that neighborhood which has been so long under his influence and connected with what may be fairly called *his* meetings. So that if that property should pass into entirely different hands, and opposite influences take the place of his, (as might easily be the case,) not only a large part of the pecuniary means of this society would be cut off, but also the sources from which one-third of the converts are received into the church would be dried up. Can it be wondered at, then, that a pastor's heart should be touched by his death—that the church itself should be deeply moved? Measured by practical tests, such as we apply to other things, judged by facts that are on record, this death may be to us as if fifty common Christians had been struck down at once. I know that God *can* raise up other helpers. I trust he will. But sorrow for the loss of one who has done so much for us in past days is not inconsistent with faith in God for the future.

Of this friend it may be further said that for

years past his character has been improving, and, as a natural consequence of this, combined with other causes, his influence has been increasing. He was a self-made man. His property was acquired property, his influence was not inherited but secured by personal qualities, and these qualities have been, especially for the last few years, more fully developing themselves. His feelings have been growing more gentle and mellow, his religious convictions stronger and deeper. He had long acted on the principle of not allowing any appetite or passion to have the mastery over him, and when told, many years ago, that he had such a master in tobacco, he threw it by once for all—an example and an exhortation in that respect to our young men. He thought it of great importance to act, in religion and in morals, on the principle of what he called “putting down stakes;” that is, there were things which he had settled in his own belief, and which he did not allow himself to question; for example, the existence of God, the truth of the Scriptures, the future happiness of the righteous and misery of the wicked, he did not wish to dispute about, because his belief on those topics was settled and his course taken. This principle of action saved him from those agitating influences by which many minds are misled on

other subjects less plainly anti-christian, such as Spiritualism, Millerism, Swedenborgianism, and other *isms*, which, while they profess to be in accordance with Scripture, show themselves to be practically incompatible with it, not only by producing entirely different fruits, but by gradually undermining the foundations of true piety in the soul. It is sometimes as destructive to add to religion falsehoods, or vain conceptions (true or false) of men, as it is to deny religion itself. Of this our friend was aware. He had that practical common sense which sees by intuition the true principles of evidence, and subjects to the searching glance of a natural logic every questionable proposition. No vague, dreamy, transcendental speculations in metaphysics, ethics, or religion, met with any favor from him. In his truly Saxon mind there was no love of twilight. A lover of light and not of darkness, even a new truth he recognized as an old friend, because he knew its relatives. He was a man of sound judgment, whose intercourse with the world had given him a knowledge of men and things, and an acquaintance with the forms of business, that rendered his opinion in questions of difficulty always worthy of attention and commonly of assent. It is not strange, that when, some years since, he was introduced by one

of our representatives at Washington to a southern member of Congress, with whom he had a conversation, that gentleman asked, after Mr. Kellogg had withdrawn, whether "that was an average specimen of the manufacturers of New England."

Among the traits of his character which have been increasing in strength, is his *sympathy with the sufferings of others*. Through life he showed, in a more than usual degree, a friendly interest in the affairs of his neighbors and acquaintances. This was an important element of his popularity, and was no doubt the great secret of that interest which others felt in him. For some years past his personal affliction, in the state of his health, had served to give a deeper tone to this sympathy, and to enable him to enter more fully into the feelings of those who are called to suffer. (Heb. 2 : 18.) There are many witnesses not only of his readiness to furnish in cases of necessity that pecuniary relief which he had the means to bestow, but also of his efforts to soothe those sorrows which he had no power to remove. That disposition which many years ago prompted his lamented brother, Prof. Kellogg, of Williams College, when his own health was such that he could render little personal assistance, to call with undeviating regularity at the door of his sick pastor that he might know his

state, the same pastor has seen with peculiar satisfaction reproduced in this younger brother, and manifested not in his own case only but in that of other sufferers. Such qualities and habits as these it is that endear men to each other in life, that fill neighborhoods and towns with anxiety when sickness or violence touches the subjects of them, and that finally draw out the long processions which testify as this day to the estimate in which moral worth is held by whole communities.

To what has already been said of our deceased friend there is time only to add a few things respecting his religious feelings in the latter part of his life. The following is an extract from one of the letters written after his return from Europe during the last autumn, to his pastor, then on the western bank of the Mississippi. "In my absence from home, and in the loneliness and solitude of a sick chamber, I thought much of you. To be alone among strangers and in feeble health, is very likely to produce depression of spirits; but you have the advantage of having an object before you besides the improvement of your health—the hope of doing good by the preaching of the gospel. We feel anxious to hear that your cough has become less troublesome, or rather that it is entirely removed. While abroad I was confined

to my chamber nearly three weeks, and to the house four weeks, with the exception that I rode a little in a cab by being helped in. I could not walk at all. As soon as I was able to walk, and before I had walked out, I left London and went to Birmingham and then to Liverpool, and took passage in the steamer Arabia, and after twelve days' passage landed at New York, where I found my wife awaiting my arrival. Our passage was a rough one, and after reaching home the next day I think I had some sense of the goodness and mercy of God in watching over and preserving me through the dangers and trials of my tour. While confined in my chamber, cut off from all intercourse with the world, my thoughts were very busy. I never before felt so intensely the importance and value of the favor of God and the wretchedness of those who have no God to go to in time of trouble. There I lay for two weeks without any acquaintance or any Christian friend, unable to read so much as a verse in the Bible, nobody to say a word to or to say a word to me on the subject of religion, and for a time greatly depressed in spirits. I was led seriously to question whether I had anything to support me in the hour of trial. For a time I felt very wretched. But although I had not that clear and vivid perception of God and of

the Saviour as *my* Saviour which I could wish, still I think I have an earnest desire to comply with the requisition of the Saviour, 'If ye love me keep my commandments.' I then hoped, and still hope, that the providence of God in thus laying me by for a season, in giving me time for reflection and opportunity for the exercise of Christian submission under trials, may not be lost upon me, but that the impression made may continue and exert an influence on all my future life. I then felt and still feel that I need the prayers of my pastor and my Christian friends, that this may be the case. My health has greatly improved from the time I left London, and I think is now as good or better than when I went from home."

Referring, after his return, to the employment of his mind during this confinement in London, he said he found much comfort in going through with all the questions in the Shorter Catechism and reciting the answers. Through the winter his health continued to improve, so that just four weeks before his death, when he drove his carriage to the station to welcome his pastor on his return from the West, and to carry him and his wife to their friends at the parsonage, the firmness of his step, and the apparently recruited vigor of his

frame, excited the fallacious hope that he might yet be for many years what he had been.

On the Sabbath preceding his death he attended church as usual, also the additional meeting at his office. On Monday he was taken ill, and after a week of much suffering, he died on Saturday morning at four o'clock. His disease, which was of uncertain character, is supposed to have had some connection with a stroke of local paralysis, in 1850, by which his health was first seriously impaired. Of the expressions which fell from him, in the intervals of comparative freedom from pain during his sickness, a few have been preserved. One of the most striking is the confirmation and repetition, in the solemnity of approaching death, of his testimony to the value of religion. He said that *his highest enjoyment in life had been drawn from religion*. In order to give due force to this testimony we must call to mind his success in business. His uncommon prosperity had undoubtedly made him an object of envy with many who could not have his property or his influence, which they coveted, but who might have his religion, which they did not covet. In connection with this declaration respecting the source of his highest enjoyment he repeated the following hymn :

“Far from my thoughts vain world be gone,
 Let my religious hours alone;
 Fain would my eyes my Saviour see—
 I wait a visit, Lord, from Thee.

“My heart grows warm with holy fire,
 And kindles with a pure desire;
 Come, glorious Saviour, from above,
 And fill my soul with heavenly love.

“Blest Jesus, what delicious fare!
 How sweet thine entertainments are!
 Never did angels taste above
 Redeeming grace and dying love.”

The last two lines,

“Never did angels taste above
 Redeeming grace and dying love,”

he repeated three times, and then added with great emphasis as if his whole soul was in it, “Never!” He also repeated the whole hymn of which the following is the first stanza:

“Oh, for a closer walk with God,
 A calm and heavenly frame,
 A light to shine upon the road
 That leads me to the Lamb.”

“Certainly,” he said on his death-bed, “this is no place to prepare to die.” He was asked if he had

trust in God, and replied, "Yes, I have hope in God, and in the good world to come." "Yet," he said, "it is a great thing to appear before a just and holy God." He was told that Christ is the way. "Yes," he replied, "but how shall we come to Him? What is prayer?" Then he repeated the answer to that question in the Shorter Catechism, "Prayer is the offering up of our desires to God for things agreeable to his will, in the name of Christ, with confession of our sins and thankful acknowledgment of his mercies," and then added in a deep and strong voice, "Bless God! Bless God!" He was desired to lie still and become quiet. "No," he said, "this is the last night! What hour is that the clock is striking? Nine? Yes, nine. I shall never hear it strike that hour again." And he said rightly, for though it struck again before he died, the sound did not reach the ear whose powers approaching death had palsied. His affection for his friends, his delight in his religious associations, were strongly and repeatedly expressed. These religious feelings had been greatly strengthened by the illnesses and infirmities of the latter part of his life. He said he had thought much of these associations, how soon they would be broken and the separation come. "But our intercourse," he added, "will be

more perfect in heaven. Only be faithful and we shall soon meet again." And so he dropped away and went to his reward.

"And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

It only remains that reference should be made to the consolations and to the lessons of instruction furnished by the facts which have now been stated. If I should put to the stricken heart of her who is most deeply interested in this life and death, and for whom our tenderest sympathies are moved, the question, what is there in all these things that is *not* consoling? the answer might perhaps be, 'It is that our friend is no longer living.' And if this were literally true, it would indeed be a fact by which consolation would be excluded. But since death has been abolished, and life and immortality brought to light through the gospel, that which we call death is death no longer. Death is now a name and not a thing, a shadow and not a substance. If death, instead of being as it is the seed of life, were a dread reality, those parting words, "Only be faithful and we shall soon meet again," could never have been uttered. But now

there is in them a delightful meaning, full of hope and joy. Is consolation needed? Thank God! there is abundance. In the useful life and happy death of him for whom we mourn as for one absent but not lost; in the fragrance of his memory that lives in the hearts of all the good; in the kindness of our Father that raised him from his bed of suffering in a foreign land, preserved him amid the dangers of the sea, and brought him home that his eyes might be closed by those he loved, and his dust mingled with its native earth; in the sweetness of that dying declaration, "Our intercourse will be more perfect in heaven;" in the very sorrow that pervades not only this people but also other congregations in sympathy with this, by whom this house is filled as it is wont to be only on occasions of extraordinary interest; in all this there is *such* consolation that if anything is wanting I am free to say I know not what it is.

Am I expected to console the church in the great breach which has just been made in its moral power? Rather let me say, brethren, that it is your part to comfort *me*. If the brother that is gone has been to you much, he has been to me more; as a counsellor judicious and discriminating, as a friend generous and faithful, as a helper in the cause of God prompt, self-sacrificing and constant.

Imbued with a due respect for the pastoral office, he never undertook to make his pastor the minister of a man or of a clique; ready to express his views he did not insist that they should be accepted; and while he must have been conscious of his means of influence, he was nevertheless more apt to open his hand in the bestowment of unsolicited favors than to open his mouth for the contribution of unsolicited advice. It has not been for want of occasional differences of judgment, or of the usual causes of disaffection, that the good feeling which for nearly ten years has existed between us has been crossed by no shadow of discord and clouded by no breath of alienation. In parting with such a friend, while I am able to say with David, "Very pleasant hast thou been unto me," there is no occasion to add, "I am distressed for thee my brother;" for when those we love, instead of being torn from us forever by the untimely violence of man, are only called by the ripe purpose of God a little sooner than ourselves to our common home, there may be room for tears of sorrow, but there is no warrant for the pangs of unavailing regret.

Of those who have no interest in the Saviour in whom our friend trusted and no sympathy with his religious feelings, I would ask, do you question the truth of the great doctrines by which his character

was moulded and his life guided? Without the ability, and I would hope without the desire, to invalidate the facts which have been stated, or to set aside the evidence which this large audience furnishes of the strong hold he had on this community, do you say, ‘He was no doubt a worthy man in spite of his religion, yet he would have been a wiser one without it?’ But what *is* wisdom if it be not that which prompts men to the highest acts and courses of duty and of usefulness; which softens their hearts to the sorrows and opens their hands to the wants of others; which imparts to their charities a breadth of view that covers the wide world, and includes the intellectual and spiritual as well as the physical well-being of the race; which, along with the confidence and affection of their fellow-men, secures for them the supports of inward peace and unwavering trust in God; in a word, which in life leads to the imitation of Christ in his prayerfulness, self-denial and benevolence, and in death lets down from heaven a stream of light that fills the departing soul with hope and joy and irradiates the grave with the glorious doctrine of a coming resurrection? That miserable sophistry which calls itself philosophy, and which, since the age of the apostles, has spent itself in vain attempts to undermine the founda-

tions of the Christian faith, presented to our friend in the form in which it appears at the present day, and urged on his acceptance, was deliberately rejected. "If you would find readers for these books," he said, "you must seek them elsewhere." Holding as a first principle the rule of Christ, "By their fruits ye shall know them," and obeying the exhortation of Paul, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called," he judged that while there is often a show of knowledge, there is in this skepticism no real wisdom, because there is in it no adaptation to the true character, condition and wants of human nature, no provision for the heavenward aspirations of the soul, and no security for the immortal destinies of man. Had he listened to these solicitations he would, if we may rely at all on his experience and testimony, have lost much in life and everything in death. If, as he said on his death-bed, his highest enjoyment in life was drawn from religion, the sacrifice of religion would have been the giving up at once of the highest object and the highest enjoyment of life. And if, on the near approach of death, he had had no God on whom he could call as *his* God and Saviour, there would have been no room for the deep and strong emotion

with which, in view of the death of Christ, of the efficacy of prayer, and of the way of access to the Father through the Son, he cried "Bless God! Bless God!"

But I know there are numbers who fully admit the great truths on which he relied, that nevertheless receive from those truths none of the practical benefits which he derived. Whatever may be the character and lives of such, they are all ready to say, at least in their secret thoughts, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." But the end can not be separated from the means. As a man lives he must expect to die. If the doctrine of Paul is true, that "We are justified by faith without the deeds of the law," so also is the declaration of James, that "Faith without works is dead." Pointing, therefore, to the union of religious principle and practice as they have been illustrated in the honorable and useful life, and in their relation to the peaceful and happy death of him whose loss we mourn, I would say to every one whose intellect and conscience are on the side of God and of his truth, **GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE.**

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A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

FACULTY, STUDENTS, AND ALUMNI

OF

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE,

ON

THE DAY PRECEDING COMMENCEMENT, JULY 27, 1853,

COMMEMORATIVE OF

DANIEL WEBSTER.

BY

RUFUS CHOATE.

EIGHTH THOUSAND.

BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE:
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DISCOURSE.

It would be a strange neglect of a beautiful and approved custom of the schools of learning, and of one of the most pious and appropriate of the offices of literature, if the college in which the intellectual life of Daniel Webster began, and to which his name imparts charm and illustration, should give no formal expression to her grief in the common sorrow; if she should not draw near, of the most sad, in the procession of the bereaved, to the tomb at the sea, nor find, in all her classic shades, one affectionate and grateful leaf to set in the garland with which they have bound the brow of her child, the mightiest departed. Others mourn and praise him by his more distant and more general titles to fame and remembrance; his supremacy of intellect, his statesmanship of so many years, his eloquence of reason and of the heart, his love of country incorruptible, conscientious, and ruling every hour and act; that greatness combined of genius, of character, of manner, of place, of achievement, which was just now among us, and is not, and yet lives still and evermore. You come, his cherishing mother, to own a closer tie, to indulge an emotion more personal and more fond, — grief and exultation contending for mastery, as in the bosom of the desolated parent, whose tears could not hinder him from exclaiming, “I would not exchange my dead son for any living one of Christendom.”

Many places in our American world have spoken his eulogy. To all places the service was befitting, for "his renown, is it not of the treasures of the whole country?" To some it belonged, with a strong local propriety, to discharge it. In the halls of Congress, where the majestic form seems ever to stand and the deep tones to linger, the decorated scene of his larger labors and most diffusive glory; in the courts of law, to whose gladsome light he loved to return, — putting on again the robes of that profession ancient as magistracy, noble as virtue, necessary as justice, — in which he found the beginning of his honors; in Faneuil Hall, whose air breathes and burns of him; in the commercial cities, to whose pursuits his diplomacy secured a peaceful sea; in the cities of the inland, around whom his capacious public affections, and wise discernment, aimed ever to develop the uncounted resources of that other, and that larger, and that newer America; in the pulpit, whose place among the higher influences which exalt a state, our guide in life, our consolation in death, he appreciated profoundly, and vindicated by weightiest argument and testimony, of whose offices, it is among the fittest, to mark and point the moral of the great things of the world, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power passing away as the pride of the wave, — passing from our eye to take on immortality; in these places, and such as these, there seemed a reason beyond, and other, than the universal calamity, for such honors of the grave. But if so, how fit a place is this for such a service! We are among the scenes where the youth of Webster awoke first, and fully, to the life of the mind. We stand, as it were, at the sources, physical, social, moral, intellectual, of that exceeding greatness. Some now here saw that youth. Almost it was yours, Nilum *parvum* videre.

Some, one of his instructors certainly, some possibly of his class mates, or nearest college friends, some of the books he read, some of the apartments in which he studied, are here. We can almost call up from their habitation in the past, or in the fancy, the whole spiritual circle which environed that time of his life; the opinions he had embraced; the theories of mind, of religion, of morals, of philosophy, to which he had surrendered himself; the canons of taste and criticism which he had accepted; the great authors whom he loved best; the trophies which began to disturb his sleep; the facts of history which he had learned, believed, and begun to interpret; the shapes of hope and fear in which imagination began to bring before him the good and evil of the future. Still the same outward world is around you, and above you. The sweet and solemn flow of the river gleaming through intervale here and there; margins and samples of the same old woods, but thinned and retiring; the same range of green hills yonder, tolerant of culture to the top, but shaded then by primeval forests, on whose crest the last rays of sunset lingered; the summit of Ascutney; the great northern light that never sets; the constellations that walk around, and watch the pole; the same nature, undecayed, unchanging, is here. Almost, the idolatries of the old paganism grow intelligible. "*Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur*," exclaims Seneca. "*Subita et ex abrupto vasti amnis eruptio aras habet!*" We stand at the fountain of a stream; we stand rather at the place where a stream, sudden, and from hidden springs, bursts to light; and whence we can follow it along and down, as we might our own Connecticut, and trace its resplendent pathway to the sea; and we venerate, and would almost build altars here. If I may adapt the lofty language of one of the admirers

of William Pitt, we come naturally to this place, as if we could thus recall every circumstance of splendid preparation which contributed to fit the great man for the scene of his glory. We come, as if better here than elsewhere, "we could watch, fold by fold, the bracing on of his Vulcanian panoply, and observe with pleased anxiety, the leading forth of that chariot which, borne on irresistible wheels, and drawn by steeds of immortal race, is to crush the necks of the mighty, and sweep away the serried strength of armies."

And therefore it were fitter that I should ask of you, than speak to you, concerning him. Little indeed anywhere can be added now to that wealth of eulogy that has been heaped upon his tomb. Before he died even, renowned in two hemispheres, in ours he seemed to be known with a universal nearness of knowledge. He walked so long and so conspicuously before the general eye; his actions, his opinions, on all things, which had been large enough to agitate the public mind for the last thirty years and more, had had importance and consequences so remarkable — anxiously waited for, passionately canvassed, not adopted always into the particular measure, or deciding the particular vote of government or the country, yet sinking deep into the reason of the people — a stream of influence whose fruits it is yet too soon for political philosophy to appreciate completely; an impression of his extraordinary intellectual endowments, and of their peculiar superiority in that most imposing and intelligible of all forms of manifestation, the moving of others' minds by speech — this impression had grown so universal and fixed, and it had kindled curiosity to hear him and read him, so wide and so largely indulged; his individuality altogether was so absolute and so pronounced, the force of will no

less than the power of genius; the exact type and fashion of his mind, not less than its general magnitude, were so distinctly shown through his musical and transparent style; the exterior of the man, the grand mystery of brow and eye, the deep tones, the solemnity, the sovereignty, as of those who would build States, "where every power and every grace did seem to set its seal," had been made, by personal observation, by description, by the exaggeration even of those who had felt the spell, by art, the daguerreotype, and picture, and statue, so familiar to the American eye, graven on the memory like the Washington of Stuart; the narrative of the mere incidents of his life had been so often told — by some so authentically, and with such skill — and had been so literally committed to heart, that when he died there seemed to be little left but to say when and how his change came; with what dignity, with what possession of himself, with what loving thought for others, with what gratitude to God, uttered with unfaltering voice, that it was appointed to him there to die; to say how thus, leaning on the rod and staff of the promise, he took his way into the great darkness undismayed, till death should be swallowed up of life; and then to relate how they laid him in that simple grave, and turning and pausing and joining their voices to the voices of the sea, bade him hail and farewell.

And yet I hardly know what there is in public biography, what there is in literature, to be compared, in its kind, with the variety and beauty and adequacy of the series of discourses through which the love and grief, and deliberate and reasoning admiration of America for this great man, have been uttered. Little, indeed, there would be for me to say, if I were capable of the light ambition of proposing to omit all which others have said

on this theme before,—little to add if I sought to say any thing wholly new.

I have thought, perhaps the place where I was to speak suggested the topic, that before we approach the ultimate and historical greatness of Mr. Webster, in its two chief departments, and attempt to appreciate by what qualities of genius and character, and what succession of action he attained it, there might be an interest in going back of all this, so to say, and pausing a few moments upon his youth. I include in that designation the period from his birth, on the eighteenth day of January, 1782, until 1805, when, twenty-three years of age, he declined the clerkship of his father's court, and dedicated himself irrevocably to the profession of the law, and the chances of a summons to less or more of public life. These twenty-three years we shall call the youth of Webster. Its incidents are few and well known, and need not long detain us.

Until May, 1796, beyond the close of his fourteenth year, he lived at home, attending the schools of masters Chase and Tappan, successively; at work sometimes and sometimes at play like any boy; but finding already, as few beside him did, the stimulations and the food of intellectual life in the social library; drinking in, unawares, from the moral and physical aspects about him, the lesson and the power of contention and self-trust; and learning how much grander than the forest bending to the long storm; or the silver and cherishing Merrimack swollen to inundation, and turning, as love become madness, to ravage the subject intervale; or old woods sullenly retiring before axe and fire—learning to feel how much grander than these was the coming in of civilization as there he saw it, courage, labor, patience, plain living, heroical acting, high thinking, beautiful

feeling, the fear of God, love of country, and neighborhood, and family, and all that form of human life of which his father, and mother, and sisters, and brother, were the endeared exemplification. In the arms of that circle, on parent knees, or later, in intervals of work or play, the future American Statesman acquired the idea of country, and became conscious of a national tie and a national life. There and then, something, glimpses, a little of the romance, the sweet and bitter memories of a soldier and borderer of the old colonial time and war, opened to the large dark eyes of the child; memories of French and Indians stealing up to the very place where the story was telling; of men shot down at the plough, within sight of the old log house; of the massacre at Fort William Henry; of Stark, of Howe, of Wolfe falling in the arms of victory; and then of the next age, its grander scenes and higher names; of the father's part at Bennington and White Plains; of Lafayette and Washington; and then of the Constitution, just adopted, and the first President, just inaugurated, with services of public thanksgiving to Almighty God, and the Union just sprung into life, all radiant as morning, harbinger and promise of a brighter day. You have heard how in that season he bought and first read the Constitution on the cotton handkerchief. A small cannon, I think his biographers say, was the ominous plaything of Napoleon's childhood. But this incident reminds us rather of the youthful Luther, astonished and kindling over the first Latin Bible he ever saw—or the still younger Pascal, permitted to look into the Euclid, to whose sublimities an irresistible nature had secretly attracted him. Long before his fourteenth year, the mother first, and then the father, and the teachers and the schools and the little neighborhood, had discovered an extra-

ordinary hope in the boy ; a purpose, a dream, not yet confessed, of giving him an education began to be cherished, and in May, 1796, at the age of a little more than fourteen, he was sent to Exeter. I have myself heard a gentleman, long a leader of the Essex bar, and eminent in public life, now no more, who was then a pupil at the school, describe his large frame, superb face, immature manners, and rustic dress, surmounted with a student's gown, when first he came ; and say, too, how soon and universally his capacity was owned. Who does not wish that the glorious Buckminster could have foreseen and witnessed the whole greatness, but certainly the renown of eloquence, which were to come to the young stranger, whom, choking, speechless, the great fountain of feelings sealed as yet, he tried in vain to encourage to declaim before the unconscious, bright tribes of the school ? The influences of Exeter on him were excellent, but his stay was brief. In the winter of 1796 he was at home again, and in February, 1797, he was placed under the private tuition, and in the family of, Rev. Mr. Wood, of Boscawen. It was on the way with his father, to the house of Mr. Wood, that he first heard with astonishment, that the parental love and good sense had resolved on the sacrifice of giving him an education at college. "I remember," he writes, "the very hill we were ascending, through deep snows, in a New England sleigh, when my father made his purpose known to me. I could not speak. How could he, I thought, with so large a family, and in such narrow circumstances, think of incurring so great an expense for me ? A warm glow ran all over me, and I laid my head on my father's shoulder and wept." That speechlessness, that glow, those tears reveal to us what his memory and consciousness could hardly do to him, that already, some-

where, at some hour of day or evening or night, as he read some page, or heard some narrative, or saw some happier schoolfellow set off from Exeter to begin his college life, the love of intellectual enjoyment, the ambition of intellectual supremacy had taken hold of him; that, when or how he knew not, but before he was aware of it, the hope of obtaining a liberal education and leading a professional life had come to be his last thought before he slept; his first when he awoke; and to shape his dreams. Behold in them, too, his whole future. That day, that hour, that very moment, from the deep snows of that slow hill he set out on the long ascent that bore him — “no step backward” — to the high places of the world! He remained under the tuition of Mr. Wood until August, 1797, and then entered this college, where he was, at the end of the full term of four years, graduated in 1801. Of that college life you can tell me more than I can tell you. It is the universal evidence that it was distinguished by exemplary demeanor, by reverence for religion, respect for instructors, and observance of law. We hear from all sources, too, that it was distinguished by assiduous and various studies. With the exception of one or two branches, for which his imperfect preparation had failed to excite a taste, he is reported to have addressed himself to the prescribed tasks, and to have availed himself of the whole body of means of liberal culture appointed by the government, with decorum and conscientiousness and zeal. We hear more than this. The whole course of traditions concerning his college life is full to prove two facts. The first is, that his reading, general and various far beyond the requirements of the faculty, or the average capacity of that stage of the literary life, was not solid and useful merely, which is vague commenda-

tion, but it was such as predicted and educated the future statesman. In English literature, its finer parts, its poetry and tasteful reading, I mean, he had read much rather than many things, but he had read somewhat. That a young man of his emotional nature, full of eloquent feeling, the germs of a fine taste, the ear for the music of words, the eye for all beauty and all sublimity already in extraordinary measure his, already practising the art of composition, speech, and criticism, should have recreated himself, as we know he did, with Shakespeare, and Pope, and Addison; with the great romance of Defoe; with the more recent biographies of Johnson, and his grand imitations of Juvenal; with the sweet and refined simplicity and abstracted observation of Goldsmith, mingled with sketches of homefelt delight; with the elegy of Gray, whose solemn touches soothed the thoughts or tested the consciousness of the last hour; with the vigorous originality of the then recent Cowper, whom he quoted when he came home, as it proved, to die — this we should have expected. But I have heard, and believe, that it was to another institution, more austere and characteristic, that his own mind was irresistibly and instinctively even then attracted. The conduct of what Locke calls the human understanding; the limits of human knowledge; the means of coming to the knowledge of the different classes of truth; the laws of thought; the science of proofs which is logic; the science of morals; the facts of history; the spirit of laws; the conduct and aims of reasonings in politics — these were the strong meat that announced and began to train the great political thinker and reasoner of a later day.

I have heard that he might oftener be found in some solitary seat or walk, with a volume of Gordon's or Ramsay's Revolution, or of the Federalist, or of Hume's

History of England, or of his Essays, or of Grotius, or Puffendorf, or Cicero, or Montesquieu, or Locke, or Burke, than with Virgil, or Shakespeare, or the Spectator. Of the history of opinions, in the department of philosophy, he was already a curious student. The oration he delivered before the United Fraternity, when he was graduated, treated that topic of opinion, under some aspects, as I recollect from once reading the manuscript, with copiousness, judgment, and enthusiasm; and some of his ridicule of the Berkleian theory of the non-existence of matter, I well remember, anticipated the sarcasm of a later day on a currency all metallic, and on nullification as a strictly constitutional remedy.

The other fact, as well established, by all we can gather of his life in college, is, that the faculty, so transcendent afterwards, of moving the minds of men by speech, was already developed and effective in a remarkable degree. Always there is a best writer and speaker or two in college; but this stereotyped designation seems wholly inadequate to convey the impression he made in his time. Many, now alive, have said that some of his performances, having regard to his youth, his objects, his topics, his audience — one on the celebration of Independence, one a eulogy on a student much beloved — produced an instant effect, and left a recollection, to which nothing else could be compared; which could be felt and admitted only, not explained; but which now they know were the first sweet tones of inexplicable but delightful influence, of that voice, unconfirmed as yet, and unassured, whose more consummate expression charmed and suspended the soul of a nation. To read these essays now disappoints you somewhat. As Quintilian says of Hortensius, *Apparet placuisse aliquid eo dicente quod legentes non invenimus*. Some spell there was

in the spoken word which the reader misses. To find the secret of that spell, you must recall the youth of Webster. Beloved fondly, and appreciated by that circle, as much as by any audience, larger, more exacting, more various, and more fit, which afterwards he found anywhere; known to be manly, just, pure, generous, affectionate; known and felt by his strong will, his high aims, his commanding character, his uncommon and difficult studies; he had every heart's warmest good wish with him when he rose; and then, when — unchecked by any very severe theory of taste, unoppressed by any dread of saying something incompatible with his place and fame, or unequal to himself — he just unlocked the deep spring of that eloquent feeling, which, in connection with his power of mere intellect, was such a stupendous psychological mystery, and gave heart and soul, not to the conduct of an argument, or the investigation and display of a truth of the reason, but to a fervid, beautiful, and prolonged emotion, to grief, to eulogy, to the patriotism of scholars — why need we doubt or wonder, as they looked on that presiding brow, the eye large, sad, unworldly, incapable to be fathomed, the lip and chin, whose firmness as of chiselled, perfect marble, profoundest sensibility alone caused ever to tremble, why wonder at the traditions of the charm which they owned; and the fame which they even then predicted?

His college life closed in 1801. For the statement that he had thought of selecting the profession of theology, the surviving members of his family, his son and his brother-in-law, assure me that there is no foundation. Certainly, he began at once the study of the law, and interrupted only by the necessity of teaching an academy a few months, with which he united the recreation

of recording deeds, he prosecuted it at Salisbury in the office of Mr. Thompson, and at Boston in the office of Mr. Gore, until March, 1805, when, resisting the sharp temptation of a clerkship, and an annual salary of fifteen hundred dollars, he was admitted to the bar.

And so he has put on the robe of manhood, and has come to do the work of life. Of his youth there is no need to say more. It had been pure, happy, strenuous; in many things privileged. The influence of home, of his father, and the excellent mother, and that noble brother, whom he loved so dearly, and mourned with such sorrow — these influences on his heart, principles, will, aims, were elevated and strong. At an early age, comparatively, the then great distinction of liberal education was his. His college life was brilliant and without a stain; and in moving his admission to the bar, Mr. Gore presented him as one of extraordinary promise.

With prospects bright, upon the world he came —
 Pure love of virtue, strong desire of fame;
 Men watched the way his lofty mind would take,
 And all foretold the progress he would make.

And yet, if on some day as that season was drawing to its close, it had been foretold to him, that before his life — prolonged to little more than threescore years and ten — should end, he should see that country, in which he was coming to act his part, expanded across a continent; the thirteen States of 1801 multiplied to thirty-one; the territory of the North-west and the great valley below sown full of those stars of empire; the Mississippi forded, and the Sabine, and Rio Grande, and the Nueces; the ponderous gates of the Rocky Mountains opened to shut no more; the great tranquil sea become our sea; her area seven times larger, her people five times more

in number ; that through all experiences of trial, the madness of party, the injustice of foreign powers, the vast enlargement of her borders, the antagonisms of interior interest and feeling — the spirit of nationality would grow stronger still and more plastic ; that the tide of American feeling would run ever fuller ; that her agriculture would grow more scientific ; her arts more various and instructed, and better rewarded ; her commerce winged to a wider and still wider flight ; that the part she would play in human affairs would grow nobler ever, and more recognized ; that in this vast growth of national greatness time would be found for the higher necessities of the soul ; that her popular and her higher education would go on advancing ; that her charities and all her enterprises of philanthropy would go on enlarging ; that her age of lettered glory should find its auspicious dawn — and then it had been also foretold him that even so, with her growth and strength, should his fame grow and be established and cherished, there where she should garner up her heart ; that by long gradations of service and labor he should rise to be, before he should taste of death, of the peerless among her great ones ; that he should win the double honor, and wear the double wreath of professional and public supremacy ; that he should become her wisest to counsel and her most eloquent to persuade ; that he should come to be called the Defender of the Constitution and the preserver of honorable peace ; that the “ austere glory of suffering ” to save the Union should be his ; that his death, at the summit of greatness, on the verge of a ripe and venerable age, should be distinguished, less by the flags at half mast on ocean and lake, less by the minute-gun, less by the public procession, and the appointed eulogy, than by sudden paleness overspreading

all faces, by gushing tears, by sorrow, thoughtful, bod-
ing, silent, the sense of desolateness, as if renown and
grace were dead — as if the hunter's path, and the
sailor's in the great solitude of wilderness or sea, hence-
forward were more lonely and less safe than before —
had this prediction been whispered, how calmly had
that perfect sobriety of mind put it all aside as a per-
nicious or idle dream! Yet, in the fulfilment of that
prediction is told the remaining story of his life.

It does not come within the plan which I have
marked out for this discourse to repeat the incidents of
that subsequent history. The more conspicuous are
known to you and the whole American world. Minuter
details the time does not permit, nor the occasion re-
quire. Some quite general views of what he became
and achieved; some attempt to appreciate that intellec-
tual power, and force of will, and elaborate culture, and
that power of eloquence, so splendid and remarkable,
by which he wrought his work; some tribute to the en-
dearing and noble parts of his character; and some
attempt to vindicate the political morality by which his
public life was guided, even to its last great act, are all
that I propose, and much more than I can hope worthily
to accomplish.

In coming, then, to consider what he became and
achieved, I have always thought it was not easy to lay
too much stress, in the first place, on that realization of
what might have been regarded incompatible forms of
superiority, and that exemplification of what might have
been regarded incompatible gifts or acquirements —
“rare in their separate excellence, wonderful in their
special combination” — which meet us in him every-
where. Remark, first, that eminence, rare, if not unpre-
cedented, of the first rate, in the two substantially dis-

tinct and unkindred professions — that of the law, and that of public life. In surveying that ultimate and finished greatness in which he stands before you in his full stature and at his best, this double and blended eminence is the first thing that fixes the eye, and the last. When he died he was first of American lawyers, and first of American statesmen. In both characters he continued — discharging the foremost part in each, down to the falling of the awful curtain. Both characters he kept distinct — the habits of mind, the forms of reasoning, the nature of the proofs, the style of eloquence. Neither hurt nor changed the other. How much his understanding was “quickenened and invigorated” by the law, I have often heard him acknowledge and explain. But how, in spite of the law, was that mind, by other felicity, and other culture, “opened and liberalized” also! How few of what are called the bad intellectual habits of the bar he carried into the duties of statesmanship! His interpretations of the Constitution and of treaties; his expositions of public law — how little do you find in them, where, if anywhere, you would expect it, of the mere ingenuity, the moving of “vermiculate questions,” the word-catching, the scholastic subtlety which, in the phrase of his memorable quotation,

“Can sever and divide
 A hair ’twixt north and north-west side,”—

ascribed by satire to the profession; and how much of its truer function, and nobler power of calling, history, language, the moral sentiments, reason, common sense, the high spirit of magnanimous nationality, to the search of truth! How little do we find in his politics of another bad habit of the profession, the worst “idol of the

cave," a morbid, unreasoning, and regretful passion for the past, that bends and weeps over the stream, running irreversibly, because it will not return, and will not pause, and gives back to vanity every hour a changed and less beautiful face! We ascribe to him certainly a sober and conservative habit of mind, and such he had. Such a habit the study and practice of the law doubtless does not impair. But his was my Lord Bacon's conservatism. He held with him, "that antiquity deserveth this reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression." He would keep the Union according to the Constitution, not as a relic, a memorial, a tradition — not for what it has done, though that kindled his gratitude and excited his admiration — but for what it is now and hereafter to do, when adapted by a wise practical philosophy to a wider and higher area, to larger numbers, to severer and more glorious probation. Who better than he has grasped and displayed the advancing tendencies and enlarging duties of America? Who has caught — whose eloquence, whose genius, whose counsels, have caught more adequately the genuine inspiration of our destiny? Who has better expounded by what moral and prudential policy, by what improved culture of heart and reason, by what true worship of God, by what good faith to all other nations, the dangers of that destiny may be disarmed, and its large promise laid hold on?

And while the lawyer did not hurt the statesman, the statesman did not hurt the lawyer. More; the statesman did not modify, did not unrobe, did not tinge, the lawyer. It would not be to him that the epigram could have application, where the old Latin satirist makes the client complain that his lawsuit is concerning *tres capellæ*

— three kids; and that his advocate with large disdain of them, is haranguing with loud voice and both hands, about the slaughters of Cannæ, the war of Mithridates, the perjuries of Hannibal. I could never detect that in his discussions of law he did not just as much recognize authority, just as anxiously seek for adjudications old and new in his favor, just as closely sift them and collate them, that he might bring them to his side if he could, or leave them ambiguous and harmless if he could not; that he did not just as rigorously observe the peculiar mode which that science employs in passing from the known to the unknown, the peculiar logic of the law, as if he had never investigated any other than legal truth by any other organon than legal logic in his life. Peculiarities of legal reasoning he certainly had, belonging to the peculiar structure and vast power of his mind; more original thought, more discourse of principles, less of that mere subtlety of analysis, which is not restrained by good sense, and the higher power of duly tempering and combining one truth in a practical science with other truths, from absurdity or mischief, but still it was all strict and exact legal reasoning. The long habit of employing the more popular methods, the probable and plausible conjectures, the approximations, the compromises of deliberative discussion, did not seem to have left the least trace on his vocabulary, or his reasonings, or his demeanor. No doubt, as a part of his whole culture, it helped to give enlargement and general power and elevation of mind; but the sweet stream passed under the bitter sea, the bitter sea pressed on the sweet stream, and each flowed unmingled, unchanged in taste or color.

I have said that this double eminence is rare, if not unprecedented. We do no justice to Mr. Webster, if

we do not keep this ever in mind. How many exemplifications of it do you find in British public life? The Earl of Chatham, Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, Pitt, Grattan, Canning, Peel — were they also, or any one, the acknowledged leader in Westminster Hall or on the circuit? And, on the other hand, would you say that the mere parliamentary career of Mansfield, or Thurlow, or Dunning, or Erskine, or Camden, or Curran, would compare in duration, constancy, variety of effort, the range of topics discussed, the fulness, extent, and influence of the discussion, the influence exerted, the space filled, the senatorial character completely realized — with his? In our own public life it is easier to find a parallel. Great names crowd on us in each department; greater, or more loved, or more venerable, no annals can show. But how few, even here, have gathered the double wreath, and the blended fame!

And now, having observed the fact of this combination of quality and excellence scarcely compatible, inspect for a moment each by itself.

The professional life of Mr. Webster began in the spring of 1805. It may not be said to have ended until he died; but I do not know that it happened to him to appear in court, for the trial of a cause, after his argument of the Goodyear patent for improvements in the preparation of India-rubber, in Trenton, in March, 1852.

There I saw, and last heard him. The thirty-four years which had elapsed since, a member of this college, at home for health, I first saw and heard him in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in the county of Essex, defending Jackman, accused of the robbery of Goodrich, had in almost all things changed him. The raven hair, the vigorous, full frame and firm tread, the

eminent but severe beauty of the countenance, not yet sealed with the middle age of man, the exuberant demonstration of all sorts of power, which so marked him at first — for these, as once they were, I explored in vain. Yet how far higher was the interest that attended him now : his seventy years robed, as it were, with honor and with love, with associations of great service done to the State, and of great fame gathered and safe ; and then the perfect mastery of the cause in its legal and scientific principles, and in all its facts ; the admirable clearness and order in which his propositions were advanced successively ; the power, the occasional high ethical tone, the appropriate eloquence, by which they were made probable and persuasive to the judicial reason, these announced the leader of the American bar, with every faculty and every accomplishment by which he had won that proud title, wholly unimpaired ; the eye not dim nor the natural force abated.

I cannot here and now trace, with any minuteness, the course of Mr. Webster at the bar during these forty-eight years from the opening of his office in Boscawen ; nor convey any impression whatever of the aggregate of labor which that course imposed ; or of the intellectual power which it exacted ; nor indicate the stages of his rise ; nor define the time when his position at the summit of the profession may be said to have become completely vindicated. You know, in general, that he began the practice of the law in New Hampshire in the spring of 1805 ; that he prosecuted it, here, in its severest school, with great diligence, and brilliant success, among competitors of larger experience and of consummate ability, until 1816 : that he then removed to Massachusetts, and that there, in the courts of that State, and of other States, and ... those of the general govern-

ment, and especially in the Supreme Court sitting at Washington, he pursued it as the calling by which he was to earn his daily bread until he died. You know indeed that he did not pursue it exactly as one pursues it who confines himself to an office ; and seeks to do the current and miscellaneous business of a single bar. His professional employment, as I have often heard him say, was very much the preparation of opinions on important questions, presented from every part of the country ; and the trial of causes. This kind of professional life allowed him seasonable vacations ; and it accommodated itself somewhat to the exactions of his other and public life. But it was all one long and continued practice of the law ; the professional character was never put off ; nor the professional robe long unworn to the last.

You know, too, his character as a jurist. This topic has been recently and separately treated, with great ability, by one in a high degree competent to the task ; the late learned Chief Justice of New Hampshire, now Professor of Law at Cambridge ; and it needs no additional illustration from me. Yet, let me say, that herein, also, the first thing which strikes you is the union of diverse, and, as I have said, what might have been regarded incompatible excellences. I shall submit it to the judgment of the universal American bar, if a carefully prepared opinion of Mr. Webster, on any question of law whatever in the whole range of our jurisprudence, would not be accepted everywhere as of the most commanding authority, and as the highest evidence of legal truth ? I submit it to that same judgment, if for many years before his death, they would not have rather chosen to intrust the maintenance and enforcement of any important proposition of law whatever, before any legal tribunal of character whatever,

to his best exertion of his faculties, than to any other ability which the whole wealth of the profession could supply ?

And this alone completes the description of a lawyer and a forensic orator of the first rate ; but it does not complete the description of his professional character. By the side of all this, so to speak, there was that whole class of qualities which made him for any description of trial by jury whatever, criminal or civil, by even a more universal assent, foremost. For that form of trial no faculty was unused or needless ; but you were most struck there to see the unrivalled legal reason put off, as it were, and reappear in the form of a robust common sense and eloquent feeling, applying itself to an exciting subject of business ; to see the knowledge of men and life by which the falsehood and veracity of witnesses, the probabilities and improbabilities of transactions as sworn to, were discerned in a moment ; the direct, plain, forcible speech ; the consummate narrative, a department which he had particularly cultivated, and in which no man ever excelled him ; the easy and perfect analysis by which he conveyed his side of the cause to the mind of the jury ; the occasional gush of strong feeling, indignation, or pity ; the masterly, yet natural way, in which all the moral emotions of which his cause was susceptible, were called to use, the occasional sovereignty of dictation to which his convictions seemed spontaneously to rise. His efforts in trials by jury compose a more traditional and evanescent part of his professional reputation than his arguments on questions of law ; but I almost think they were his mightiest professional displays, or displays of any kind, after all.

One such I stood in a relation to witness with a comparatively easy curiosity, and yet with intimate and pro-

fessional knowledge of all the embarrassments of the case. It was the trial of John Francis Knapp, charged with being present, aiding, and abetting in the murder of Joseph White, in which Mr. Webster conducted the prosecution for the Commonwealth; in the same year with his reply to Mr. Hayne, in the Senate; and a few months later; and when I bring to mind the incidents of that trial: the necessity of proving that the prisoner was near enough to the chamber in which the murder was being committed by another hand to aid in the act; and was there with the intention to do so, and thus in point of law did aid in it — because mere accessorial guilt was not enough to convict him; the difficulty of proving this — because the nearest point to which the evidence could trace him was still so distant as to warrant a pretty formidable doubt whether mere curiosity had not carried him thither; and whether he could in any useful, or even conceivable manner have coöperated with the actual murderer, if he had intended to do so; and because the only mode of rendering it probable that he was there with a purpose of guilt was by showing that he was one of the parties to a conspiracy of murder, whose very existence, actors, and objects, had to be made out by the collation of the widest possible range of circumstances — some of them pretty loose — and even if he was a conspirator it did not quite necessarily follow that any active participation was assigned to him for his part, any more than to his brother, who, confessedly took no such part — the great number of witnesses to be examined and cross-examined, a duty devolving wholly on him; the quick and sound judgment demanded and supplied to determine what to use and what to reject of a mass of rather unmanageable materials; the points in the law of evidence to be

argued — in the course of which he made an appeal to the Bench on the complete impunity which the rejection of the prisoner's confession would give to the murder, in a style of dignity and energy, I should rather say, of grandeur which I never heard him equal before or after; the high ability and fidelity with which every part of the defence was conducted; and the great final summing up to which he brought, and in which he needed, the utmost exertion of every faculty he possessed to persuade the jury that the obligation of that duty the sense of which, he said, "pursued us ever: it is omnipresent like the Deity: if we take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, duty performed or duty violated is still with us for our happiness or misery" — to persuade them that this obligation demanded that on his proofs they should convict the prisoner: to which he brought first the profound belief of his guilt, without which he could not have prosecuted him; then skill consummate in inspiring them with a desire or a willingness to be instrumental in detecting that guilt; and to lean on him in the effort to detect it; then every resource of professional ability to break the force of the propositions of the defence, and to establish the truth of his own: inferring a conspiracy to which the prisoner was a party, from circumstances acutely ridiculed by the able counsel opposing him as "Stuff" — but woven by him into strong and uniform tissue; and then bridging over from the conspiracy to the not very necessary inference that the particular conspirator on trial was at his post, in execution of it, to aid and abet — the picture of the murder with which he begun — not for rhetorical display, but to inspire solemnity, and horror, and a desire to detect and punish for justice and for security; the sublime exhortation to

duty with which he closed — resting on the universality, and authoritativeness and eternity of its obligation — which left in every juror's mind the impression that it was the duty of convicting in this particular case the sense of which would be with him in the hour of death, and in the judgment, and forever — with these recollections of that trial I cannot help thinking it a more difficult and higher effort of mind than that more famous “Oration for the Crown.”

It would be not unpleasing nor inappropriate to pause, and recall the names of some of that succession of competitors by whose rivalry the several stages of his professional life were honored and exercised; and of some of the eminent judicial persons who presided over that various and high contention. Time scarcely permits this; but in the briefest notice I must take occasion to say that perhaps the most important influence — certainly the most important early influence — on his professional traits and fortunes, was that exerted by the great general abilities, impressive character, and legal genius of Mr. Mason. Who he was you all know. How much the jurisprudence of New Hampshire owes to him; what deep traces he left on it; how much he did to promote the culture, and to preserve the integrity of the old common law; to adapt it to your wants, and your institutions; and to construct a system of practice by which it was administered with extraordinary energy and effectiveness for the discovery of truth, and the enforcement of right; you of the legal profession of this State will ever be proud to acknowledge. Another forum in a neighboring Commonwealth, witnessed and profited by the last labors, and enlarged studies of the consummate lawyer and practiser; and at an earlier day the Senate, the country, had recognized his vast practi-

cal wisdom and sagacity, the fruit of the highest intellectual endowments, matured thought; and profound observation; his fidelity to the obligations of that party connection to which he was attached; his fidelity, through all his life, still more conspicuous, and still more admirable, to the higher obligations of a considerate and enlarged patriotism. He had been more than fourteen years at the bar, when Mr. Webster came to it; he discerned instantly what manner of man his youthful competitor was; he admitted him to his intimate friendship; and paid him the unequivocal compliment, and did him the real kindness of compelling him to the utmost exertion of his diligence and capacity by calling out against him all his own. "The proprieties of this occasion" — these are Mr. Webster's words in presenting the resolutions of the Suffolk Bar upon Mr. Mason's death — "compel me, with whatever reluctance, to refrain from the indulgence of the personal feelings which arise in my heart upon the death of one with whom I have cultivated a sincere, affectionate, and unbroken friendship from the day when I commenced my own professional career to the closing hour of his life. I will not say of the advantages which I have derived from his intercourse and conversation all that Mr. Fox said of Edmund Burke, but I am bound to say, that of my own professional discipline and attainments, whatever they may be, I owe much to that close attention to the discharge of my duties which I was compelled to pay for nine successive years, from day to day, by Mr. Mason's efforts and arguments at the same bar. I must have been unintelligent indeed, not to have learned something from the constant displays of that power which I had so much occasion to see and feel."

I reckon next to his, for the earlier time of his life,

the influence of the learned and accomplished Smith; and next to these — some may believe greater — is that of Mr. Justice Story. That extraordinary person had been admitted to the bar in Essex in Massachusetts in 1801; and he was engaged in many trials in the county of Rockingham in this State before Mr. Webster had assumed his own established position. Their political opinions differed; but such was his affluence of knowledge already; such his stimulant enthusiasm; he was burning with so incredible a passion for learning, and fame, that the influence on the still young Webster was instant; and it was great and permanent. It was reciprocal too; and an intimacy began that attended the whole course of honor through which each, in his several sphere, ascended. Parsons he saw, also, but rarely; and Dexter oftener, and with more nearness of observation, while yet laying the foundation of his own mind and character; and he shared largely in the universal admiration of that time, and of this, of their attainments, and genius, and diverse greatness.

As he came to the grander practice of the national bar, other competition was to be encountered. Other names begin to solicit us; other contention; higher prizes. It would be quite within the proprieties of this discourse to remember the parties, at least, to some of the higher causes, by which his ultimate professional fame was built up; even if I could not hope to convey any impression of the novelty and difficulty of the questions which they involved, or of the positive addition which the argument, and judgment, made to the treasures of our constitutional and general jurisprudence. But there is only one of which I have time to say any thing, and that is the case which established the inviolability of the charter of Dartmouth College by the

Legislature of the State of New Hampshire. Acts of the Legislature, passed in the year 1816, had invaded its charter. A suit was brought to test their validity. It was tried in the Supreme Court of the State; a judgment was given against the college, and this was appealed to the Supreme Federal Court by writ of error. Upon solemn argument the charter was decided to be a contract whose obligation a State may not impair; the acts were decided to be invalid as an attempt to impair it, and you hold your charter under that decision to-day. How much Mr. Webster contributed to that result, how much the effort advanced his own distinction at the bar, you all know. Well, as if of yesterday, I remember how it was written home from Washington, that "Mr. Webster closed a legal argument of great power by a peroration which charmed and melted his audience." Often since I have heard vague accounts, not much more satisfactory, of the speech and the scene. I was aware that the report of his argument, as it was published, did not contain the actual peroration, and I supposed it lost forever. By the great kindness of a learned and excellent person, Dr. Chauncy A. Goodrich, a professor in Yale College, with whom I had not the honor of acquaintance, although his virtues, accomplishments, and most useful life, were well known to me, I can read to you the words whose power, when those lips spoke them, so many owned, although they could not repeat them. As those lips spoke them, we shall hear them nevermore, but no utterance can extinguish their simple, sweet, and perfect beauty. Let me first, bring the general scene before you, and then you will hear the rest in Mr. Goodrich's description. It was in 1818, in the thirty-seventh year of Mr. Webster's age. It was addressed to a tribunal presided over by Marshall, assisted by Wash-

ington, Livingston, Johnson, Story, Todd, and Duvall — a tribunal unsurpassed on earth in all that gives illustration to a bench of law, and sustained and venerated by a noble bar. He had called to his aid the ripe and beautiful culture of Hopkinson; and of his opponents was William Wirt, then and ever of the leaders of the bar, who, with faculties and accomplishments fitting him to adorn and guide public life, abounding in deep professional learning, and in the most various and elegant acquisitions — a ripe and splendid orator, made so by genius and the most assiduous culture — consecrated all to the service of the law. It was before that tribunal, and in presence of an audience select and critical, among whom, it is to be borne in mind, were some graduates of the college, who were attending to assist against her, that he opened the cause. I gladly proceed in the words of Mr. Goodrich.

“Before going to Washington, which I did chiefly for the sake of hearing Mr. Webster, I was told that, in arguing the case at Exeter, New Hampshire, he had left the whole court room in tears at the conclusion of his speech. This, I confess, struck me unpleasantly — any attempt at pathos on a purely legal question like this, seemed hardly in good taste. On my way to Washington, I made the acquaintance of Mr. Webster. We were together for several days in Philadelphia, at the house of a common friend; and as the college question was one of deep interest to literary men, we conversed often and largely on the subject. As he dwelt upon the leading points of the case, in terms so calm, simple, and precise, I said to myself more than once, in reference to the story I had heard, ‘Whatever may have seemed appropriate in defending the college at *home*, and on her

own ground, there will be no appeal to the feelings of Judge Marshall and his associates at Washington.' The Supreme Court of the United States held its session, that winter, in a mean apartment of moderate size — the Capitol not having been built after its destruction in 1814. The audience, when the case came on, was therefore small, consisting chiefly of legal men, the *élite* of the profession throughout the country. Mr. Webster entered upon his argument in the calm tone of easy and dignified conversation. His matter was so completely at his command that he scarcely looked at his brief, but went on for more than four hours with a statement so luminous, and a chain of reasoning so easy to be understood, and yet approaching so nearly to absolute demonstration, that he seemed to carry with him every man of his audience without the slightest effort or weariness on either side. It was hardly *eloquence*, in the strict sense of the term; it was pure reason. Now and then, for a sentence or two, his eye flashed and his voice swelled into a bolder note, as he uttered some emphatic thought; but he instantly fell back into the tone of earnest conversation, which ran throughout the great body of his speech. A single circumstance will show you the clearness and absorbing power of his argument.

"I observe that Judge Story, at the opening of the case, had prepared himself, pen in hand, as if to take copious minutes. Hour after hour I saw him fixed in the same attitude, but, so far as I could perceive, with not a note on his paper. The argument closed, and *I could not discover that he had taken a single note.* Others around me remarked the same thing, and it was among the *on dits* of Washington, that a friend spoke to him of the fact with surprise, when the Judge remarked, 'every thing was so clear, and so easy to remember, that not

a note seemed necessary, and, in fact, I thought little or nothing about my notes.'

"The argument ended. Mr. Webster stood for some moments silent before the Court, while every eye was fixed intently upon him. At length, addressing the Chief Justice, Marshall, he proceeded thus: —

"*This, Sir, is my case!* It is the case, not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land. It is more. It is the case of every eleemosynary institution throughout our country — of all those great charities founded by the piety of our ancestors to alleviate human misery, and scatter blessings along the pathway of life. It is more! It is, in some sense, the case of every man among us who has property of which he may be stripped, for the question is simply this: Shall our State Legislature be allowed to take *that* which is not their own, to turn it from its original use, and apply it to such ends or purposes as they, in their discretion, shall see fit!

"Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands! I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out. But if you do so, you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those great lights of science which, for more than a century, have thrown their radiance over our land!

"It is, Sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet, *there are those who love it* ——'

"Here the feelings which he had thus far succeeded in keeping down, broke forth. His lips quivered; his firm cheeks trembled with emotion; his eyes were filled with tears, his voice choked, and he seemed struggling to the utmost simply to gain that mastery over himself which

might save him from an unmanly burst of feeling. I will not attempt to give you the few broken words of tenderness in which he went on to speak of his attachment to the college. The whole seemed to be mingled throughout with the recollections of father, mother, brother, and all the trials and privations through which he had made his way into life. Every one saw that it was wholly unpremeditated, a pressure on his heart, which sought relief in words and tears.

“The court room during these two or three minutes presented an extraordinary spectacle. Chief Justice Marshall, with his tall and gaunt figure bent over as if to catch the slightest whisper, the deep furrows of his cheek expanded with emotion, and eyes suffused with tears; Mr. Justice Washington at his side, with his small and emaciated frame and countenance more like marble than I ever saw on any other human being—leaning forward with an eager, troubled look; and the remainder of the Court, at the two extremities, pressing, as it were, toward a single point, while the audience below were wrapping themselves round in closer folds beneath the bench to catch each look, and every movement of the speaker’s face. If a painter could give us the scene on canvas—those forms and countenances, and Daniel Webster as he then stood in the midst, it would be one of the most touching pictures in the history of eloquence. One thing it taught me, that the *pathetic* depends not merely on the words uttered, but still more on the estimate we put upon him who utters them. There was not one among the strong-minded men of that assembly who could think it unmanly to weep, when he saw standing before him the man who had made such an argument, melted into the tenderness of a child.

“Mr. Webster had now recovered his composure, and fixing his keen eye on the Chief Justice, said, in that deep tone with which he sometimes thrilled the heart of an audience:—

“‘Sir, I know not how others may feel,’ (glancing at the opponents of the college before him,) ‘but, for myself, when I see my alma mater surrounded, like Cæsar in the senate house, by those who are reiterating stab upon stab, I would not, for this right hand, have her turn to me, and say, *Et tu quoque mi fili!* And thou too, my son!’

“He sat down. There was a deathlike stillness throughout the room for some moments; every one seemed to be slowly recovering himself, and coming gradually back to his ordinary range of thought and feeling.”

It was while Mr. Webster was ascending through the long gradations of the legal profession to its highest rank, that by a parallel series of display on a stage, and in parts totally distinct, by other studies, thoughts, and actions he rose also to be at his death the first of American Statesmen. The last of the mighty rivals was dead before, and he stood alone. Give this aspect also of his greatness a passing glance. His public life began in May, 1813, in the House of Representatives in Congress, to which this State had elected him. It ended when he died. If you except the interval between his removal from New Hampshire and his election in Massachusetts, it was a public life of forty years. By what political morality, and by what enlarged patriotism, embracing the whole country, that life was guided, I shall consider hereafter. Let me now fix your attention rather on the magnitude and variety and actual value of the

service. Consider that from the day he went upon the Committee of Foreign Relations, in 1813, in time of war, and more and more, the longer he lived and the higher he rose, he was a man whose great talents and devotion to public duty placed and kept him in a position of associated or sole command; command in the political connection to which he belonged, command in opposition, command in power; and appreciate the responsibilities which that implies, what care, what prudence, what mastery of the whole ground — exacting for the conduct of a party, as Gibbon says of Fox, abilities and civil discretion equal to the conduct of an empire. Consider the work he did in that life of forty years — the range of subjects investigated and discussed: composing the whole theory and practice of our organic and administrative politics, foreign and domestic: the vast body of instructive thought he produced and put in possession of the country; how much he achieved in Congress as well as at the bar, to fix the true interpretation, as well as to impress the transcendent value of the Constitution itself; as much altogether as any jurist or statesman since its adoption; how much to establish in the general mind the great doctrine that the government of the United States is a government proper, established by the people of the States, not a compact between sovereign communities, — that within its limits it is supreme, and that whether it is within its limits or not, in any given exertion of itself, is to be determined by the Supreme Court of the United States — the ultimate arbiter in the last resort — from which there is no appeal but to revolution; how much he did in the course of the discussions which grew out of the proposed mission to Panama, and, at a later day, out of the removal of the deposits, to place the executive

department of the government on its true basis, and under its true limitations; to secure to that department all its just powers on the one hand, and on the other hand to vindicate to the legislative department, and especially to the Senate, all that belong to them; to arrest the tendencies which he thought at one time threatened to substitute the government of a single will, of a single person of great force of character and boundless popularity, and of a numerical majority of the people, told by the head, without intermediate institutions of any kind, judicial or senatorial, in place of the elaborate system of checks and balances, by which the Constitution aimed at a government of laws, and not of men; how much, attracting less popular attention, but scarcely less important, to complete the great work which experience had shown to be left unfinished by the judiciary act of 1789, by providing for the punishment of all crimes against the United States; how much for securing a safe currency and a true financial system, not only by the promulgation of sound opinions, but by good specific measures adopted, or bad ones defeated; how much to develop the vast material resources of the country, and to push forward the planting of the West—not troubled by any fear of exhausting old States—by a liberal policy of public lands, by vindicating the constitutional power of Congress to make or aid in making large classes of internal improvements, and by acting on that doctrine uniformly from 1813, whenever a road was to be built, or a rapid suppressed, or a canal to be opened, or a breakwater or a lighthouse set up above or below the flow of the tide, if so far beyond the ability of a single State, or of so wide utility to commerce, and labor as to rise to the rank of a work general in its influences—another tie

of union because another proof of the beneficence of union; how much to protect the vast mechanical and manufacturing interests of the country, a value of many hundreds of millions—after having been lured into existence against his counsels, against his science of political economy, by a policy of artificial encouragement—from being sacrificed, and the pursuits and plans of large regions and communities broken up, and the acquired skill of the country squandered by a sudden and capricious withdrawal of the promise of the government; how much for the right performance of the most delicate and difficult of all tasks, the ordering of the foreign affairs of a nation, free, sensitive, self-conscious, recognizing, it is true, public law and a morality of the State, binding on the conscience of the State, yet aspiring to power, eminence, and command, its whole frame filled full and all on fire with American feeling, sympathetic with liberty everywhere—how much for the right ordering of the foreign affairs of such a State—aiming in all his policy, from his speech on the Greek question in 1823, to his letters to M. Hulsemann in 1850, to occupy the high, plain, yet dizzy ground which separates influence from intervention, to avow and promulgate warm good will to humanity, wherever striving to be free, to inquire authentically into the history of its struggles, to take official and avowed pains to ascertain the moment when its success may be recognized, consistently, ever, with the great code that keeps the peace of the world, abstaining from every thing which shall give any nation a right under the law of nations to utter one word of complaint, still less to retaliate by war—the sympathy, but also the neutrality, of Washington—how much to compose with honor a concurrence of difficulties with the first power in the world,

which any thing less than the highest degree of discretion, firmness, ability, and means of commanding respect and confidence at home and abroad would inevitably have conducted to the last calamity — a disputed boundary line of many hundred miles, from the St. Croix to the Rocky Mountains, which divided an exasperated and impracticable border population, enlisted the pride and affected the interests and controlled the politics of particular States, as well as pressed on the peace and honor of the nation, which the most popular administrations of the era of the quietest and best public feelings, the times of Monroe and of Jackson, could not adjust; which had grown so complicated with other topics of excitement that one false step, right or left, would have been a step down a precipice — this line settled forever — the claim of England to search our ships for the suppression of the slave-trade silenced forever, and a new engagement entered into by treaty, binding the national faith to contribute a specific naval force for putting an end to the great crime of man — the long practice of England to enter an American ship and impress from its crew, terminated forever; the deck henceforth guarded sacredly and completely by the flag — how much by profound discernment, by eloquent speech, by devoted life to strengthen the ties of union, and breathe the fine and strong spirit of nationality through all our numbers — how much, most of all, last of all, after the war with Mexico, needless if his counsels had governed, had ended in so vast an acquisition of territory, in presenting to the two great antagonist sections of our country so vast an area to enter on, so imperial a prize to contend for, and the accursed fraternal strife had begun — how much then, when rising to the measure of a true, and difficult, and rare greatness, remembering that he had a country

to save as well as a local constituency to gratify, laying all the wealth, all the hopes, of an illustrious life on the altar of a hazardous patriotism, he sought and won the more exceeding glory which now attends—which in the next age shall more conspicuously attend—his name who composes an agitated and saves a sinking land—recall this series of conduct and influences, study them carefully in their facts and results—the reading of years—and you attain to a true appreciation of this aspect of his greatness—his public character and life.

For such a review the eulogy of an hour has no room. Such a task demands research; details; proofs; illustrations; a long labor—a volume of history composed according to her severest laws—setting down nothing, depreciating nothing, in malignity to the dead; suppressing nothing and falsifying nothing in adulation of the dead; professing fidelity incorrupt—unswerved by hatred or by love, yet able to measure, able to glow in the contemplation of a true greatness and a vast and varied and useful public life; such a history as the genius and judgment and delicate private and public morality of Everett—assisted by his perfect knowledge of the facts—not disqualified by his long friendship unchilled to the last hour—such a history as he might construct.

Two or three suggestions, occurring on the most general observation of this aspect of his eminence, you will tolerate as I leave the topic.

Remark how very large a proportion of all this class of his acts, are wholly beyond, and outside, of the profession of the law; demanding studies, experience, a turn of mind, a cast of qualities and character, such as that profession neither gives, nor exacts. Some single speeches in Congress of consummate ability, have been

made by great lawyers, drawing for the purpose, only on the learning, accomplishments, logic, and eloquence of the forum. Such was Chief Justice, then Mr. Marshall's argument in the case of Jonathan Robbins — turning on the interpretation of a treaty, and the constitutional power of the executive; a demonstration if there is any in Euclid — anticipating the masterly judgments in the cause of Dartmouth College, or of Gibbons and Ogden, or of Maculloch and the State of Maryland; but such an one as a lawyer like him — if another there was — could have made in his professional capacity at the bar of the House, although he had never reflected on practical politics an hour in his life. Such somewhat was William Pinkney's speech in the House of Representatives on the treaty-making power, in 1815, and his two more splendid displays, in the Senate, on the Missouri question, in 1820, the last of which I heard Mr. Clay pronounce the greatest he ever heard. They were pieces of legal reasoning, on questions of constitutional law; decorated of course by a rhetoric which Hortensius might have envied, and Cicero would not have despised; but they were professional at last. To some extent this is true of some of Mr. Webster's ablest speeches in Congress; or, more accurately, of some of the more important portions of some of his ablest. I should say so of a part of that on the Panama Mission; of the reply to Mr. Hayne even; and of almost the whole of that reply to Mr. Calhoun on the thesis, "the Constitution not a compact between sovereign States;" the whole series of discussion of the constitutional power of the Executive, and the constitutional power of the Senate, growing out of the removal of the deposits and the supposed tendencies of our system towards a centralization of gov-

ernment in a President, and a majority of the people — marked, all of them, by amazing ability. To these the lawyer who could demonstrate that the Charter of this College is a contract within the Constitution, or that the Steamboat Monopoly usurped upon the executed power of Congress to regulate commerce, was already equal — but to have been the leader, or of the leaders of his political connection for thirty years; to have been able to instruct and guide on every question of policy as well as law, which interested the nation in all that time; every question of finance; of currency; of the lands; of the development and care of our resources and labour; to have been of strength to help to lead his country by the hand, up to a position of influence and attraction on the highest places of earth, yet to keep her peace, and to keep her honor; to have been able to emulate the prescriptive and awful renown of the founders of States by doing something which will be admitted, when some generations have passed, even more than now, to have contributed to preserve the State — for all this another man was needed — and he stands forth another and the same.

I am hereafter to speak separately of the political morality which guided him ever, but I would say a word now on two portions of his public life, one of which has been the subject of accusatory, the other of disparaging criticism, unsound — unkind — in both instances.

The first comprises his course in regard to a protective policy. He opposed a tariff of protection it is said, in 1816, and 1820, and 1824; and he opposed, in 1828, a sudden and fatal repeal of such a tariff; and there-upon I have seen it written that “this proved him a man with no great comprehensive ideas of political

economy; who took the fleeting interests, and transient opinions of the hour for his norms of conduct;" "who had no sober and serious convictions of his own." I have seen it more decorously written, "that his opinions on this subject were not determined by general principles, but by a consideration of immediate sectional interests."

I will not answer this by what Scaliger says of Lipsius, the arrogant pedant who dogmatized on the deeper politics as he did on the text of Tacitus and Seneca. *Neque est politicus; nec potest quicquam in politiâ; nihil possunt pedantes in ipsis rebus: nec ego, nec alius doctus possumus scribere in politicis.* I say only that the case totally fails to give color to the charge. The reasonings of Mr. Webster in 1816, 1820, and 1824, express that on mature reflection, and due and appropriate study he had embraced the opinion that it was needless and unwise to force American manufactures, by regulation, prematurely to life. Bred in a commercial community; taught from his earliest hours of thought to regard the care of commerce, as, in point of fact, a leading object and cause of the Union: to observe around him no other forms of material industry than those of commerce; navigation; fisheries; agriculture, and a few plain and robust mechanical arts, he would come to the study of the political economy of the subject with a certain preoccupation of mind perhaps; so coming he did study it at its well heads, and he adopted his conclusions sincerely, and announced them strongly.

His opinions were overruled by Congress; and a national policy was adopted, holding out all conceivable promise of permanence, under which vast and sensitive investments of capital were made; the expectations, the employments, the habits, of whole ranges of States were

recast ; an industry, new to us, springing, immature, had been advanced just so far, that if deserted, at that moment, there must follow a squandering of skill ; a squandering of property ; an aggregate of destruction, senseless, needless, and unconscientious — such as marks the worst form of revolution. On these facts, at a later day, he thought that that industry, the child of Government, should not thus capriciously be deserted. “The duty of the government,” he said, “at the present moment would seem to be to preserve, not to destroy ; to maintain the position which it has assumed ; and for one I shall feel it an indispensable obligation to hold it steady, as far as in my power, to that degree of protection which it has undertaken to bestow.”

And does this prove that these original opinions were hasty ; shallow ; insincere ; unstudied ? Consistently with every one of them ; consistently with the true spirit, and all the aims, of the science of political economy itself ; consistently with every duty of sober, high, earnest, and moral statesmanship, might not he who resisted the making of a tariff in 1816, deprecate its abandonment in 1828 ? Does not Adam Smith himself admit that it is “*matter fit for deliberation* how far or in what manner, it may be proper to restore that free importation after it has been for some time interrupted ?” implying that a general principle of national wealth may be displaced or modified by special circumstances — but would these censors therefore cry out that he had no “great and comprehensive ideas of political economy,” and was willing to be “determined not by general principles, but by immediate interests ?” Because a father advises his son against an early and injudicious marriage ; does it logically follow, or is it ethically right, that after his advice has been disregarded, he is to

recommend desertion of the young wife, and the young child? I do not appreciate the beauty and "comprehensiveness" of those scientific ideas which forget that the actual and vast "interests" of the community are exactly what the legislator has to protect; that the concrete of things must limit the foolish wantonness of *à priori* theory; that that department of politics, which has for its object the promotion and distribution of the wealth of nations, may very consistently, and very scientifically preserve what it would not have created. He who accuses Mr. Webster in this behalf of "having no sober and serious convictions of his own," must afford some other proof than his opposition to the introduction of a policy; and then his willingness to preserve it after it had been introduced, and five hundred millions of property, or, however, a countless sum had been invested under it, or become dependent on its continuance.

I should not think that I consulted his true fame if I did not add that as he came to observe the practical workings of the protective policy more closely than at first he had done; as he came to observe the working and influences of a various manufacturing and mechanical labor; to see how it employs and develops every faculty; finds occupation for every hour; creates or diffuses and disciplines ingenuity, gathering up every fragment of mind and time so that nothing be lost; how a steady and ample home market assists agriculture; how all the great employments of man are connected by a kindred tie, so that the tilling of the land, navigation, foreign, coastwise and interior commerce, all grow with the growth, and strengthen with the strength of the industry of the arts—he came to appreciate, more adequately than at first, how this form of labor contributes

to wealth ; power ; enjoyment ; a great civilization ; he came more justly to grasp the conception of how consummate a destruction it would cause — how senseless, how unphilosophical, how immoral — to arrest it suddenly and capriciously — after it had been lured into life ; how wiser — how far truer to the principles of the science which seeks to augment the wealth of the State, to refuse to destroy so immense an accumulation of that wealth. In this sense, and in this way, I believe his opinions were matured and modified ; but it does not quite follow that they were not, in every period, conscientiously formed and held, or that they were not in the actual circumstances of each period philosophically just, and practically wise.

The other act of his public life to which I allude is his negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, in 1842, with Great Britain. This act, the country, the world, has judged, and has applauded. Of his administrative ability ; his discretion ; temper ; civil courage ; his power of exacting respect and confidence from those with whom he communicated ; and of influencing their reason ; his knowledge of the true interests and true grandeur of the two great parties to the negotiation ; of the States of the Union more immediately concerned, and of the world whose chief concern is peace ; and of the feelings, and disparaging criticisms of the hour, in the intrepidity with which he encountered the disappointed consciousness that he had done a good and large deed, and earned a permanent and honest renown — of these it is the truest and most unfortunate single exemplification which remains of him. Concerning its difficulty, importance, and merits of all sorts, there were at the time, few dissenting opinions among those most conversant with the subject, although there were some ; to-

day there are fewer still. They are so few — a single sneer by the side of his grave, expressing that “a man who makes such a bargain is not entitled to any great glory among diplomatists,” is all that I can call to mind — that I will not arrest the course of your feelings here and now by attempting to refute that “sneer” out of the history of the hour and scene. “Standing here,” he said in April, 1846, in the Senate of the United States to which he had returned — “standing here to-day, in this Senate, and speaking in behalf of the administration of which I formed a part, and in behalf of the two houses of Congress who sustained that administration, cordially and effectively, in every thing relating to this treaty, I am willing to appeal to the public men of the age, whether in 1842, and in the city of Washington, something was not done for the suppression of crime; for the true exposition of the principles of public law; for the freedom and security of commerce on the ocean, and for the peace of the world!” In that forum the appeal has been heard, and the praise of a diplomatic achievement of true and permanent glory, has been irreversibly awarded to him. Beyond that forum of the mere “public men of the age,” by the larger jurisdiction, the general public, the same praise has been awarded. *Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi.* That which I had the honor to say in the Senate, in the session of 1843, in a discussion concerning this treaty, is true, and applicable, now as then. “Why should I, or why should any one, assume the defence of a treaty here in this body, which but just now, on the amplest consideration, in the confidence and calmness of executive session, was approved by a vote so decisive? Sir, the country by a vote far more decisive, in a proportion very far beyond thirty-nine to nine, has approved your approval. Some

there are, some few — I speak not now of any member of this Senate — restless, selfish, reckless, “the cankers of a calm world and a long peace,” pining with thirst of notoriety, slaves to their hatred of England, to whom the treaty is distasteful; to whom any treaty, and all things but the glare and clamor, the vain pomp and hollow circumstance of war—all but these would be distasteful and dreary. But the country is with you in this act of wisdom and glory; its intelligence; its morality; its labor; its good men; the thoughtful; the philanthropic; the discreet; the masses, are with you.” “It confirms the purpose of the wise and good of both nations to be for ever at peace with one another, and to put away forever all war from the kindred races: war the most ridiculous of blunders; the most tremendous of crimes; the most comprehensive of evils.”

And now to him who in the solitude of his library depreciates this act, first, because there was no danger of a war with England, I answer that according to the overwhelming weight of that kind of evidence by which that kind of question must be tried, that is by the judgment of the great body of well-informed public men at that moment in Congress; in the Government; in diplomatic situation—our relations to that power had become so delicate, and so urgent, that unless soon adjusted by negotiation there was real danger of war. Against such evidence what is the value of the speculation of a private person, ten years afterwards, in the shade of his general studies, whatever his sagacity? The temper of the border population; the tendencies to disorder in Canada, stimulated by sympathizers on our side of the line; the entrance on our territory of a British armed force in 1837; cutting the *Caroline* out of her harbor, and sending her down the falls; the arrest

of McLeod in 1841, a British subject, composing part of that force, by the government of New York, and the threat to hang him, which a person high in office in England, declared, in a letter which was shown to me, would raise a cry for war from "whig, radical, and tory" which no ministry could resist; growing irritation caused by the search of our vessels under color of suppressing the slave-trade; the long controversy, almost as old as the government, about the boundary line — so conducted as to have at last convinced each disputant that the other was fraudulent and insincere; as to have enlisted the pride of States; as to have exasperated and agitated a large line of border; as to have entered finally into the tactics of political parties, and the schemes of ambitious men, out-bidding, out-racing one another in a competition of clamor and vehemence; a controversy on which England, a European monarchy, a first class power, near to the great sources of the opinion of the world, by her press, her diplomacy, and her universal intercourse had taken great pains to persuade Europe that our claim was groundless and unconscientious — all these things announced to near observers in public life a crisis at hand which demanded something more than "any sensible and honest man" to encounter; assuring some glory to him who should triumph over it. One such observer said: "Men stood facing each other with guns on their shoulders, upon opposite sides of fordable rivers, thirty yards wide. The discharge of a single musket would have brought on a war whose fires would have encircled the globe."

Is this act disparaged next because what each party had for sixty years claimed as the true line of the old treaty was waived, a line of agreement substituted, and equivalents given and taken, for gain or loss? But here-

in you will see only, what the nation has seen, the boldness as well as sagacity of Mr. Webster. When the award of the king of the Netherlands, proposing a line of agreement, was offered to President Jackson, that strong will dared not accept it in face of the party politics of Maine — although he advised to offer her the value of a million of dollars to procure her assent to an adjustment which his own mind approved. What he dared not do, inferred some peril I suppose. Yet the experience of twenty years ; of sixty years ; should have taught all men ; had taught many who shrank from acting on it, that the Gordian knot must be cut, not unloosed — that all further attempt to find the true line must be abandoned as an idle and a perilous diplomacy ; and that a boundary must be made by a bargain worthy of nations, or must be traced by the point of the bayonet. The merit of Mr. Webster is first that he dared to open the negotiation on this basis. I say the boldness. For appreciate the domestic difficulties which attended it. In its nature it proposed to give up something which we had thought our own for half a century ; to cede of the territory of more than one State ; it demanded therefore the assent of those States by formal act, committing the State parties in power unequivocally ; it was to be undertaken not in the administration of Monroe — elected by the whole people — not in the administration of Jackson whose vast popularity could carry any thing, and withstand any thing ; but just when the death of President Harrison had scattered his party ; had alienated hearts ; had severed ties and dissolved connections indispensable to the strength of administration ; creating a loud call on Mr. Webster to leave the Cabinet — creating almost the appearance of an unwillingness that he should contribute to its glory even by largest service to the State.

Yet consider finally how he surmounted every difficulty. I will not say with Lord Palmerston, in parliament, that there was "nobody in England who did not admit it a very bad treaty for England." But I may repeat what I said on it in the Senate in 1843. "And now what does the world see? An adjustment concluded by a special minister at Washington, by which four fifths of the value of the whole subject in controversy, is left to you as your own; and by which, for that one fifth which England desires to possess, she pays you over and over, in national equivalents, imperial equivalents, such as a nation may give, such as a nation may accept, satisfactory to your interests, soothing to your honor — the navigation of the St. John — a concession the value of which nobody disputes, a concession not to Maine alone, but to the whole country, to commerce, to navigation, as far as winds blow or waters roll — an *equivalent* of inappreciable value, opening an ample path to the sea, an equivalent in part for what she receives of the territory in dispute — a hundred thousand acres in New Hampshire; fifty thousand acres in Vermont and New York; the point of land commanding the great military way to and from Canada by Lake Champlain; the fair and fertile island of St. George; the surrender of a pertinacious pretension to four millions of acres westward of Lake Superior. Sir, I will not say that this adjustment admits, or was designed to admit that our title to the whole territory in controversy was perfect and indisputable. I will not do so much injustice to the accomplished and excellent person who represented the moderation and the good sense of the English government and people in this negotiation. I cannot adopt even for the defence of a treaty which I so much approve, the language of a writer in the London Morn-

ing Chronicle of September last, who has been said to be Lord Palmerston, which over and over asserts — substantially as his Lordship certainly did in parliament, that the adjustment ‘virtually acknowledges the American claim to the whole of the disputed territory,’ and that ‘it gives England no share at all; absolutely none; for the capitulation virtually and practically yields up the whole territory to the United States, and then brings back a small part of it in exchange for the right of navigating the St. John.’ I will not say this. But I say first, that by concession of everybody it is a better treaty than the administration of President Jackson would have most eagerly concluded, if by the offer of a million and a quarter acres of land they could have procured the assent of Maine to it. That treaty she rejected; this she accepts; and I disparage nobody when I maintain that on all parts, and all aspects, of this question, national or state, military or industrial, her opinion is worth that of the whole country beside. I say next that the treaty admits the substantial justice of your general claim. It admits that in its utmost extent it was plausible, formidable, and made in pure good faith. It admits before the nations that we have not been rapacious; have not made false clamor; that we have asserted our own, and obtained our own. Adjudging to you the possession of four fifths indisputably, she gives you for the one fifth which you concede, equivalents, given *as equivalents, eo nomine*, on purpose to soothe and save the point of honor; whose intrinsical and comparative value is such that you may accept them as equivalents without reproach to your judgment, or your firmness, or your good faith; whose intrinsical and comparative value, tried by the maxims, weighed in the scales of imperial traffic, make them a compensation over and over again for all we concede.”

But I linger too long upon his public life, and upon this one of its great acts. With what profound conviction of all the difficulties which beset it; with what anxieties for the issue, hope and fear alternately preponderating, he entered on that extreme trial of capacity, and good fortune, and carried it through, I shall not soon forget. As if it were last night, I recall the time when, after the Senate had ratified it in an evening executive session, by a vote of thirty-nine to nine, I personally carried to him the result, at his own house, and in presence of his wife. Then, indeed, the measure of his glory and happiness seemed full. In the exuberant language of Burke, "I stood near him, and his face, to use the expression of the Scripture of the first martyr, was as if it had been the face of an angel. 'Hope elevated, and joy brightened his crest.' I do not know how others feel, but if I had stood in that situation, I would not have exchanged it for all that kings or people could bestow."

Such eminence and such hold on the public mind as he attained demands extraordinary general intellectual power, adequate mental culture, an impressive, attractive, energetic and great character, and extraordinary specific power also of influencing the convictions and actions of others by speech. These all he had.

That in the quality of pure and sheer power of intellect he was of the first class of men, is, I think, the universal judgment of all who have personally witnessed many of his higher displays, and of all who without that opportunity have studied his life in its actions and influences, and studied his mind in its recorded thoughts. Sometimes it has seemed to me that to enable one to appreciate with accuracy, as a psychological speculation, the intrinsic and absolute volume and texture of that

brain; the real rate and measure of those abilities; it was better not to see or hear him, unless you could see or hear him frequently, and in various modes of exhibition; for undoubtedly there was something in his countenance and bearing so expressive of command; something even in his conversational language when saying *parva summissee et modica temperate*, so exquisitely plausible, embodying the likeness at least of a rich truth, the forms at least of a large generalization, in an epithet; an antithesis; a pointed phrase; a broad and peremptory thesis — and something in his grander forth-putting when roused by a great subject or occasion exciting his reason and touching his moral sentiments and his heart, so difficult to be resisted, approaching so near, going so far beyond, the higher style of man, that although it left you a very good witness of his power of influencing others, you were not in the best condition, immediately, to pronounce on the quality, or the source of the influence. You saw the flash and heard the peal; and felt the admiration and fear; but from what region it was launched, and by what divinity, and from what Olympian seat, you could not certainly yet tell. To do that, you must, if you saw him at all, see him many times; compare him with himself, and with others; follow his dazzling career from his father's house; observe from what competitors he won those laurels; study his discourses, study them by the side of those of other great men of this country and time, and of other countries and times, conspicuous in the same fields of mental achievement; look through the crystal water of the style down to the golden sands of the thought; analyze and contrast intellectual power somewhat; consider what kind, and what quantity of it has been held by students of mind needful in order to great eminence

in the higher mathematics, or metaphysics, or reason of the law : what capacity to analyze, through and through, to the primordial elements of the truths of that science ; yet what wisdom and sobriety, in order to control the wantonness and shun the absurdities of a mere scholastic logic, by systematizing ideas, and combining them, and repressing one by another, thus producing, not a collection of intense and conflicting paradoxes, but *a code* — scientifically coherent, and practically useful, — consider what description and what quantity of mind have been held needful by students of mind in order to conspicuous eminence, long maintained, in statesmanship ; that great practical science, that great philosophical art — whose ends are the existence, happiness and honor of a nation : whose truths are to be drawn from the widest survey of man ; of social man : of the particular race, and particular community for which a government is to be made, or kept, or a policy to be provided ; “ philosophy in action,” demanding at once, or affording place for, the highest speculative genius, and the most skilful conduct of men, and of affairs ; and, finally, consider what degree and kind of mental power has been found to be required in order to influence the reason of an audience and a nation by speech — not magnetizing the mere nervous or emotional nature by an effort of that nature — but operating on reason by reason — a great reputation in forensic and deliberative eloquence, maintained and advancing for a lifetime — it is thus that we come to be sure that his intellectual power was as real and as uniform, as its very happiest particular display had been imposing and remarkable.

It was not quite so easy to analyze that power, to compare or contrast it with that of other mental celebrities, and show how it differed or resembled, as it was to discern its existence.

Whether, for example, he would have excelled as much in other fields of exertion—in speculative philosophy, for example, in any of its departments—is a problem impossible to determine and needless to move. To me it seems quite clear that the whole wealth of his powers, his whole emotional nature, his eloquent feeling, his matchless capacity to affect others' conduct by affecting their practical judgments, could not have been known, could not have been poured forth in a stream so rich and strong and full, could not have so reacted on, and aided and winged the mighty intelligence, in any other walk of mind, or life, than that he chose—that in any other there must have been some disjoining of qualities which God had united—some divorce of pure intellect from the helps or hindrances or companionship of common sense and beautiful genius; and that in any field of speculative ideas but half of him, or part of him, could have found its sphere. What that part might have been or done, it is vain to inquire.

I have been told that the assertion has been hazarded that he “was great in understanding; deficient in the large reason;” and to prove this distinction he is compared disadvantageously, with “Socrates; Aristotle; Plato; Leibnitz; Newton; and Descartes.” If this means that he did not devote his mind, such as it was, to their speculations, it is true; but that would not prove that he had not as much “higher reason.” Where was Bacon's *higher reason* when he was composing his reading on the Statute of Uses? Had he lost it? or was he only not employing it? or was he employing it on an investigation of law? If it means that he had not as much absolute intellectual power as they, or could not, in their departments, have done what they did, it may be dismissed as a dogma incapable of proof, and

incapable of refutation : ineffectual as a disparagement ; unphilosophical as a comparison.

It is too common with those who come from the reveries of a cloistered speculation, to judge a practical life ; to say of him, and such as he, that they “ do not enlarge universal law, and first principles ; and philosophical ideas ; ” that “ they add no new maxim formed by induction out of human history and old thought.” In this there is some truth ; and yet it totally fails to prove that they do not possess all the intellectual power, and all the specific form of intellectual power required for such a description of achievement ; and it totally fails, too, to prove that they do not use it quite as truly to “ the glory of God, and the bettering of man’s estate.” Whether they possess such power or not, the evidence does not disprove ; and it is a pedantic dogmatism, if it is not a malignant dogmatism, which, *from such evidence*, pronounces that they do not ; but it is doubtless so, that by an original bias ; by accidental circumstances or deliberate choice, he determined early to devote himself to a practical and great duty, and that was to uphold a recent, delicate, and complex political system, which his studies, his sagacity, taught him, as Solon learned, was the best the people could bear ; to uphold it ; to adapt its essential principles and its actual organism to the great changes of his time ; the enlarging territory ; enlarging numbers ; sharper antagonisms ; mightier passions ; a new nationality ; and under it, and by means of it, and by a steady government, a wise policy of business, a temperate conduct of foreign relations, to enable a people to develop their resources, and fulfil their mission. This he selected as his work on earth ; this his task ; this, if well done, his consolation, his joy, his

triumph ! To this, call it, in comparison with the meditations of philosophy, humble or high, he brought all the vast gifts of intellect, whatever they were, wherewith God had enriched him. And now, do they infer that, because he selected such a work to do he could not have possessed the higher form of intellectual power ; or do they say that, because having selected it, he performed it with a masterly and uniform sagacity, and prudence, and good sense ; using ever the appropriate means to the selected end ; that therefore he could not have possessed the higher form of intellectual power ? Because all his life long, he recognized that his vocation was that of a statesman and a jurist, not that of a thinker and dreamer in the shade, still less of a general agitator ; that his duties connected themselves mainly with an existing stupendous political order of things, to be kept — to be adapted with all possible civil discretion and temper to the growth of the nation — but by no means to be exchanged for any quantity of amorphous matter in the form of “universal law” or new maxims and great ideas born since the last change of the moon — because he quite habitually spoke the language of the Constitution and the law, not the phraseology of a new philosophy ; confining himself very much to inculcating historical, traditional, and indispensable maxims — neutrality ; justice ; good faith ; observance of fundamental compacts of Union and the like — because it was America — our America — he sought to preserve, and to set forward to her glory — not so much an abstract conception of humanity ; because he could combine many ideas ; many elements ; many antagonisms ; in a harmonious, and noble practical politics, instead of fastening on one only, and — that sure sign of small or

perverted ability — aggravating it to disease and falsehood — is it therefore inferred that he had not the larger form of intellectual power?

And this power was not oppressed, but aided and accomplished by exercise the most constant, the most severe, the most stimulant, and by a force of will as remarkable as his genius, and by adequate mental and tasteful culture. How much the eminent greatness it reached is due to the various and lofty competition to which he brought, if he could, the most careful preparation — competition with adversaries *cum quibus certare erat gloriosius, quam omnino adversarios non habere, cum præsertim non modo, nunquam sit aut illorum ab ipso cursus impeditus, aut ab ipsis suus, sed contra semper aller ab altero adjutus, et communicando, et monendo, et favendo*, you may well appreciate.

I claim much, too, under the name of mere mental culture. Remark his style. I allow its full weight to the Horatian maxim, *scribendi rectè sapere est et principium et fons*, and I admit that he had deep and exquisite judgment, largely of the gift of God. But such a style as his is due also to art, to practice — in the matter of style, incessant, to great examples of fine writing turned by the nightly and the daily hand; to Cicero, through whose pellucid deep seas the pearl shows distinct, and large and near, as if within the arm's reach; to Virgil, whose magic of words, whose exquisite structure and "rich economy of expression," no other writer ever equalled; to our English Bible, and especially to the prophetic writings, and of these especially to Ezekiel — of some of whose peculiarities, and among them that of the repetition of single words, or phrases for emphasis and impression, a friend has called my attention to some very striking illustrations; to Shakespeare, of the style of whose comic dialogue we may, in the language of the

great critic, assert "that it is that which in the English nation is never to become obsolete, a certain mode of phraseology so consonant and congenial to analogy, to principles of the language, as to remain settled and unaltered — a style above grossness, below modish and pedantic forms of speech, where propriety resides;" to Addison, whom Johnson, Mackintosh, and Macaulay, concur to put at the head of all fine writers, for the amenity, delicacy, and unostentatious elegance of his English; to Pope, polished, condensed, sententious; to Johnson and Burke, in whom all the affluence and all the energy of our tongue in both its great elements of Saxon and Latin might be exemplified; to the study and comparison, but not the copying of authors such as these; to habits of writing, and speaking, and conversing, on the capital theory of always doing his best — thus somewhat, I think, was acquired that remarkable production, "the last work of combined study and genius," his rich, clear, correct, harmonious, and weighty style of prose.

Beyond these studies and exercises of taste, he had read variously and judiciously. If any public man, or any man, had more thoroughly mastered British constitutional and general history, or the history of British legislation, or could deduce the progress, eras, causes, and hindrances of British liberty in more prompt, exact, and copious detail, or had in his memory, at any given moment, a more ample political biography, or political literature, I do not know him. His library of English history, and of all history, was always rich, select, and catholic, and I well recollect hearing him, in 1819, while attending a commencement of this college, at an evening party sketch, with great emphasis and interest of manner, the merits of George Buchanan, the historian of

Scotland — his latinity and eloquence almost equal to Livy's, his love of liberty and his genius greater, and his title to credit not much worse. American history and American political literature he had by heart. The long series of influences that trained us for representative and free government; that other series of influences which moulded us into a united government — the colonial era — the age of controversy before the revolution; every scene and every person in that great tragic action — the age of controversy following the revolution, and preceding the Constitution, unlike the earlier, in which we divided among ourselves on the greatest questions which can engage the mind of America — the questions of the existence of a national government, of the continued existence of the State governments, on the partition of powers, on the umpirage of disputes between them — a controversy on which the destiny of the New World was staked; every problem, which has successively engaged our politics, and every name which has figured in them, the whole stream of our time was open, clear, and present ever to his eye.

I think, too, that, though not a frequent and ambitious citer of authorities, he had read, in the course of the study of his profession or politics, and had meditated all the great writers and thinkers by whom the principles of republican government, and all free governments, are most authoritatively expounded. Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavel, one of whose discourses on Livy, maintains in so masterly an argument, how much wiser and more constant are the people than the prince — a doctrine of liberty consolatory and full of joy, Harrington, Milton, Sidney, Locke, I know he had read and weighed.

Other classes of information there were, partly ob-

tained from books, partly from observation — to some extent referable to his two main employments of politics and law — by which he was distinguished remarkably. Thus, nobody but was struck with his knowledge of civil and physical geography, and to a less extent of geology and races; of all the great routes and marts of our foreign, coastwise, and interior commerce; the subjects which it exchanges, the whole circle of industry it comprehends and passes around; the kinds of our mechanical and manufacturing productions, and their relations to all labor, and life; the history, theories, and practice of agriculture, our own and that of other countries, and its relations to government, liberty, happiness, and the character of nations. This kind of information enriched and assisted all his public efforts; but to appreciate the variety and accuracy of his knowledge, and even the true compass of his mind, you must have had some familiarity with his friendly written correspondence, and you must have conversed with him, with some degree of freedom. There, more than in senatorial or forensic debate, gleamed the true riches of his genius, as well as the goodness of his large heart, and the kindness of his noble nature. There, with no longer a great part to discharge, no longer compelled to weigh and measure propositions, to tread the dizzy heights which part the antagonisms of the Constitution, to put aside allusions and illustrations, which crowded on his mind in action, but which the dignity of a public appearance had to reject — in the confidence of hospitality, which ever he dispensed as a prince who also was a friend — his memory, one of his most extraordinary faculties, quite in proportion to all the rest, swept free over the readings and labors of more than half a century; and then allusions, direct and ready quotations, a passing,

mature criticism, sometimes only a recollection of the mere emotions which a glorious passage or interesting event had once excited, darkening for a moment the face, and filling the eye—often an instructive exposition of a current maxim of philosophy or politics, the history of an invention, the recital of some incident casting a new light on some transaction or some institution—this flow of unstudied conversation, quite as remarkable as any other exhibition of his mind, better than any other, perhaps, at once opened an unexpected glimpse of his various acquirements, and gave you to experience delightedly that the “mild sentiments have their eloquence as well as the stormy passions.”

There must be added next the element of an impressive character, inspiring regard, trust, and admiration, not unmingled with love. It had, I think, intrinsically a charm such as belongs only to a good, noble, and beautiful nature. In its combination with so much fame, so much force of will, and so much intellect, it filled and fascinated the imagination and heart. It was affectionate in childhood and youth, and it was more than ever so in the few last months of his long life. It is the universal testimony that he gave to his parents, in largest measure, honor, love, obedience; that he eagerly appropriated the first means which he could command to relieve the father from the debts contracted to educate his brother and himself—that he selected his first place of professional practice that he might soothe the coming on of his old age—that all through life he neglected no occasion, sometimes when leaning on the arm of a friend, alone, with faltering voice, sometimes in the presence of great assemblies, where the tide of general emotion made it graceful, to express his “affectionate veneration of him who reared and defend-

ed the log cabin in which his elder brothers and sisters were born, against savage violence and destruction; cherished all the domestic virtues beneath its roof, and through the fire and blood of some years of revolutionary war, shrank from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice, to serve his country, and to raise his children to a condition better than his own."

Equally beautiful was his love of all his kindred, and of all his friends. When I hear him accused of selfishness, and a cold, bad nature, I recall him lying sleepless all night, not without tears of boyhood, conferring with Ezekiel how the darling desire of both hearts should be compassed, and he too admitted to the precious privileges of education; courageously pleading the cause of both brothers in the morning; prevailing by the wise and discerning affection of the mother; suspending his studies of the law, and registering deeds and teaching school to earn the means, for both, of availing themselves of the opportunity which the parental self-sacrifice had placed within their reach—loving him through life, mourning him when dead, with a love and a sorrow very wonderful—passing the sorrow of woman; I recall the husband, the father of the living and of the early departed, the friend, the counsellor of many years, and my heart grows too full and liquid for the refutation of words.

His affectionate nature, craving ever friendship, as well as the presence of kindred blood, diffused itself through all his private life, gave sincerity to all his hospitalities, kindness to his eye, warmth to the pressure of his hand; made his greatness and genius unbend themselves to the playfulness of childhood, flowed out in graceful memories indulged of the past or the dead, of incidents when life was young and promised to be happy

— gave generous sketches of his rivals — the high contention now hidden by the handful of earth — recalled hours passed fifty years ago with great authors, recalled them for the vernal emotions which then they made to live and revel in the soul. And from these conversations of friendship, no man — no man, old or young — went away to remember one word of profaneness, one allusion of indelicacy, one impure thought, one unbelieving suggestion, one doubt cast on the reality of virtue, of patriotism, of enthusiasm, of the progress of man — one doubt cast on righteousness, or temperance, or judgment to come.

Every one of his tastes and recreations announced the same type of character. His love of agriculture, of sports in the open air, of the outward world in starlight and storms, and sea and boundless wilderness — partly a result of the influences of the first fourteen years of his life, perpetuated like its other affections and its other lessons of a mother's love, the psalms, the Bible, the stories of the wars — partly the return of an unsophisticated and healthful nature, tiring, for a space, of the idle business of political life, its distinctions, its artificialities, to employments, to sensations which interest without agitating the universal race alike, as God has framed it; in which one feels himself only a man, fashioned from the earth, set to till it, appointed to return to it, yet made in the image of his Maker, and with a spirit that shall not die — all displayed one whom the most various intercourse with the world, the longest career of strife and honors, the consciousness of intellectual supremacy, the coming in of a wide fame, constantly enlarging, left as he was at first, natural, simple, manly, genial, kind.

You will all concur, I think, with a learned friend who thus calls my attention to the resemblance of his char-

acter, in some of these particulars, to that of Walter Scott.

“Nature endowed both with athletic frames, and a noble presence; both passionately loved rural life, its labors, and sports; possessed a manly simplicity free from all affectation, genial and social tastes, full minds, and happy elocution; both stamped themselves with indelible marks upon the age in which they lived; both were laborious and always with high and virtuous aims, ardent in patriotism, overflowing with love of ‘kindred blood,’ and, above all, frank and unostentatious Christians.”

I have learned by evidence the most direct and satisfactory, that in the last months of his life, the whole affectionateness of his nature; his consideration of others; his gentleness; his desire to make them happy and to see them happy, seemed to come out in more and more beautiful and habitual expression than ever before. The long day’s public tasks were felt to be done; the cares, the uncertainties, the mental conflicts of high place, were ended; and he came home to recover himself for the few years which he might still expect would be his before he should go hence to be here no more. And there, I am assured and fully believe, no unbecoming regrets pursued him; no discontent, as for injustice suffered or expectations unfulfilled; no self-reproach for any thing done or any thing omitted by himself; no irritation, no peevishness unworthy of his noble nature; but instead, love and hope for his country, when she became the subject of conversation; and for all around him, the dearest and the most indifferent, for all breathing things about him, the overflow of the kindest heart growing in gentleness and benevolence; paternal, patriarchal affections, seeming to become more natural,

warm, and communicative every hour. Softer and yet brighter grew the tints on the sky of parting day; and the last lingering rays, more even than the glories of noon, announced how divine was the source from which they proceeded; how incapable to be quenched; how certain to rise on a morning which no night should follow.

Such a character was made to be loved. It was loved. Those who knew and saw it in its hour of calm — those who could repose on that soft green, loved him. His plain neighbors loved him; and one said, when he was laid in his grave, “How lonesome the world seems!” Educated young men loved him. The ministers of the gospel, the general intelligence of the country, the masses afar off, loved him. True, they had not found in his speeches, read by millions, so much adulation of the people; so much of the music which robs the public reason of itself; so many phrases of humanity and philanthropy; and some had told them he was lofty and cold — solitary in his greatness; but every year they came nearer and nearer to him, and as they came nearer they loved him better; they heard how tender the son had been, the husband, the brother, the father, the friend, and neighbor; that he was plain, simple, natural, generous, hospitable — the heart larger than the brain; that he loved little children and revered God, the Scriptures, the Sabbath day, the Constitution, and the law — and their hearts clave unto him. More truly of him than even of the great naval darling of England might it be said, that “his presence would set the church bells ringing, and give school-boys a holiday — would bring children from school and old men from the chimney corner, to gaze on him ere he died.” The great and unavailing lamentation first revealed the deep place he had in the hearts of his countrymen.

You are now to add to this his extraordinary power of influencing the convictions of others by speech, and you have completed the survey of the means of his greatness. And here again I begin by admiring an aggregate, made up of excellences and triumphs, ordinarily deemed incompatible. He spoke with consummate ability to the bench, and yet exactly as, according to every sound canon of taste and ethics, the bench ought to be addressed. He spoke with consummate ability to the jury, and yet exactly as, according to every sound canon, that totally different tribunal ought to be addressed. In the halls of Congress, before the people assembled for political discussion in masses, before audiences smaller and more select, assembled for some solemn commemoration of the past, or of the dead; in each of these, again, his speech, of the first form of ability, was exactly adapted also to the critical proprieties of the place; each achieved, when delivered, the most instant and specific success of eloquence, some of them in a splendid and remarkable degree, and yet stranger still, when reduced to writing as they fell from his lips, they compose a body of reading, in many volumes, solid, clear, rich, and full of harmony, a classical and permanent political literature.

And yet all these modes of his eloquence, exactly adapted each to its stage and its end, were stamped with his image and superscription; identified by characteristics incapable to be counterfeited, and impossible to be mistaken. The same high power of reason, intent in every one to explore and display some truth; some truth of judicial, or historical, or biographical fact; some truth of law, deduced by construction, perhaps, or by illation; some truth of policy, for want whereof a nation, generations, may be the worse; reason seeking

and unfolding truth ; the same tone in all of deep earnestness, expressive of strong desire that that which he felt to be important should be accepted as true, and spring up to action ; the same transparent, plain, forcible and direct speech, conveying his exact thought to the mind, not something less or more ; the same sovereignty of form, of brow, and eye, and tone, and manner — everywhere the intellectual king of men, standing before you — that same marvellousness of qualities and results, residing, I know not where, in words, in pictures, in the ordering of ideas, in felicities indescribable, by means whereof, coming from his tongue, all things seemed mended ; truth seemed more true ; probability more plausible ; greatness more grand ; goodness more awful ; every affection more tender than when coming from other tongues, — these are in all his eloquence. But sometimes it became individualized, and discriminated even from itself ; sometimes place and circumstances, great interests at stake, a stage, an audience fitted for the highest historic action, a crisis, personal or national, upon him, stirred the depths of that emotional nature as the anger of the goddess stirs the sea on which the great epic is beginning ; strong passions, themselves kindled to intensity, quickened every faculty to a new life ; the stimulated associations of ideas brought all treasures of thought and knowledge within command ; the spell, which often held his imagination fast, dissolved, and she arose and gave him to choose of her urn of gold ; earnestness became vehemence, the simple, perspicuous, measured and direct language became a headlong, full and burning tide of speech ; the discourse of reason, wisdom, gravity, and beauty, changed to that *Δεινότης*, that rarest consummate eloquence, grand, rapid, pathetic, terrible ; the *aliquid immensum infinitumque* that

Cicero might have recognized ; the master triumph of man in the happiest opportunity of his noblest power.

Such elevation above himself, in congressional debate, was most uncommon. Some such there were in the great discussions of executive power following the removal of the deposits, which they who heard them will never forget, and some which rest in the tradition of hearers only. But there were other fields of oratory on which, under the influence of more uncommon springs of inspiration, he exemplified, in still other forms, an eloquence in which I do not know that he has had a superior among men. Addressing masses by tens of thousands in the open air, on the urgent political questions of the day ; or designated to lead the meditations of an hour devoted to the remembrance of some national era, or of some incident marking the progress of the nation, and lifting him up to a view of what is and what is past, and some indistinct revelation of the glory that lies in the future, or of some great historical name, just borne by the nation to his tomb — we have learned that then and there, at the base of Bunker Hill, before the corner-stone was laid, and again when from the finished column the centuries looked on him ; in Faneuil Hall, mourning for those with whose spoken or written eloquence of freedom its arches had so often resounded ; on the rock of Plymouth ; before the capitol, of which there shall not be one stone left on another, before his memory shall have ceased to live — in such scenes, unfettered by the laws of forensic or parliamentary debate, multitudes uncounted lifting up their eyes to him ; some great historical scenes of America around — all symbols of her glory, and art, and power, and fortune, there — voices of the past, not unheard — shapes beckoning from the future, not unseen — sometimes that mighty intellect,

borne upwards to a height and kindled to an illumination which we shall see no more, wrought out, as it were, in an instant, a picture of vision, warning, prediction; the progress of the nation; the contrasts of its eras; the heroic deaths; the motives to patriotism; the maxims and arts imperial by which the glory has been gathered and may be heightened — wrought out, in an instant, a picture to fade only when all record of our mind shall die.

In looking over the public remains of his oratory, it is striking to remark how, even in that most sober, and massive understanding and nature, you see gathered and expressed the characteristic sentiments and the passing time of our America. It is the strong old oak, which ascends before you; yet our soil, our heaven, are attested in it, as perfectly as if it were a flower that could grow in no other climate, in no other hour of the year or day. Let me instance in one thing only. It is a peculiarity of some schools of eloquence, that they embody and utter, not merely the individual genius and character of the speaker, but a national consciousness; a national era; a mood; a hope; a dread; a despair, in which you listen to the spoken history of the time. There is an eloquence of an expiring nation; such as seems to sadden the glorious speech of Demosthenes; such as breathes grand and gloomy from the visions of the prophets of the last days of Israel and Judah; such as gave a spell to the expression of Grattan, and of Kosuth — the sweetest, most mournful, most awful of the words which man may utter, or which man may hear, the eloquence of a perishing nation. There is another eloquence, in which the national consciousness of a young, or renewed and vast strength; of trust in a dazzling, certain, and limitless future; an inward glorying

in victories yet to be won, sounds out as by voice of clarion, challenging to contest for the highest prize of earth — such as that in which the leader of Israel in its first days holds up to the new nation the land of Promise; such as that which in the well imagined speeches scattered by Livy, over the history of the “majestic series of victories,” speaks the Roman consciousness of growing aggrandizement which should subject the world; such as that, through which, at the tribunes of her revolution, in the bulletins of her rising Soldier, France told to the world her dream of glory. And of this kind, somewhat, is ours; cheerful; hopeful; trusting, as befits youth and spring; the eloquence of a State, beginning to ascend to the first class of power, eminence, and consideration; and conscious of itself. It is to no purpose that they tell you it is in bad taste; that it partakes of arrogance and vanity; that a true national goodbreeding would not know, or seem to know, whether the nation is old or young; whether the tides of her being are in their flow or ebb; whether these coursers of the sun are sinking, slowly to rest, wearied with a journey of a thousand years, or just bounding from the Orient unbreathed. Higher laws than those of taste determine the consciousness of nations. Higher laws than those of taste determine the general forms of the expression of that consciousness. Let the downward age of America find its orators, and poets, and artists, to erect its spirit; or grace, and soothe its dying; be it ours to go up with Webster to the rock; the monument; the capitol; and bid “the distant generations hail!”

In this connection remark, somewhat more generally, to how extraordinary an extent he had, by his acts, words, thoughts, or the events of his life, associated himself forever, in the memory of all of us, with every his-

torical incident, or at least with every historical epoch ; with every policy, with every glory, with every great name and fundamental institution, and grand or beautiful image, which are peculiarly and properly American. Look backwards to the planting of Plymouth, and Jamestown ; to the various scenes of colonial life in peace and war ; to the opening, and march, and close of the revolutionary drama — to the age of the Constitution — to Washington, and Franklin, and Adams, and Jefferson — to the whole train of causes from the Reformation downwards, which prepared us to be Republicans — to that other train of causes which led us to be Unionists ; look round on field, workshop, and deck, and hear the music of labor rewarded, fed and protected — look on the bright sisterhood of the States, each singing as a seraph in her motion, yet blending in a common beam and swelling a common harmony — and there is nothing which does not bring him by some tie to the memory of America.

We seem to see his form and hear his deep grave speech everywhere. By some felicity of his personal life ; by some wise, deep, or beautiful word spoken or written ; by some service of his own, or some commemoration of the services of others, it has come to pass that “ our granite hills, our inland seas and prairies, and fresh, unbounded, magnificent wilderness ; ” our encircling ocean ; the resting place of the Pilgrims ; our new-born sister of the Pacific ; our popular assemblies ; our free schools, all our cherished doctrines of education, and of the influence of religion, and material policy and law, and the Constitution, give us back his name. What American landscape will you look on — what subject of American interest will you study — what source of hope or of anxiety, as an American, will you acknowledge, that it does not recall him ?

I have reserved, until I could treat it as a separate and final topic, the consideration of the morality of Mr. Webster's public character and life. To his true fame, to the kind and degree of influence which that large series of great actions, and those embodied thoughts of great intellect are to exert on the future — this is the all-important consideration. In the last speech which he made in the Senate — the last of those which he made, as he said, for the Constitution and the Union, and which he might have commended, as Bacon his name and memory, "to men's charitable speeches, to foreign nations, and the next ages," yet with a better hope, he asserted — "The ends I aim at shall be those of my country, my God, and truth." Is that praise his?

Until the seventh day of March, 1850, I think it would have been accorded to him by an almost universal acclaim, — as general, and as expressive of profound and intelligent conviction, and of enthusiasm, love, and trust, as ever saluted conspicuous statesmanship, tried by many crises of affairs in a great nation, agitated ever by parties, and wholly free.

That he had admitted into his heart a desire to win, by deserving them, the highest forms of public honor, many would have said; and they who loved him most fondly, and felt the truest solicitude that he should carry a good conscience and pure fame brightening to the end, would not have feared to concede. For he was not ignorant of himself, and he therefore knew that there was nothing within the Union, Constitution, and law, too high, or too large, or too difficult for him. He believed that his natural or his acquired abilities, and his policy of administration, would contribute to the true glory of America; and he held no theory of ethics which required him to disparage, to suppress, to ignore vast capaci-

ties of public service merely because they were his own. If the fleets of Greece were assembling, and her tribes buckling on their arms from Laconia to Mount Olympus, from the promontory of Sunium to the isle farthest to the west, and the great epic action was opening, it was not for him to feign insanity or idiocy, to escape the perils and the honor of command. But that all this in him had been ever in subordination to a principled and beautiful public virtue; that every sectional bias, every party tie, as well as every personal aspiring, had been uniformly held by him for nothing against the claims of country; that nothing lower than country seemed worthy enough — nothing smaller than country large enough — for that great heart, would not have been questioned by a whisper. Ah! if at any hour before that day he had died, how would then the great procession of the people of America — the great triumphal procession of the dead — have moved onward to his grave — the sublimity of national sorrow, not contrasted, not outraged by one feeble voice of calumny!

In that antecedent public life, embracing from 1812 to 1850 — a period of thirty-eight years — I find grandest proofs of the genuineness and comprehensiveness of his patriotism, and the boldness and manliness of his public virtue. He began his career of politics as a federalist. Such was his father — so beloved and revered; such his literary and professional companions; such, although by no very decisive or certain preponderance, the community in which he was bred and was to live. Under that name of party he entered Congress, personally, and by connection, opposed to the war, which was thought to bear with such extreme sectional severity upon the North and East. And yet, one might almost say that the only thing he imbibed from federalists or

federalism, was love and admiration for the Constitution as the means of union. That passion he did inherit from them; that he cherished.

He came into Congress, opposed, as I have said, to the war; and behold him, if you would judge of the quality of his political ethics, in opposition. Did those eloquent lips, at a time of life when vehemence and imprudence are expected, if ever, and not ungraceful, let fall ever one word of faction? Did he ever deny one power to the general government, which the soundest expositors of all creeds have allowed it? Did he ever breathe a syllable which could excite a region, a State, a family of States, against the Union — which could hold out hope or aid to the enemy? — which sought or tended to turn back or to chill the fiery tide of a new and intense nationality, then bursting up, to flow and burn till all things appointed to America to do shall be fulfilled? These questions in their substance, he put to Mr. Calhoun, in 1838, in the Senate, and that great man — one of the authors of the war — just then, only then, in relations unfriendly to Mr. Webster, and who had just insinuated a reproach on his conduct in the war, was silent. Did Mr. Webster content himself even with objecting to the details of the mode in which the administration waged the war? No, indeed. Taught by his constitutional studies that the Union was made in part for commerce, familiar with the habits of our long line of coast, knowing well how many sailors and fishermen, driven from every sea by embargo and war, burned to go to the gun-deck and avenge the long wrongs of England on the element where she had inflicted them, his opposition to the war manifested itself by teaching the nation that the deck was her field of fame. *Non illi imperium pelagi saevum que tridentum, sed nobis, sorte datum.*

But I might recall other evidence of the sterling and unusual qualities of his public virtue. Look in how manly a sort he, not merely conducted a particular argument or a particular speech, but in how manly a sort, in how high a moral tone, he uniformly dealt with the mind of his country. Politicians got an advantage of him for this while he lived; let the dead have just praise to-day. Our public life is one long electioneering, and even Burke tells you that at popular elections the most rigorous casuists will remit something of their severity. But where do you find him flattering his countrymen, indirectly or directly, for a vote? On what did he ever place himself but good counsels and useful service? His arts were manly arts, and he never saw a day of temptation when he would not rather fall than stand on any other. Who ever heard that voice cheering the people on to rapacity, to injustice, to a vain and guilty glory? Who ever saw that pencil of light hold up a picture of manifest destiny to dazzle the fancy? How anxiously rather, in season and out, by the energetic eloquence of his youth, by his counsels bequeathed on the verge of a timely grave, he preferred to teach that by all possible acquired sobriety of mind, by asking reverently of the past, by obedience to the law, by habits of patient and legitimate labor, by the cultivation of the mind, by the fear and worship of God, we educate ourselves for the future that is revelling. Men said he did not sympathize with the masses, because his phraseology was rather of an old and simple school, rejecting the nauseous and vain repetitions of humanity and philanthropy, and progress and brotherhood, in which may lurk heresies so dreadful, of socialism or disunion; in which a selfish, hollow, and shallow ambition may mask itself—the syren song which would lure the pilot from his course.

But I say that he did sympathize with them ; and, because he did, he came to them not with adulation, but with truth ; not with words to please, but with measures to serve them ; not that his popular sympathies were less, but that his personal and intellectual dignity and his public morality were greater.

And on the seventh day of March, and down to the final scene, might he not still say as ever before, that "all the ends he aimed at were his country's, his God's, and truth's." He declared, "I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. Hear me for my cause. I speak to-day out of a solicitous and anxious heart for the restoration to the country of that quiet and harmony, which make the blessings of this Union so rich and so dear to us all. These are the motives and the sole motives that influence me." If in that declaration he was sincere, was he not bound in conscience to give the counsels of that day ? What were they ? What was the single one for which his political morality was called in question ? Only that a provision of the Federal Constitution, ordaining the restitution of fugitive slaves, should be executed according to its true meaning. This only. And might he not in good conscience keep the Constitution in this part, and in all, for the preservation of the Union ?

Under his oath to support it, and to support it all, and with his opinions of that duty so long held, proclaimed uniformly, in whose vindication on some great days, he had found the chief opportunity of his personal glory, might he not, in good conscience support it, and all of it, even if he could not, and no human intelligence could, certainly, know, that the extreme evil would follow, in immediate consequence, its violation ? Was it so recent a doctrine of his that the Constitution was obligatory

upon the national and individual conscience, that you should ascribe it to sudden and irresistible temptation? Why, what had he, quite down to the seventh of March, that more truly individualized him — what had he more characteristically his own — wherewithal had he to glory more or other than all beside, than this very doctrine of the sacred and permanent obligation to support each and all parts of that great compact of union and justice? Had not this been his distinction, his *speciality* — almost the foible of his greatness — the darling and master passion ever? Consider that that was a sentiment which had been part of his conscious nature for more than sixty years; that from the time he bought his first copy of the Constitution on the handkerchief, and revered parental lips had commended it to him, with all other holy and beautiful things, along with lessons of reverence to God, and the belief and love of His Scriptures, along with the doctrine of the catechism, the unequalled music of Watts, the name of Washington — there had never been an hour that he had not held it the master work of man — just in its ethics, consummate in its practical wisdom, paramount in its injunctions; that every year of life had deepened the original impression: that as his mind opened, and his associations widened, he found that every one for whom he felt respect, instructors, theological and moral teachers, his entire party connection, the opposite party, and the whole country, so held it, too; that its fruits of more than half a century of union, of happiness, of renown, bore constant and clear witness to it in his mind; that it chanced that certain emergent and rare occasions had devolved, on him to stand forth to maintain it, to vindicate its interpretation, to vindicate its authority, to unfold its workings and uses; that he had so acquitted himself of that

opportunity as to have won the title of its Expounder and Defender, so that his proudest memories, his most prized renown, referred to it, and were entwined with it — and say whether with such antecedents, readiness to execute, or disposition to evade, would have been the hardest to explain; likeliest to suggest the surmise of a new temptation! He who knows any thing of man, knows that his vote for beginning the restoration of harmony by keeping the whole Constitution, was determined, was necessitated by the great law of sequences — a great law of cause and effect, running back to his mother's arms, as resistless as the law which moves the system about the sun — and that he must have given it, although it had been opened to him in vision, that within the next natural day his "eyes should be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven."

To accuse him in that act of "sinning against his own conscience," is to charge, one of these things; either that no well instructed conscience can approve and maintain the Constitution, and each of its parts; and therefore that his, by inference, did not approve it; or that he had never employed the proper means of instructing his conscience; and therefore its approval, if it were given, was itself an immorality. The accuser must assert one of these propositions. He will not deny, I take it for granted, that the conscience requires to be instructed by political teaching, in order to guide the citizen, or the public man aright, in the matter of political duties. Will he say that the moral sentiments alone, whatever their origin; whether factitious and derivative, or parcel of the spirit of the child and born with it; that they alone, by force of strict and mere ethical training, become qualified to pronounce authoritatively whether the Constitution, or any other vast, and com-

plex civil policy, as a whole, whereby a nation is created, and preserved, ought to have been made, or ought to be executed? Will he venture to tell you that if your conscience approves the Union, the Constitution in all its parts, and the law which administers it, that you are bound to obey and uphold them; and if it disapproves, you must, according to your measure, and in your circles of agitation, disobey and subvert them, and leave the matter there — forgetting or designedly omitting to tell you also that you are bound, in all good faith and diligence to resort to studies and to teachers *ab extra* — in order to determine whether the conscience *ought* to approve or disapprove the Union, the Constitution and the law, *in view of the whole aggregate of their nature and fruits?* Does he not perfectly know that this moral faculty, however trained, by mere moral institution, specifically directed to that end, to be tender, sensitive, and peremptory, is totally unequal to decide on any action, or any thing, but the very simplest; that which produces the most palpable and immediate result of unmixed good, or unmixed evil; and that when it comes to judge on the great mixed cases of the world, where the consequences are numerous, their development slow and successive, the light and shadow of a blended and multiform good and evil spread out on the lifetime of a nation, that then morality must borrow from history; from politics; from reason operating on history and politics; her elements of determination? I think he must agree to this. He must agree, I think, that to single out one provision in a political system of many parts and of elaborate interdependence, to take it all alone, exactly as it stands, and without attention to its origin and history; the necessities, morally resistless, which prescribed its introduction into the system, the

unmeasured good in other forms which its allowance buys, the unmeasured evil in other forms which its allowance hinders — without attention to these, to present it in all “the nakedness of a metaphysical abstraction” to the mere sensibilities; and ask if it is inhuman, and if they answer according to their kind, that it is, then to say that the problem is solved, and the right of disobedience is made clear — he must agree that this is not to exalt reason and conscience, but to outrage both. He must agree that although the supremacy of conscience is absolute whether the decision be right or wrong, that is, *according to the real qualities of things or not*, that there lies back of the actual conscience, and its actual decisions, the great anterior duty of having a conscience that *shall decide according to the real qualities of things*; that to this vast attainment some adequate knowledge of the real qualities of the things which are to be subjected to its inspection is indispensable; that if the matter to be judged of is any thing so large, complex, and conventional as the duty of the citizen, or the public man, to the State; the duty of preserving or destroying the order of things in which we are born; the duty of executing or violating one of the provisions of organic law which the country, having a wide and clear view before and after, had deemed a needful instrumental means for the preservation of that order; that then it is not enough to relegate the citizen, or the public man, to a higher law, and an interior illumination, and leave him there. Such discourse is “as the stars, which give so little light because they are so high.” He must agree that in such case, morality itself should go to school. There must be science as well as conscience, as old Fuller has said. She must herself learn of history; she must learn of politics; she must consult the build-

ers of the State, the living and the dead, to know its value, its aspects in the long run, on happiness and morals; its dangers; the means of its preservation; the maxims and arts imperial of its glory. To fit her to be the mistress of civil life, he will agree, that she must come out for a space from the interior round of emotions, and subjective states and contemplations, and introspection, "cloistered, unexercised, unbreathed" — and, carrying with her nothing but her tenderness, her scrupulosity, and her love of truth, survey the objective realities of the State; ponder thoughtfully on the complications, and impediments, and antagonisms which make the noblest politics but an aspiring, an approximation, a compromise, a type, a shadow of good to come, "the buying of great blessings at great prices" — and there learn civil duty *secundum subjectam materiam*. "Add to your virtue knowledge" — or it is no virtue.

And now, is he who accuses Mr. Webster of "sinning against his own conscience," quite sure that he *knows*, that that conscience, — well instructed by profoundest political studies, and thoughts of the reason; well instructed by an appropriate moral institution sedulously applied, did not commend and approve his conduct to himself? Does he know, that he had not anxiously, and maturely studied the ethics of the Constitution; and *as a question of ethics*, but of ethics applied to a stupendous problem of practical life, and had not become satisfied that they were right? Does he know that he had not done this, when his faculties were all at their best; and his motives under no suspicion? May not such an inquirer, for aught you can know; may not that great mind have verily and conscientiously thought that he had learned in that investigation many things? May he not have thought that he learned, that the duty of

the inhabitants of the free States, in that day's extremity, to the republic, the duty at all events of statesmen, to the republic, is a little too large, and delicate, and difficult to be all comprehended in the single emotion of compassion for one class of persons in the commonwealth, or in carrying out the single principle of abstract, and natural, and violent justice to one class? May he not have thought that he found there some stupendous exemplifications of what we read of, in books of casuistry, the "dialectics of conscience," as conflicts of duties; such things as the conflicts of the greater with the less; conflicts of the attainable with the visionary; conflicts of the real with the seeming; and may he not have been soothed to learn that the evil which he found in this part of the Constitution was the least of two; was unavoidable; was compensated; was justified; was commanded, as by a voice from the mount, by a more exceeding and enduring good? May he not have thought that he had learned, that the grandest, most difficult, most pleasing to God, of the achievements of secular wisdom and philanthropy, is the building of a State; that of the first class of grandeur and difficulty, and acceptableness to Him, in this kind, was the building of our own: that unless everybody of consequence enough to be heard of in the age and generation of Washington — unless that whole age and generation were in a conspiracy to cheat themselves, and history, and posterity, a certain policy of concession and forbearance of region to region, was indispensable to rear that master work of man; and that that same policy of concession and forbearance is as indispensable, more so, now, to afford a rational ground of hope for its preservation? May he not have thought that he had learned that the obligation, if such in any sense you may call it, of one State to

allow itself to become an asylum for those flying from slavery in another State, was an obligation of benevolence, of humanity only, not of justice; that it must therefore, on ethical principles, be exercised under all the limitations which regulate and condition the benevolence of States; that therefore each is to exercise it in strict subordination to its own interests, estimated by a wise statesmanship, and a well instructed public conscience; that benevolence itself, even its ministrations of mere good-will, is an affair of measure and of proportions; and must choose sometimes between the greater good, and the less; that if, to the highest degree, and widest diffusion of human happiness, a Union of States such as ours, some free, some not so, was necessary; and to such Union the Constitution was necessary; and to such a Constitution this clause was necessary, humanity itself prescribes it, and presides in it? May he not have thought that he learned that there are proposed to humanity in this world many fields of beneficent exertion; some larger, some smaller, some more, some less expensive and profitable to till; that among these it is always lawful, and often indispensable to make a choice; that sometimes, to acquire the right, or the ability to labor in one, it is needful to covenant, not to invade another; and that such covenant, in partial restraint, rather in reasonable direction of philanthropy, is good in the forum of conscience; and setting out with these very elementary maxims of practical morals, may he not have thought that he learned from the careful study of the facts of our history, and opinions, that to acquire the power of advancing the dearest interests of man, through generations countless, by that unequalled security of peace and progress, the Union; the power of advancing the interest of each State, each region, each

relation — the slave and the master ; the power of subjecting a whole continent all astir, and on fire with the emulation of young republics ; of subjecting it, through ages of household calm, to the sweet influences of Christianity, of culture, of the great, gentle, and sure reformer, time, that to enable us to do this, to enable us to grasp this boundless and ever-renewing harvest of philanthropy, it would have been a good bargain — that humanity herself would have approved it — to have bound ourselves never so much as to look across the line into the inclosure of Southern municipal slavery ; certainly never to enter it ; still less, still less to

“Pluck its berries harsh and crude,
And with forced fingers rude
Shatter its leaves before the mellowing year.”

Until the accuser who charges him, now that he is in his grave, “with having sinned against his conscience,” will assert that the conscience of a public man may not, must not, be instructed by profound knowledge of the vast subject-matter with which public life is conversant — even as the conscience of the mariner may be and must be instructed by the knowledge of navigation ; and that of the pilot by the knowledge of the depths and shallows of the coast ; and that of the engineer of the boat and the train, by the knowledge of the capacities of his mechanism, to achieve a proposed velocity ; and will assert that he is certain that the consummate science of our great statesman, *was felt by himself to prescribe to his morality* another conduct than that which he adopted, and that he thus consciously outraged that “sense of duty which pursues us ever” — is he not inexcusable, whoever he is, that so judges another ?

But it is time that this eulogy was spoken. My heart

goes back into the coffin there with him, and I would pause. I went — it is a day or two since — alone, to see again the home which he so dearly loved, the chamber where he died, the grave in which they laid him — all habited as when

“ His look drew audience still as night,
Or summer’s noontide air,”

till the heavens be no more. Throughout that spacious and calm scene all things to the eye showed at first unchanged. The books in the library, the portraits, the table at which he wrote, the scientific culture of the land, the course of agricultural occupation, the coming in of harvests, fruit of the seed his own hand had scattered, the animals and implements of husbandry, the trees planted by him in lines, in copses, in orchards, by thousands, the seat under the noble elm on which he used to sit to feel the south-west wind at evening, or hear the breathings of the sea, or the not less audible music of the starry heavens, all seemed at first unchanged. The sun of a bright day, from which, however, something of the fervors of midsummer were wanting, fell temperately on them all, filled the air on all sides with the utterances of life, and gleamed on the long line of ocean. Some of those whom on earth he loved best, still were there. The great mind still seemed to preside; the great presence to be with you; you might expect to hear again the rich and playful tones of the voice of the old hospitality. Yet a moment more, and all the scene took on the aspect of one great monument, inscribed with his name, and sacred to his memory. And such it shall be in all the future of America! The sensation of desolateness, and loneliness, and darkness,

with which you see it now, will pass away ; the sharp grief of love and friendship will become soothed ; men will repair thither as they are wont to commemorate the great days of history ; the same glance shall take in, and the same emotions shall greet and bless the Harbor of the Pilgrims, and the Tomb of Webster.

21.
SPEECH OF MR. WEBSTER

ON

MR. CLAY'S RESOLUTIONS.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MARCH 7, 1850.

SECOND EDITION.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions submitted by the Senator from Kentucky were made the special order of the day at 12 o'clock. The Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. WALKER) has the floor.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. President, this vast audience has not assembled to hear me; and there is but one man, in my opinion, who can assemble such an audience. They expect to hear him, and I feel it to be my duty, as it is my pleasure, to give the floor, therefore, to the Senator from Massachusetts. I understand it is immaterial to him upon which of these questions he speaks, and therefore I will not move to postpone the special order.

Mr. WEBSTER. I beg to express my obligations to my friend from Wisconsin, (Mr. WALKER,) as well as to my friend from New York, (Mr. SEWARD,) for their courtesy in allowing me to address the Senate this morning.

Mr. President, I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States. It is fortunate that there is a Senate of the United States; a body, not yet moved from its propriety, not lost to a just sense of its own dignity, and its own high responsibilities, and a body to which the country looks, with confidence, for wise, moderate, patriotic, and healing counsels. It is not to be denied that we live in the midst of strong agitations, and are surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions and government. The imprisoned winds are let loose. The East, the North, and the stormy South, combine to throw the whole ocean into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and disclose its profoundest depths. I do not affect to regard myself, Mr. President, as holding, or as fit to hold, the helm in this combat with the political elements; but I have a duty to perform, and I mean to perform it with fidelity, not without a sense of existing dangers, but not without hope. I have a part to act, not for my own security or safety, for I am looking out for no fragment upon which to float away from the wreck, if wreck there must be, but for the good of the whole, and the preservation of all; and there is that which will keep me to my duty during this struggle, whether the sun and the stars shall appear, or shall not appear, for many days. I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union. "Hear me for my cause." I speak to-day, out of a solicitous and anxious heart, for the restoration to the country of that quiet and that harmony, which make the blessings of this Union so rich and so dear to us all. These are the topics that I propose to myself to discuss; these are the motives, and the sole motives, that influence me in the wish to communicate my opinions to the Senate and the country; and if I can do any thing, however little, for the promotion of these ends, I shall have accomplished all that I expect.

Mr. President, it may not be amiss to recur very briefly to the events which, equally sudden and extraordinary, have brought the political condition of the country to what it now is. In May, 1846, the United States declared war against Mexico. Our armies, then on the frontiers, entered the provinces of that republic, met and defeated all her troops, penetrated her mountain passes, and occupied her capital. The marine force of the United States took possession of her forts and her towns, on the Atlantic and on the Pacific. In less than two years, a treaty was negotiated, by which Mexico ceded to the United States a vast territory, extending seven or eight hundred miles along the shores of the Pacific, and reaching back over the mountains, and across the desert, until it joins the frontier of the State of Texas. It so happened, in the distracted and feeble state of the Mexican Government, that, before the declaration of war by the United States against Mexico had become known in California, the people of California, under the lead of American officers, overthrew the existing provincial government of California, the Mexican authorities, and run up an independent flag. When the news arrived at St. Francisco that war had been declared by the United States against Mexico, this independent flag was pulled down and the stars and stripes of this Union hoisted in its stead. So, sir, before the war was over, the forces of the United States, military and naval, had possession of San Francisco and Upper California, and a great rush of emigrants from various parts of the world took place into California in 1846 and 1847. But now, behold another wonder.

In January of 1848, the Mormons, or some of them, made a discovery of an extraordinarily rich mine of gold, or, rather, of a very great quantity of gold, hardly fit to be called a mine, for it was spread near the surface, on the lower part of the South, or American, branch of the Sacramento. They seem to have attempted to conceal their discovery for some time; but soon another discovery,

perhaps of greater importance, was made of gold, in another part of the American branch of the Sacramento, and near Sutter's fort, as it is called. The fame of these discoveries spread far and wide. They inflamed more and more the spirit of emigration towards California, which had already been excited; and persons crowded in hundreds, and flocked towards the bay of San Francisco. This, as I have said, took place in the winter and spring of 1848. The digging commenced in the spring of that year, and from that time to this the work of searching for gold has been prosecuted with a success not heretofore known in the history of this globe. We all know, sir, how incredulous the American public was at the accounts which reached us, at first, of these discoveries; but we all know, now, that these accounts received, and continue to receive, daily confirmation, and down to the present moment I suppose the assurances are as strong, after the experience of these several months, of mines of gold apparently inexhaustible in the regions near San Francisco, in California, as they were at any period of the earlier dates of the accounts. It so happened, sir, that, although after the return of peace, it became a very important subject for legislative consideration and legislative decision, to provide a proper territorial government for California, yet differences of opinion in the counsels of the Government prevented the establishment of any such territorial government, at the last session of Congress. Under this state of things, the inhabitants of San Francisco and California, then amounting to a great number of people, in the summer of last year, thought it to be their duty to establish a local government. Under the proclamation of General Riley, the people chose delegates to a Convention; that Convention met at Monterey. They formed a constitution for the State of California, and it was adopted by the people of California in their primary assemblages. Desirous of immediate connection with the United States, its Senators were appointed and Representatives chosen, who have come hither, bringing with them the authentic constitution of the State of California; and they now present themselves, asking, in behalf of their State, that it may be admitted into this Union as one of the United States. This constitution, sir, contains an express prohibition against slavery, or involuntary servitude, in the State of California. It is said, and I suppose truly, that of the members who composed that Convention some sixteen were natives of, and had been residents in, the slaveholding States, about twenty-two were from the non-slaveholding States, and the remaining ten members were either native Californians or old settlers in that country. This prohibition against slavery, it is said, was inserted with entire unanimity.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator give way until order is restored?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The Sergeant-at Arms will see that order is restored, and no more persons admitted to the floor.

Mr. CASS. I trust the scene of the other day will not be repeated. The Sergeant-at-Arms must display more energy in suppressing this disorder.

Mr. HALE. The noise is outside of the door.

Mr. WEBSTER. And it is this circumstance, sir, the prohibition of slavery by that Convention, which has contributed to raise, I do not say it has wholly raised, the dispute as to the propriety of the admission of California into the Union under this constitution. It is not to be denied, Mr. President, nobody thinks of denying, that, whatever reasons were assigned at the commencement of the late war with Mexico, it was prosecuted for the purpose of the acquisition of territory, and under the alleged argument that the cession of territory was the only form in which proper compensation could be made to the United States by Mexico, for the various claims and demands, which the people of this country had against that government. At any rate, it will be found that President Polk's message, at the commencement of the session of December, 1847, avowed that the war was to be prosecuted until some acquisition of territory should be made. And, as the acquisition was to be south of the line of the United States, in warm climates and countries, it was naturally, I suppose, expected by the South, that whatever acquisitions were made in that region would be added to the slaveholding portion of the United States. Very little of accurate information was possessed of the real physical character, either of California or New Mexico; and events have turned out as was not expected; both California and New Mexico are likely to come in as free; and therefore some degree of disappointment and surprise has resulted. In other words, it is obvious that the question which has so long harassed the country, and at some times very seriously alarmed the minds of wise and good men, has come upon us for a fresh discussion; the question of slavery in these United States.

Now, sir, I propose, perhaps at the expense of some detail and consequent detention of the Senate, to review historically this question, which, partly in consequence of its own importance, and partly, perhaps mostly, in consequence of the manner in which it has been discussed in one and the other portion of the country, has been a source of so much alienation and unkind feeling.

We all know, sir, that slavery has existed in the world from time immemorial. There was slavery, in the earliest periods of history, in the Oriental nations. There was slavery among the Jews; the theocratic government of that people ordained no injunction against it. There was slavery among the Greeks; and the ingenious philosophy of the Greeks found, or sought to find, a justification for it exactly upon the grounds which have been assumed for such a justification in this country; that is, a natural and original difference among the races of mankind, and the inferiority of the black or colored race to the white. The Greeks justified their system of slavery upon that idea, precisely. They held the African, and in some parts the Asiatic, tribes to be inferior to the white race; but they did not show, I think, by any close process of logic, that, if this were true, the more intelligent and the stronger had therefore a right to subjugate the weaker.

The more manly philosophy and jurisprudence of the Romans placed the justification of slavery on entirely different grounds.

The Roman jurists, from the first and down to the fall of the empire, admitted that slavery was

against the natural law, by which, as they maintained, all men of whatsoever clime, color, or capacity were equal; but they justified slavery, first, upon the ground and authority of the law of nations, arguing, and arguing truly, that at that day the conventional law of nations admitted that captives in war, whose lives, according to the notions of the times, were at the absolute disposal of the captors, might, in exchange for exemption from death, be made slaves for life, and that such servitude might descend to their posterity. The jurists of Rome also maintained that by the civil law there might be servitude or slavery, personal and hereditary; first, by the voluntary act of an individual who might sell himself into slavery; secondly, by his being received into a state of slavery by his creditors in satisfaction of his debts; and, thirdly, by being placed in a state of servitude or slavery for crime. At the introduction of Christianity, the Roman world was full of slaves, and I suppose there is to be found no injunction against that relation between man and man, in the teachings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or of any of his Apostles. The object of the instruction imparted to mankind by the founder of Christianity was to touch the heart, purify the soul, and improve the lives of individual men. That object went directly to the first fountain of all political and all social relations of the human race, as well as of all true religious feeling, the individual heart and mind of man.

Now, sir, upon the general nature, and character, and influence of slavery, there exists a wide difference between the Northern portion of this country and the Southern. It is said on the one side that, if not the subject of any injunction or direct prohibition in the New Testament, slavery is a wrong; that it is founded merely in the right of the strongest; and that it is an oppression, like unjust wars, like all those conflicts by which a mighty nation subjects a weaker nation to its will; and that slavery, in its nature, whatever may be said of it in the modifications which have taken place, is not in fact according to the meek spirit of the Gospel. It is not "kindly affectioned;" it does not "seek another's, and not its own;" it does not "let the oppressed go free." These are sentiments that are cherished, and recently with greatly augmented force, among the people of the Northern States. They have taken hold of the religious sentiment of that part of the country, as they have more or less taken hold of the religious feelings of a considerable portion of mankind. The South, upon the other side, having been accustomed to this relation between the two races all their lives, from their birth; having been taught, in general, to treat the subjects of this bondage with care and kindness, and I believe, in general, feeling for them great care and kindness, have not taken the view of the subject which I have mentioned. There are thousands of religious men, with consciences as tender as any of their brethren at the North, who do not see the unlawfulness of slavery; and there are more thousands, perhaps, that, whatsoever they may think of it in its origin, and as a matter depending upon natural right, yet take things as they are, and, finding slavery to be an established relation of the society in which they live, can see no way in which, let their opinions on the abstract question be what they may, it is in the power of the present generation to relieve themselves from this relation. And, in this respect, candor obliges me to say, that I believe they are just as conscientious, many of them, and the religious people all of them, as they are in the North who hold different opinions.

Why, sir, the honorable Senator from South Carolina, the other day, alluded to the separation of that great religious community, the Methodist Episcopal Church. That separation was brought about by differences of opinion upon this particular subject of slavery. I felt great concern, as that dispute went on, about the result, and I was in hopes that the difference of opinion might be adjusted, because I looked upon that religious denomination as one of the great props of religion and morals, throughout the whole country, from Maine to Georgia, and westward, to our utmost western boundary. The result was against my wishes and against my hopes. I have read all their proceedings, and all their arguments; but I have never yet been able to come to the conclusion that there was any real ground for that separation; in other words, that no good could be produced by that separation. I must say I think there was some want of candor and charity. Sir, when a question of this kind seizes on the religious sentiments of mankind, and comes to be discussed in religious assemblies of the clergy and laity, there is always to be expected, or always to be feared, a great degree of excitement. It is in the nature of man, manifested by his whole history, that religious disputes are apt to become warm, as men's strength of conviction is proportionate to their views of the magnitude of the questions. In all such disputes, there will sometimes men be found with whom every thing is absolute, absolutely wrong, or absolutely right. They see the right clearly; they think others ought so to see it, and they are disposed to establish a broad line of distinction between what is right and what is wrong. And they are not seldom willing to establish that line upon their own convictions of truth and justice; and are ready to mark and guard it by placing along it a series of dogmas, as lines of boundary on the earth's surface are marked by posts and stones. There are men who, with clear perceptions, as they think, of their own duty, do not see how too hot a pursuit of one duty may involve them in the violation of others, or how too warm an embracement of one truth may lead to a disregard of other truths equally important. As I heard it stated strongly, not many days ago, these persons are disposed to mount upon some particular duty as upon a war horse, and to drive furiously, on and upon, and over all other duties that may stand in the way. There are men who, in times of that sort, and in disputes of that sort, are of opinion that human duties may be ascertained with the exactness of mathematics. They deal with morals as with mathematics, and they think what is right may be distinguished from what is wrong with the precision of an algebraic equation. They have, therefore, none too much charity towards others who differ from them. They are apt, too, to think that nothing is good but what is perfect, and that there are no compromises or modifications to be made in submission to difference of opinion, or in deference to other men's judgment. If their perspicacious vision enables them to detect a spot on the face of the sun, they think that a good reason why the sun should be

struck down from heaven. They prefer the chance of running into utter darkness, to living in heavenly light, if that heavenly light be not absolutely without any imperfection. There are impatient men, too impatient always to give heed to the admonition of St. Paul, "that we are not to do evil that good may come;" too impatient to wait for the slow progress of moral causes in the improvement of mankind. They do not remember, that the doctrines and the miracles of Jesus Christ have, in eighteen hundred years, converted only a small portion of the human race; and among the nations that are converted to Christianity, they forget how many vices and crimes, public and private, still prevail, and that many of them, public crimes especially, which are so clearly offences against the Christian religion, pass without exciting particular indignation. Thus wars are waged, and unjust wars. I do not deny that there may be just wars. There certainly are; but it was the remark of an eminent person, not many years ago, on the other side of the Atlantic, that it was one of the greatest reproaches to human nature that wars were sometimes just. The defence of nations sometimes causes a just war against the injustice of other nations.

Now, sir, in this state of sentiment upon the general nature of slavery lies the cause of a great part of those unhappy divisions, exasperations, and reproaches, which find vent and support in different parts of the Union. Slavery does exist in the United States. It did exist in the States before the adoption of this Constitution, and at that time.

And now let us consider, sir, for a moment, what was the state of sentiment, North and South, in regard to slavery, at the time this Constitution was adopted. A remarkable change has taken place since; but what did the wise and great men of all parts of the country think of slavery, then? In what estimation did they hold it at the time when this Constitution was adopted? Now, it will be found, sir, if we will carry ourselves by historical research back to that day, and ascertain men's opinions by authentic records still existing among us, that there was no great diversity of opinion between the North and the South upon the subject of slavery. And it will be found that both parts of the country held it equally an evil, a moral and political evil. It will not be found, that either at the North or at the South, there was much, though there was some, invective against slavery as inhuman and cruel. The great ground of objection to it was political; that it weakened the social fabric; that, taking the place of free labor, society became less strong and labor was less productive; and, therefore, we find from all the eminent men of the time the clearest expression of their opinion that slavery was an evil. And they ascribed its existence here, not without truth, and not without some acerbity of temper and force of language, to the injurious policy of the mother country, who, to favor the navigator, had entailed these evils upon the colonies. I need hardly refer, sir, particularly to the publications of the day. They are matters of history on the record. The eminent men, the most eminent men, and nearly all the conspicuous politicians of the South, held the same sentiments; that slavery was an evil, a blight, a blast, a mildew, a scourge, and a curse. There are no terms of reprobation of slavery so vehement in the North of that day as in the South. The North was not so much excited against it as the South; and the reason is, I suppose, because there was much less of it at the North, and the people did not see, or think they saw, the evils so prominently as they were seen, or thought to be seen, at the South.

Then, sir, when this Constitution was framed, this was the light in which the Convention viewed it. The Convention reflected the judgment and sentiments of the great men of the South. A member of the other House, whom I have not the honor to know, in a recent speech, has collected extracts from these public documents. They prove the truth of what I am saying, and the question then was, how to deal with it, and how to deal with it as an evil? Well, they came to this general result. They thought that slavery could not be continued in the country, if the importation of slaves were made to cease, and therefore they provided that after a certain period the importation might be prevented, by the act of the new Government. Twenty years was proposed by some gentleman, a Northern gentleman, I think, and many of the Southern gentlemen opposed it as being too long. Mr. Madison especially was something warm against it. He said it would bring too much of this mischief into the country to allow the importation of slaves for such a period. Because we must take along with us, in the whole of this discussion, when we are considering the sentiments and opinions in which the constitutional provision originated, that the conviction of all men was, that if the importation of slaves ceased, the white race would multiply faster than the black race, and that slavery would therefore gradually wear out and expire. It may not be improper here to allude to that, I had almost said, celebrated opinion of Mr. Madison. You observe, sir, that the term slave or slavery is not used in the Constitution. The Constitution does not require that "fugitive slaves" shall be delivered up. It requires that "persons bound to service in one State, and escaping into another, shall be delivered up." Mr. Madison opposed the introduction of the term slave, or slavery, into the Constitution; for, he said that he did not wish to see it recognised by the Constitution of the United States of America that there could be property in men. Now, sir, all this took place at the Convention in 1787; but, connected with this, concurrent and contemporaneous, is another important transaction not sufficiently attended to. The Convention for framing this Constitution assembled in Philadelphia in May, and sat until September, 1787. During all that time, the Congress of the United States was in session at New York. It was a matter of design, as we know, that the Convention should not assemble in the same city where Congress was holding its sessions. Almost all the public men of the country, therefore, of distinction and eminence, were in one or the other of these two assemblies; and I think it happened, in some instances, that the same gentlemen were members of both. If I mistake not, such was the case of Mr. Rufus King, then a member of Congress from Massachusetts, and at the same time a member of the Convention to frame the Constitution. Now, it was in the summer of 1787, the very time when the Convention in Philadelphia was framing this Constitution, that the Congress in New York was framing the ordinance of 1787. They passed that ordinance on the 13th July, 1787, at New

York, the very month, perhaps the very day, on which these questions about the importation of slave and the character of slavery, were debated in the Convention at Philadelphia. And, so far as we can now learn, there was a perfect concurrence of opinion between these respective bodies; and it resulted in this ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery as to all the territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction, and that was, all the territory northwest of the Ohio. Three years before, Virginia and other States had made a cession of that great territory to the United States. And a most magnificent act it was. I never reflect upon it without a disposition to do honor and justice and justice would be the highest honor, to Virginia, for the cession of her northwestern territory. I will say, sir, it is one of her fairest claims to the respect and gratitude of the United States and that perhaps it is only second to that other claim which attaches to her; that, from her counsel and from the intelligence and patriotism of her leading statesmen, proceeded the first idea put in practice of the formation of a general constitution of the United States. Now, sir, the ordinance of 1787 was applied thus to the whole territory over which the Congress of the United States had jurisdiction. It was adopted two years before the Constitution of the United States went into operation because the ordinance took effect immediately on its passage, while the Constitution of the United States, having been framed, was to be sent to the States to be adopted by their Conventions; and then a Government was to be organized under it. This ordinance, then, was in operation and force when the Constitution was adopted and the Government put in motion, in April, 1789.

Mr. President, three things are quite clear, as historical truths. One is, that there was an expectation that, on the ceasing of the importation of slaves from Africa, slavery would begin to run out here. That was hoped and expected. Another is, that, as far as there was any power in Congress to prevent the spread of slavery in the United States, that power was executed in the most absolute manner, and to the fullest extent. An honorable member, whose health does not allow him to be here to-day—

A SENATOR. He is here. (Referring to Mr. CALHOUN.)

Mr. WEBSTER. I am very happy to hear that he is; may he long be here, and in the enjoyment of health to serve his country! The honorable member said, the other day, that he considered this ordinance as the first, in the series of measures, calculated to enfeeble the South and deprive them of their just participation in the benefits and privileges of this Government. He says very properly that it was enacted under the old confederation and before this Constitution went into effect; but, my present purpose is only to say, Mr. President, that it was established with the entire and unanimous concurrence of the whole South. Why, there it stands! The vote of every State in the Union was unanimous in favor of the ordinance, with the exception of a single individual vote, and that individual vote was given by a Northern man. But, sir, the ordinance abolishing, or rather prohibiting, slavery northwest of the Ohio, has the hand and seal of every Southern member in Congress. So this ordinance was no aggression of the North on the south.

The other and third clear historical truth is, that the Convention meant to leave slavery, in the States, as they found it, entirely under the authority and control of the States themselves.

This was the state of things, sir, and this the state of opinion, under which those very important matters were arranged, and those three important things done; that is, the establishment of the Constitution with a recognition of slavery as it existed in the States, the establishment of the ordinance prohibiting, to the full extent of all territory owned by the United States, the introduction of slavery into that territory, while leaving to the States all power over slavery, in their own limits; and creating power, in the new Government, to put an end to the importation of slaves, after a limited period. And here, sir, we may pause. We may reflect for a moment upon the entire coincidence and concurrence of sentiment, between the North and the South, upon all these questions, at the period of the adoption of the Constitution. But opinions, sir, have changed, greatly changed, changed North, and changed South. Slavery is not regarded in the South now as it was then. I see an honorable member of this body paying me the honor of listening to my remarks, (Mr. MASON;) he brings to me, sir, freshly and vividly, what I have learned of his great ancestor, so much distinguished in his day and generation so worthy to be succeeded by so worthy a grandson, with all the sentiments he expressed in the Convention in Philadelphia.

Here we may pause. There was, if not an entire unanimity, a general concurrence of sentiment running through the whole community, and especially entertained by the eminent men of all parts of the country. But soon a change began, at the North and the South, and a severance of opinion showed itself; the North growing much more warm and strong against slavery, and the South growing much more warm and strong in its support. Sir, there is no generation of mankind whose opinions are not subject to be influenced by what appears to them to be their present, emergent, and exigent interests. I impute to the South no particularly selfish view in the change which has come over her. I impute to her certainly no dishonest view. All that has happened has been natural. It has followed those causes which always influence the human mind and operate upon it. What, then, have been the causes which have created so new a feeling in favor of slavery in the South, which have changed the whole nomenclature of the South on that subject, so that, from being thought and described in the terms I have mentioned and will not repeat, it has now become an institution, a cherished institution in that quarter; no evil, no scourge, but a great religious, social, and moral blessing, as I think I have heard it latterly spoken of? I suppose this, sir, is owing to the sudden uprising and rapid growth of the COTTON plantations of the South. So far as any motive consistent with honor, justice, and general judgment could act, it was the COTTON interest that gave a new desire to promote slavery to spread it and to use its labor. I again say that that was produced by causes which we must always expect to produce like effects; the whole interest of the South became connected, more or less, with it. If we look back to the history of the commerce of this country at the early years of this

Government, what were our exports? Cotton was hardly, or but to a very limited extent, known. The tables will show that the exports of cotton for the years 1790 and '91 were not more than forty or fifty thousand dollars a year. It has gone on increasing rapidly, until the whole crop may now, perhaps, in a season of great product and high prices, amount to a hundred millions of dollars. In the years I have mentioned, there was more of wax, more of indigo, more of rice, more of almost every article of export from the South, than of cotton. I think it is true, when Mr. Jay negotiated the treaty of 1794 with England, that he did not know that cotton was exported at all from the United States; and I have heard it said, also, that the custom-house in London refused to admit cotton, upon an allegation that it could not be an American production, there being, as they supposed, no cotton raised in America. They would hardly think so now!

Well, sir, we know what followed. The age of cotton became the golden age of our Southern brethren. It gratified their desire for improvement and accumulation, at the same time that it excited it. The desire grew by what it fed upon, and there soon came to be an eagerness for other territory, a new area or new areas, for the cultivation of the cotton crop; and measures leading to this result were brought about rapidly, one after another, under the lead of Southern men at the head of the Government, they having a majority in both branches to accomplish their ends. The honorable member from South Carolina observed that there has been a majority all along in favor of the North. If that be true, sir, the North has acted either very liberally and kindly, or very weakly; for they never exercised that majority efficiently five times in the history of the Government when a division, or trial of strength, arose. Never. Whether they were out-generaled, or whether it was owing to other causes, I shall not stop to consider; but no man acquainted with the history of the country can deny, that the general lead in the politics of the country for three fourths of the period that has elapsed since the adoption of the Constitution, has been a Southern lead. In 1802, in pursuit of the idea of opening a new cotton region, the United States obtained a cession from Georgia of the whole of her western territory, now embracing the rich and growing State of Alabama. In 1803, Louisiana was purchased from France, out of which the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, have been framed, as slaveholding States. In 1819, the cession of Florida was made, bringing in another region of slaveholding property and territory. Sir, the honorable member from South Carolina thought he saw in certain operations of the Government, such as the manner of collecting the revenue, and the tendency of measures calculated to promote emigration into the country, what accounts for the more rapid growth of the North than the South. He ascribes that more rapid growth, not to the operation of time, but to the system of government, administration, established under this Constitution. That is matter of opinion. To a certain extent it may be true; but it does seem to me that if any operation of the Government could be shown in any degree to have promoted the population, and growth, and wealth of the North, it is much more sure that there are sundry important and distinct operations of the Government, about which no man can doubt, tending to promote, and which absolutely have promoted, the increase of the slave interest and the slave territory of the South. Allow me to say that it was not time that brought in Louisiana; it was the act of men. It was not time that brought in Florida; it was the act of men. And lastly, sir, to complete those acts of men which have contributed so much to enlarge the area and the sphere of the institution of slavery, Texas, great and vast and illimitable Texas, was added to the Union as a slave State in 1845; and that, sir, pretty much closed the whole chapter, and settled the whole account. That closed the whole chapter, that settled the whole account, because the annexation of Texas, upon the conditions and under the guaranties upon which she was admitted, did not leave within the control of this Government an acre of land, capable of being cultivated by slave labor, between this Capitol and the Rio Grande or the Nueces, or whatever is the proper boundary of Texas, not an acre. From that moment the whole country, from this place to the western boundary of Texas, was fixed, pledged, fastened, decided, to be slave territory forever, by the solemn guaranties of law. And I now say, sir, as the proposition upon which I stand this day, and upon the truth and firmness of which I intend to act until it is overthrown, that there is not at this moment within the United States, or any territory of the United States, a single foot of land, the character of which, in regard to its being free-soil territory or slave territory, is not fixed by some law, and some irrepalable law, beyond the power of the action of the Government. Now, is it not so with respect to Texas? Why, it is most manifestly so. The honorable member from South Carolina, at the time of the admission of Texas, held an important post in the Executive Department of the Government; he was Secretary of State. Another eminent person of great activity and adroitness in affairs, I mean the late Secretary of the Treasury, (Mr. WALKER,) was a conspicuous member of this body, and took the lead in the business of annexation, in co-operation with the Secretary of State; and I must say that they did their business faithfully and thoroughly; there was no botch left in it. They rounded it off, and made as close joiner-work as ever was exhibited. Resolutions of annexation were brought into Congress fitly joined together, compact, firm, efficient, conclusive upon the great object which they had in view, and those resolutions passed.

Allow me to read a part of these resolutions. It is the third clause of the second section of the resolution of the 1st March, 1845, for the admission of Texas, which applies to this part of the case. That clause reads in these words:

"New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, and having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the Territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said Territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, as the people of each State asking admission may

desire; and in such State or States as shall be formed out of said Territory north of said Missouri-compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

Now what is here stipulated, enacted, secured? It is, that all Texas south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, which is nearly the whole of it, shall be admitted into the Union as a slave State. It was a slave State, and therefore came in as a slave State; and the guaranty is, that new States shall be made out of it, and that such States as are formed out of that portion of Texas lying south of $36^{\circ} 30'$ may come in as slave States to the number of four, in addition to the State then in existence, and admitted at that time by these resolutions. I know no form of legislation which can strengthen this. I know no mode of recognition that can add a tittle of weight to it. I listened respectfully to the resolutions of my honorable friend from Tennessee, (Mr. BELL.) He proposed to recognise that stipulation with Texas. But any additional recognition would weaken the force of it; because it stands here on the ground of a contract, a thing done for a consideration. It is a law founded on a contract with Texas, and designed to carry that contract into effect. A recognition, now, founded not on any consideration or any contract, would not be so strong as it now stands on the face of the resolution. Now I know no way, I candidly confess, in which this Government, acting in good faith, as I trust it always will, can relieve itself from that stipulation and pledge, by any honest course of legislation whatever. And, therefore, I say again that, so far as Texas is concerned, the whole of Texas south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, which, I suppose, embraces all the territory capable of slave cultivation, there is no land, not an acre, the character of which is not established by law, a law which cannot be repealed without the violation of a contract, and plain disregard of the public faith.

I hope, sir, it is now apparent that my proposition, so far as it respects Texas, has been maintained; and that the provision in this article is clear and absolute; and it has been well suggested by my friend from Rhode Island that that part of Texas which lies north of thirty-four degrees of north latitude, and which may be formed into free States, is dependant, in like manner, upon the consent of Texas, herself a slave State.

Well, now, sir, how came this? How came it to pass, that within these walls, where it is said by the honorable member from South Carolina that the free States have always had a majority, this resolution of annexation, such as I have described it, found a majority in both Houses of Congress? Why, sir, it found that majority by the great number of Northern votes added to the entire Southern vote, or at least nearly the whole of the Southern votes. The aggregate was made up of Northern, and Southern votes. In the House of Representatives it stood, I think, about eighty Southern votes for the admission of Texas, and about fifty Northern votes for the admission of Texas. In the Senate the vote stood for the admission of Texas twenty-seven, and twenty-five against it; and of those twenty-seven votes, constituting a majority for the admission of Texas in this body, no less than thirteen came from the free States, and four of them were from New England. The whole of these thirteen Senators constituting, within a fraction, you see, of one-half of all the votes in this body for the admission of Texas, with its immeasurable extent of slave territory, were sent here by free States.

Sir, there is not so remarkable a chapter in our history of political events, political parties, and political men, as is afforded by this measure for the admission of Texas, with this immense territory, that a bird cannot fly over in a week. [Laughter.] Sir, New England, with some of her own votes, supported this measure. Three-fourths of the votes of liberty-loving Connecticut were given for it in the other House; and one-half here. There was one vote for it in Maine, but I am happy to say not the vote of the honorable member who addressed the Senate the day before yesterday, (Mr. HAMLIN,) and who was then a Representative from Maine in the House of Representatives; but there was a vote or two from Maine, ay, and there was one vote for it from Massachusetts, given by a gentleman then representing, and now living in, the district in which the prevalence to some extent of free-soil sentiment for a couple of years or so has defeated the choice of any member to represent it in Congress. Sir, that body of Northern and Eastern men, who gave those votes at that time, are now seen taking upon themselves, in the nomenclature of politics, the appellation of the Northern Democracy. They undertook to wield the destinies of this empire, if I may call a republic an empire, and their policy was, and they persisted in it, to bring into this country, and under this Government, all the territory they could. They did it under pledges, absolute pledges to the slave interest in the case of Texas, and afterwards they lent their aid in bringing in these new conquests to take their chance for slavery or freedom. My honorable friend from Georgia, in March, 1847, moved the Senate to declare that the war ought not to be prosecuted for acquisition, for conquest, for the dismemberment of Mexico. The same Northern Democracy entirely voted against it. He did not get a vote from them. It suited the views, the patriotism, the elevated sentiments of the Northern Democracy to bring in a world here, among the mountains and valleys of California and New Mexico, or any other part of Mexico, and then quarrel about it; to bring it in, and then endeavor to put upon it the saving grace of the Wilmot proviso. There were two eminent and highly respectable gentlemen from the North and East, then leading gentlemen in the Senate—I refer, and I do so with entire respect, for I entertain for both of those gentlemen, in general, high regard, to Mr. Dix, of New York, and Mr. Niles, of Connecticut—who both voted for the admission of Texas. They would not have that vote any other way than as it stood; and they would have it as it did stand. I speak of the vote upon the annexation of Texas. Those two gentlemen would have the resolution of annexation just as it is, and they voted for it just as it is, and their eyes were all open to its true character. The honorable member who addressed us the other day from South Carolina, was then Secretary of State. His correspondence with Mr. Murphy, the chargé d'affaires of the United States in Texas, had been published. That correspondence was all before those gentlemen, and the Secretary had the boldness and candor to avow in that correspondence that the great object sought by the annexation of Texas was to strengthen the slave interest of the South. Why, sir, he said so, in so many words—

Mr. CALHOUN. Will the honorable Senator permit me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. WEBSTER. Certainly.

Mr. CALHOUN. I am very reluctant to interrupt the honorable gentleman; but, upon a point of so much importance, I deem it right to put myself *reclus in curia*. I did not put it upon the ground assumed by the Senator. I put it upon this ground: that Great Britain had announced to this country, in so many words, that her object was to abolish slavery in Texas, and through Texas to accomplish the abolishment of slavery in the United States and the world. The ground I put it on was, that it would make an exposed frontier, and, if Great Britain succeeded in her object, it would be impossible that that frontier could be secured against the aggressions of the abolitionists; and that this Government was bound, under the guaranties of the Constitution, to protect us against such a state of things.

Mr. WEBSTER. That comes, I suppose, sir, to exactly the same thing. It was, that Texas must be obtained for the security of the slave interest of the South.

Mr. CALHOUN. Another view is very distinctly given.

Mr. WEBSTER. That was the object set forth in the correspondence of a worthy gentleman not now living, who preceded the honorable member from South Carolina in the Department of State. There repose on the files of the Department of State, as I have occasion to know, strong letters from Mr. Upshur to the United States minister in England, and I believe there are some to the same minister from the honorable Senator himself, asserting to this effect the sentiments of this Government, viz: that Great Britain was expected not to interfere to take Texas out of the hands of its then existing Government, and make it a free country. But my argument, my suggestion is this; that those gentlemen who composed the Northern Democracy when Texas was brought into the Union, saw, with all their eyes, that it was brought in as a slave country, and brought in for the purpose of being maintained as slave territory to the Greek Kalends. I rather think the honorable gentleman who was then Secretary of State might, in some of his correspondence with Mr. Murphy, have suggested that it was not expedient to say too much about this object, lest it should create some alarm. At any rate, Mr. Murphy wrote to him, that England was anxious to get rid of the constitution of Texas, because it was a constitution establishing slavery; and that what the United States had to do, was to aid the people of Texas in upholding their constitution; but that nothing should be said, which should offend the fanatical men of the North. But, sir, the honorable member did avow this object himself, openly, boldly, and manfully; he did not disguise his conduct, or his motives.

Mr. CALHOUN. Never, never.

Mr. WEBSTER. What he means he is very apt to say.

Mr. CALHOUN. Always, always.

Mr. WEBSTER. And I honor him for it. This admission of Texas was in 1845. Then, in 1847, *aggravante bello* between the United States and Mexico, the proposition I have mentioned was brought forward by my friend from Georgia, and the Northern Democracy voted straight ahead against it. Their remedy was to apply to the acquisitions, after they should come in, the Wilmot proviso. What follows? These two gentlemen, worthy and honorable and influential men, and if they had not been they could not have carried the measure, these two gentlemen, members of this body, brought in Texas, and by their votes they also prevented the passage of the resolution of the honorable member from Georgia, and then they went home and took the lead in the Free-soil party. And there they stand, sir! They leave us here, bound in honor and conscience by the resolutions of annexation, they leave us here, to take the odium of fulfilling the obligations in favor of slavery, which they voted us into, or else the greater odium of violating those obligations, while they are at home making capital and rousing speeches for free-soil and no slavery. [Laughter.] And, therefore, I say, sir, that there is not a chapter in our history, respecting public measures and public men, more full of what should create surprise, more full of what does create, in my mind, extreme mortification, than that of the conduct of this Northern Democracy.

Mr. President, sometimes, when a man is found in a new relation to things around him and to other men, he says the world has changed, and that he has not changed. I believe, sir, that our self respect leads us often to make this declaration in regard to ourselves, when it is not exactly true. An individual is more apt to change, perhaps, than all the world around him. But, under the present circumstances, and under the responsibility which I know I incur by what I am now stating here, I feel at liberty to recur to the various expressions and statements, made at various times, of my own opinions and resolutions respecting the admission of Texas, and all that has followed. Sir, as early as 1836, or in the early part of 1837, there was conversation and correspondence between myself and some private friends, on this project of annexing Texas to the United States; and an honorable gentleman with whom I have had a long acquaintance, a friend of mine, now perhaps in this chamber, I mean Gen. Hamilton, of South Carolina, was knowing to that correspondence. I had voted for the recognition of Texan independence, because I believed it was an existing fact, surprising and astonishing as it was, and I wished well to the new republic: but I manifested from the first utter opposition to bringing her, with her slave territory, into the Union. I happened, in 1837, to meet friends in New York, on some political occasion, and I then stated my sentiments upon the subject. It was the first time that I had occasion to advert to it; and I will ask a friend near me to do me the favor to read an extract from the speech, for the Senate may find it rather tedious to listen to the whole of it. It was delivered in Niblo's Garden in 1837.

Mr. GREENE then read the following extract from the speech of Mr. Webster, to which he referred:

"Gentlemen, we all see that, by whomsoever possessed, Texas is likely to be a slaveholding coun-

try ; and I frankly avow my entire unwillingness to do anything which shall extend the slavery of the African race on this continent, or add other slaveholding States to the Union.

"When I say that I regard slavery in itself as a great moral, social, and political evil, I only use language which has been adopted by distinguished men, themselves citizens of slaveholding States.

"I shall do nothing, therefore, to favor or encourage its further extension. We have slavery already among us. The Constitution found it among us ; it recognised it, and gave it solemn guaranties.

"To the full extent of these guaranties, we are all bound in honor, in justice, and by the Constitution. All the stipulations contained in the Constitution in favor of the slaveholding States, which are already in the Union, ought to be fulfilled, and, so far as depends on me, shall be fulfilled in the fullness of their spirit, and to the exactness of their letter. Slavery, as it exists in the States, is beyond the reach of Congress. It is a concern of the States themselves. They have never submitted it to Congress, and Congress has no rightful power over it.

"I shall concur, therefore, in no act, no measure, no menace, no indication of purpose, which shall interfere, or threaten to interfere, with the exclusive authority of the several States over the subject of slavery, as it exists within their respective limits. All this appears to me to be matter of plain and imperative duty.

"But when we come to speak of admitting new States, the subject assumes an entirely different aspect. Our rights and our duties are then both different. * * *

"I see, therefore, no political necessity for the annexation of Texas to the Union—no advantage to be derived from it ; and objections to it of a strong, and, in my judgment, of a decisive character."

Mr. WEBSTER. I have nothing, sir, to add to, nor to take from, those sentiments. That speech, the Senate will perceive, was in 1837. The purpose of immediately annexing Texas at that time was abandoned or postponed ; and it was not revived with any vigor for some years. In the mean time it had so happened that I had become a member of the Executive Administration, and was for a short period in the Department of State. The annexation of Texas was a subject of conversation, not confidential, with the President and heads of Departments, as well as with other public men. No serious attempt was then made, however, to bring it about. I left the Department of State in May, 1843, and shortly after I learned, though by means which were no way connected with official information, that a design had been taken up of bringing Texas, with her slave territory and population, into this Union. I was in Washington at the time, and persons are now here who will remember that we had an arranged meeting for conversation upon it. I went home to Massachusetts and proclaimed the existence of that purpose, but I could get no audience, and but little attention. Some did not believe it, and some were too much engaged in their own pursuits to give it any heed. They had gone to their farms, or to their merchandise, and it was impossible to arouse any sentiments in New England or in Massachusetts that should combine the two great political parties against this annexation ; and indeed there was no hope of bringing the Northern Democracy into that view, for the leaning was all the other way. But, sir, even with Whigs, and leading Whigs, I am ashamed to say, there was a great indifference towards the admission of Texas with slave territory into this Union. The project went on. I was then out of Congress. The annexation resolutions passed the 1st of March, 1845 ; the Legislature of Texas complied with the conditions and accepted the guaranties ; for the phraseology of the language of the resolution is, that Texas is to come in "upon the conditions and under the guaranties herein prescribed." I happened to be returned to the Senate in March, 1845, and was here in December, 1845, when the acceptance by Texas of the conditions proposed by Congress was communicated to us by the President, and an act for the consummation of the connection was laid before the two Houses. The connection was then not completed. A final law doing the deed of annexation ultimately had not been passed ; and when it was put upon its final passage here, I expressed my opposition to it, and recorded my vote in the negative ; and there that vote stands, with the observations that I made upon that occasion. It has happened that between 1837 and this time, on various occasions and opportunities, I have expressed my entire opposition to the admission of slave States, or the acquisition of new slave territories, to be added to the United States. I know, sir, no change in my own sentiments or my own purposes in that respect. I will now again ask my friend from Rhode Island to read another extract from a speech of mine, made at a Whig Convention in Springfield, Massachusetts, in the month of September, 1847.

Mr. GREENE here read the following extract :

"We hear much just now of a *panacea* for the dangers and evils of slavery and slave annexation, which they call the '*Wilmot proviso*.' That certainly is a just sentiment, but it is not a sentiment to found any new party upon. It is not a sentiment on which Massachusetts Whigs differ. There is not a man in this hall who holds to it more firmly than I do, nor one who adheres to it more than another.

"I feel some little interest in this matter, sir. Did not I commit myself in 1837 to the whole doctrine, fully, entirely ? And I must be permitted to say that I cannot quite consent that more recent discoverers should claim the merit and take out a patent.

"I deny the priority of their invention. Allow me to say, sir, it is not their thunder." * * *

"We are to use the first and last and every occasion which offers to oppose the extension of slave power.

"But I speak of it here, as in Congress, as a political question, a question for statesmen to act upon. We must so regard it. I certainly do not mean to say that it is less important in a moral point of view, that it is not more important in many other points of view ; but, as a legislator, or in any official capacity, I must look at it, consider it, and decide it as a matter of political action."

Mr. WEBSTER. On other occasions, in debates here, I have expressed my determination to vote

for no acquisition, or cession, or annexation, North or South, East or West. My opinion has been, that we have territory enough, and that we should follow the Spartan maxim, "improve, adorn what you have, seek no further." I think that it was in some observations that I made on the three million loan bill, that I avowed that sentiment. In short, sir, the sentiment has been avowed quite as often, in as many places, and before as many assemblies, as any humble sentiments of mine ought to be avowed.

But now, that, under certain conditions, Texas is in, with all her territory, as a slave State, with a solemn pledge, also, that if she shall be divided into many States, those States may come in as slave States south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, how are we to deal with this subject? I know no way of honest legislation, when the proper time comes for the enactment, but to carry into effect all that we have stipulated to do. I do not entirely agree with my honorable friend from Tennessee, (Mr. BELL,) that, as soon as the time comes when she is entitled to another representative, we should create a new State. The rule in regard to it I take to be this: that, when we have created new States out of Territories, we have generally gone upon the idea that when there is population enough to form a State, sixty thousand or some such thing, we would create a State; but it is quite a different thing when a State is divided, and two or more States made out of it. It does not follow, in such a case, that the same rule of apportionment should be applied. That, however, is a matter for the consideration of Congress, when the proper time arrives. I may not then be here. I may have no vote to give on the occasion, but I wish it to be distinctly understood, to-day, that, according to my view of the matter, this Government is solemnly pledged, by law and contract, to create new States out of Texas, with her consent, when her population shall justify and call for such a proceeding, and so far as such States are formed out of Texan territory lying south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, to let them come in as slave States. That is the meaning of the resolution which our friends, the Northern Democracy, have left us to fulfil; and I, for one, mean to fulfil it, because I will not violate the faith of the Government. What I mean to say is, that the time for the admission of new States formed out of Texas, the number of such States, their boundaries, and the requisite amounts of population, and other things connected with the admission, are in the free discretion of Congress, except this, to wit, that when new States, formed out of Texas, are to be admitted, they have a right, by legal stipulation and contract, to come in as slave States.

Now, as to California and New Mexico, I hold slavery to be excluded from those Territories by a law, even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas. I mean the law of nature, of physical geography, the law of the formation of the earth. That law settles forever, with a strength beyond all terms of human enactment, that slavery cannot exist in California or New Mexico. Understand me, sir; I mean slavery as we regard it; slaves in gross, of the colored race, transferable by sale and delivery, like other property. I shall not discuss the point, but leave it to the learned gentlemen who have undertaken to discuss it; but I suppose there is no slave of that description in California now. I understand that *peonism*, a sort of penal servitude, exists there, or rather a sort of voluntary sale of a man and his offspring for debt, as it is arranged and exists in some parts of California and some provinces of Mexico. But what I mean to say is, that African slavery, as we see it among us, is as utterly impossible to find itself, or to be found in California and New Mexico, as any other natural impossibility. California and New Mexico are Asiatic, in their formation and scenery. They are composed of vast ridges of mountains of enormous height, with broken ridges and deep valleys. The sides of these mountains are barren, entirely barren; their tops capped by perennial snow. There may be in California, now made free by its constitution, and no doubt there are, some tracts of valuable land. But it is not so in New Mexico. Pray, what is the evidence which every gentleman must have obtained on this subject, from information sought by himself, or communicated by others. I have inquired and read all I could find, in order to acquire information on this important question. What is there in New Mexico that could by any possibility induce any body to go there with slaves? There are some narrow strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers; but the rivers themselves dry up, before midsummer is gone. All that the people can do in that region, is to raise some little articles, some little wheat for their tortillas, and all that by irrigation. And who expects to see a hundred black men cultivating tobacco, corn, cotton, rice, or any thing else, on lands in New Mexico, made fertile only by irrigation? I look upon it, therefore, as a fixed fact, to use an expression current at this day, that both California and New Mexico are destined to be free, so far as they are settled at all, which I believe, especially in regard to New Mexico, will be very little for a great length of time; free by the arrangement of things by the Power above us. I have therefore to say, in this respect also, that this country is fixed for freedom, to as many persons as shall ever live in it, by as irrevocable and more irrevocable a law, than the law that attaches to the right of holding slaves in Texas; and I will say further, that if a resolution, or a law, were now before us to provide a territorial government for New Mexico, I would not vote to put any prohibition into it whatever. The use of such a prohibition would be idle, as it respects any effect it would have upon the Territory; and I would not take pains uselessly to re-affirm an ordinance of Nature, nor to re-enact the will of God. And I would put in no Wilmot proviso for the mere purpose of a taunt or a reproach. I would put into it no evidence of the votes of superior power, for no purpose but to wound the pride, even whether a just pride, a rational pride, or an irrational pride, to wound the pride of the gentlemen who belong to Southern States. I have no such object, no such purpose. They would think it a taunt, an indignity; they would think it to be an act taking away from them what they regard a proper equality of privilege; and whether they expect to realize any benefit from it or not, they would think it at least a plain theoretic wrong; that something more or less derogatory to their character and their rights had taken place. I propose to inflict no such wound upon any body, unless something essentially important to the country, and efficient to the preservation of liberty and freedom, is to be effected. Therefore, I repeat, sir, and I repeat it because I wish it to be understood, that I do not propose to address the Senate often on this

subject. I desire to pour out all my heart in as plain a manner as possible; and I say, again, therefore, that if a proposition were now here for a Government for New Mexico, and it was moved to insert a provision for a prohibition of slavery, I would not vote for it.

Now, Mr. President, I have established, so far as I proposed to go into any line of observation to establish, the proposition with which I set out, and upon which I propose to stand or fall; and that is, that the whole territory of the States in the United States, or in the newly acquired territory of the United States, has a fixed and settled character, now fixed and settled by law, which cannot be repealed; in the case of Texas without a violation of public faith, and by no human power in regard to California or New Mexico; that, therefore, under one or other of these laws, every foot of land in the States or in the Territories has already received a fixed and decided character.

Sir, if we were now making a government for New Mexico, and any body should propose a Wilmot proviso, I should treat it exactly as Mr. Polk treated that provision for excluding slavery from Oregon. Mr. Polk was known to be in opinion decidedly averse to the Wilmot proviso; but he felt the necessity of establishing a government for the Territory of Oregon, and, though the proviso was in it, he knew it would be entirely nugatory; and, since it must be entirely nugatory, since it took away no right, no describable, no estimable, no weighable or tangible right of the South, he said he would sign the bill for the sake of enacting a law to form a government in that Territory, and let that entirely useless, and, in that connexion entirely senseless, proviso remain. Sir, we hear much of the annexation of Canada; and if there be any man, any of the Northern Democracy, or any one of the Free-Soil party, who supposes it necessary to insert a Wilmot proviso in a territorial government for New Mexico, that man will of course be of opinion that it is necessary to protect the everlasting snows of Canada from the foot of slavery by the same overspreading wing of an act of Congress. Sir, wherever there is a substantive good to be done; wherever there is a foot of land to be staid back from becoming slave territory, I am ready to assert the principle of the exclusion of slavery. I am pledged to it from the year 1837; I have been pledged to it again and again; and I will perform those pledges; but I will not do a thing unnecessarily, that wounds the feelings of others, or that does disgrace to my own understanding.

Mr. President, in the excited times in which we live, there is found to exist a state of crimination and recrimination between the North and South. There are lists of grievances produced by each; and those grievances, real or supposed, alienate the minds of one portion of the country from the other, exasperate the feelings, and subdue the sense of fraternal affection, patriotic love, and mutual regard. I shall bestow a little attention, sir, upon these various grievances produced on the one side, and on the other. I begin with the complaints of the South. I will not answer, further than I have, the general statements of the honorable Senator from South Carolina, that the North has grown upon the South in consequence of the manner of administering this Government, in the collecting of its revenues, and so forth. These are disputed topics, and I have no inclination to enter into them. But I will state these complaints, especially one complaint of the South, which has in my opinion just foundation; and that is, that there has been found at the North, among individuals and among legislators of the North, a disinclination to perform, fully, their constitutional duties in regard to the return of persons bound to service who have escaped into the free States. In that respect, it is my judgment that the South is right, and the North is wrong. Every member of every Northern Legislature is bound by oath, like every other officer in the country, to support the Constitution of the United States; and this article of the Constitution, which says to these States they shall deliver up fugitives from service, is as binding in honor and conscience as any other article. No man fulfils his duty in any Legislature who sets himself to find excuses, evasions, escapes from this constitutional obligation. I have always thought that the Constitution addressed itself to the Legislatures of the States, or to the States themselves. It says that those persons escaping to other States shall be delivered up, and I confess I have always been of the opinion that it was an injunction upon the States themselves. When it is said that a person escaping into another State, and becoming therefore within the jurisdiction of that State, shall be delivered up, it seems to me the import of the passage is, that the State itself, in obedience to the Constitution, shall cause him to be delivered up. That is my judgment. I have always entertained that opinion, and I entertain it now. But when the subject, some years ago, was before the Supreme Court of the United States, the majority of the judges held that the power to cause fugitives from service to be delivered up was a power to be exercised under the authority of this Government. I do not know, on the whole, that it may not have been a fortunate decision. My habit is to respect the result of judicial deliberations and the solemnity of judicial decisions. But, as it now stands, the business of seeing that these fugitives are delivered up resides in the power of Congress and the national judicature, and my friend at the head of the Judiciary Committee has a bill on the subject now before the Senate, with some amendments to it, which I propose to support, with all its provisions, to the fullest extent. And I desire to call the attention of all sober-minded men, of all conscientious men, in the North, of all men who are not carried away by any fanatical idea or by any false idea whatever, to their constitutional obligations. I put it to all the sober and sound minds at the North as a question of morals and a question of conscience. What right have they, in their legislative capacity, or any other capacity, to endeavor to get round this Constitution, to embarrass the free exercise of the rights secured by the Constitution to the persons whose slaves escape from them? None at all; none at all. Neither in the forum of conscience, nor before the face of the Constitution, are they justified, in my opinion. Of course it is a matter for their consideration. They probably, in the turmoil of the times, have not stopped to consider of this; they have followed what seemed to be the current of thought and of motives as the occasion arose, and they neglected to investigate fully the real question, and to con-

sider their constitutional obligations; as I am sure, if they did consider, they would fulfil them with alacrity. Therefore, I repeat, sir, that here is a ground of complaint against the North well founded, which ought to be removed, which it is now in the power of the different departments of this Government to remove; which calls for the enactment of proper laws authorizing the judicature of this Government, in the several States, to do all that is necessary for the recapture of fugitive slaves, and for the restoration of them to those who claim them. Wherever I go, and whenever I speak on the subject, and when I speak here I desire to speak to the whole North, I say that the South has been injured in this respect, and has a right to complain; and the North has been too careless of what I think the Constitution peremptorily and emphatically enjoins upon her as a duty.

Complaint has been made against certain resolutions that emanate from Legislatures at the North, and are sent here to us, not only on the subject of slavery in this District, but sometimes recommending Congress to consider the means of abolishing slavery in the States. I should be sorry to be called upon to present any resolutions here which could not be referable to any committee or any power in Congress; and, therefore, I should be unwilling to receive from the Legislature of Massachusetts any instructions to present resolutions expressive of any opinion whatever on the subject of slavery as it exists at the present moment in the States, for two reasons: because, first, I do not consider that the Legislature of Massachusetts has any thing to do with it; and next, I do not consider that I, as her representative here, have any thing to do with it. Sir, it has become, in my opinion, quite too common, and, if the Legislatures of the States do not like that opinion, they have a great deal more power to put it down, than I have to uphold it; it has become, in my opinion, quite too common a practice for the State Legislatures to present resolutions here on all subjects, and to instruct us here on all subjects. There is no public man that requires instruction more than I do, or who requires information more than I do, or desires it more heartily; but I do not like to have it come in too imperative a shape. I took notice, with pleasure, of some remarks upon this subject made the other day in the Senate of Massachusetts, by a young man of talent and character, of whom the best hopes may be entertained. I mean Mr. Hillard. He told the Senate of Massachusetts that he would vote for no instructions whatever to be forwarded to members of Congress, nor for any resolutions to be offered, expressive of the sense of Massachusetts, as to what her members of Congress ought to do. He said that he saw no propriety in one set of public servants giving instructions and reading lectures to another set of public servants. To their own master all of them must stand or fall, and that master is their constituents. I wish these sentiments could become more common, a great deal more common. I have never entered into the question, and never shall, about the binding force of instructions. I will, however, simply say this: if there be any matter pending in this body, while I am a member of it, in which Massachusetts has an interest of her own not adverse to the general interests of the country, I shall pursue her instructions with gladness of heart, and with all the efficiency which I can bring to the occasion. But if the question be one which affects her interest, and at the same time equally affects the interests of all other States, I shall no more regard her particular wishes or instructions, than I should regard the wishes of a man who might appoint me an arbitrator, or referee, to decide some question of important private right between him and his neighbor, and then instruct me to decide in his favor. If ever there was a Government upon earth, it is this Government; if ever there was a body upon earth, it is this body, which should consider itself as composed by agreement of all, each member appointed by some, but organized by the general consent of all, sitting here under the solemn obligations of oath and conscience to do that which they think to be best for the good of the whole.

Then, sir, there are the abolition societies, of which I am unwilling to speak, but in regard to which I have very clear notions and opinions. I do not think them useful. I think their operations for the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable. At the same time, I know thousands of their members to be honest and good men; perfectly well meaning men. They have excited feelings; they think they must do something for the cause of liberty, and in their sphere of action they do not see what else they can do, than to contribute to an abolition press, or an abolition society, or to pay an abolition lecturer. I do not mean to impute gross motives even to the leaders of these societies, but I am not blind to the consequences of their proceedings. I cannot but see what mischiefs their interference with the South has produced. And is it not plain to every man? Let any gentleman who doubts of that, recur to the debates in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832, and he will see with what freedom a proposition made by Mr. Randolph for the gradual abolition of slavery was discussed in that body. Every one spoke of slavery as he thought; very ignominious and disparaging names and epithets were applied to it. The debates in the House of Delegates on that occasion, I believe, were all published. They were read by every colored man who could read, and to those who could not read, those debates were read by others. At that time Virginia was not unwilling nor afraid to discuss this question, and to let that part of her population know as much of the discussion as they could learn. That was in 1832. As has been said by the honorable member from South Carolina, these abolition societies commenced their course of action in 1835. It is said, I do not know how true it may be, that they sent incendiary publications into the slave States; at any event, they attempted to arouse, and did arouse, a very strong feeling; in other words, they created great agitation in the North against Southern slavery. Well, what was the result? The bonds of the slaves were bound more firmly than before; their rivets were more strongly fastened. Public opinion, which in Virginia had begun to be exhibited against slavery, and was opening out for the discussion of the question, drew back and shut itself up in its castle. I wish to know whether any body in Virginia can, now, talk as Mr. Randolph, Gov. McDowell, and others talked, openly, and sent their remarks to the press, in 1832? We all know the fact, and we all know the cause; and every thing that this agitating people have done has been, not to enlarge, but to restrain, not to set free, but to bind faster the slave population of the South.

That is my judgment. Sir, as I have said, I know many abolitionists in my own neighborhood, very honest, good people, misled, as I think, by strange enthusiasm; but they wish to do something, and they are called on to contribute, and they do contribute; and it is my firm opinion this day, that within the last twenty years as much money has been collected and paid to the abolition societies, abolition presses, and abolition lecturers, as would purchase the freedom of every slave, man, woman, and child, in the State of Maryland, and send them all to Liberia. I have no doubt of it. But I have yet to learn that the benevolence of these abolition societies has at any time taken that particular turn. [Laughter.]

Again, sir, the violence of the press is complained of. The press violent! Why, sir, the press is violent every where. There are outrageous reproaches in the North against the South, and there are reproaches no better in the South against the North. Sir, the extremists of both parts of this country are violent; they mistake loud and violent talk for eloquence and for reason. They think that he who talks loudest reasons best. And this we must expect, when the press is free, as it is here, and I trust always will be; for, with all its licentiousness, and all its evil, the entire and absolute freedom of the press is essential to the preservation of government on the basis of a free constitution. Wherever it exists, there will be foolish paragraphs and violent paragraphs in the press, as there are, I am sorry to say, foolish speeches and violent speeches in both Houses of Congress. In truth, sir, I must say that, in my opinion, the vernacular tongue of the country has become greatly vitiated, depraved, and corrupted by the style of our congressional debates. [Laughter.] And if it were possible for those debates in Congress to vitiate the principles of the people as much as they have depraved their taste, I should cry out, "God save the Republic!"

Well, in all this I see no solid grievance, no grievance presented by the South, within the redress of the Government, but the single one to which I have referred; and that is, the want of a proper regard to the injunction of the Constitution for the delivery of fugitive slaves.

There are also complaints of the North against the South. I need not go over them particularly. The first and gravest is, that the North adopted the Constitution, recognising the existence of slavery in the States, and recognising the right, to a certain extent, of representation of the slaves in Congress, under a state of sentiment and expectation, which do not now exist; and that, by events, by circumstances, by the eagerness of the South to acquire territory and extend her slave population, the North finds itself, in regard to the relative influence of the South and the North, of the free States and the slave States, where it never did expect to find itself when they agreed to the compact of the Constitution. They complain, therefore, that, instead of slavery being regarded as an evil, as it was then, an evil which all hoped would be extinguished gradually, it is now regarded by the South as an institution to be cherished, and preserved, and extended; an institution which the South has already extended to the utmost of her power by the acquisition of new territory.

Well, then, passing from that, every body in the North reads; and every body reads whatsoever the newspapers contain; and the newspapers, some of them, especially those presses to which I have alluded, are careful to spread about among the people every reproachful sentiment uttered by any Southern man bearing at all against the North; every thing that is calculated to exasperate, to alienate; and there are many such things, as every body will admit, from the South, or some portion of it, which are disseminated among the reading people; and they do exasperate, an alienate, and produce a most mischievous effect upon the public mind at the North. Sir, I would not notice things of this sort appearing in obscure quarters; but one thing has occurred in this debate which struck me very forcibly. An honorable member from Louisiana addressed us the other day on this subject. I suppose there is not a more amiable and worthy gentleman in this chamber, nor a gentleman who would be more slow to give offence to any body, and he did not mean in his remarks to give offence. But what did he say? Why, sir, he took pains to run a contrast between the slaves of the South and the laboring people of the North, giving the preference in all points of condition, and comfort, and happiness, to the slaves of the South. The honorable member, doubtless, did not suppose that he gave any offence, or did any injustice. He was merely expressing his opinion. But does he know how remarks of that sort will be received by the laboring people of the North? Why, who are the laboring people of the North? They are the North. They are the people who cultivate their own farms with their own hands; freeholders, educated men, independent men. Let me say, sir, that five-sixths of the whole property of the North is in the hands of the laborers of the North; they cultivate their farms, they educate their children, they provide the means of independence; if they are not freeholders, they earn wages; these wages accumulate, are turned into capital, into new freeholds, and small capitalists are created. That is the case, and such the course of things among the industrious and frugal. And what can these people think when so respectable and worthy a gentleman as the member from Louisiana undertakes to prove that the absolute ignorance and the abject slavery of the South are more in conformity with the high purposes and destiny of immortal, rational, human beings, than the educated, the independent, free labor of the North?

There is a more tangible and irritating cause of grievance at the North. Free blacks are constantly employed in the vessels of the North, generally as cooks or stewards. When the vessel arrives, at a Southern port, these free colored men are taken on shore, by the police or municipal authority, imprisoned, and kept in prison, till the vessel is again ready to sail. This is not only irritating, but exceedingly unjustifiable and oppressive. Mr. Hoar's mission, some time ago, to South Carolina, was a well-intended effort to remove this cause of complaint. The North thinks such imprisonments illegal and unconstitutional; and as the cases occur constantly, and frequently, they regard it as a great grievance.

Now, sir, so far as any of these grievances have their foundation in matters of law, they can be redressed, and ought to be redressed; and so far as they have their foundation in matters of opinion, in

sentiment, in mutual attraction and reerimination, all that we can do is to endeavor to allay the agitation, and cultivate a better feeling and more fraternal sentiments between the South and the North.

Mr. President, I should much prefer to have heard from every member on this floor declarations of opinion that this Union should never be dissolved, than the declaration of opinion by any body that, in any case, under the pressure of any circumstances, such a dissolution was possible. I hear with pain, and anguish, and distress, the word "secession," especially when it falls from the lips of those who are patriotic, and known to the country, and known all over the world, for their political services. Secession! Peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish, I beg every body's pardon, as to expect to see any such thing? Sir, he who sees these States, now revolving in harmony around a common centre, and expects to see them quit their places and fly off without convulsion, may look the next hour to see the heavenly bodies rush from their spheres, and jostle against each other in the realms of space, without causing the crush of the universe. There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. Is the great Constitution under which we live, covering this whole country, is it to be thawed and melted away by secession, as the snows on the mountain melt under the influence of a vernal sun? disappear almost unobserved, and run off? No, sir! No, sir! I will not state what might produce the disruption of the Union; but, sir, I see as plainly as I see the sun in heaven, what that disruption must produce; I see that it must produce war, such a war as I will not describe, *in its twofold character.*

Peaceable secession!—peaceable secession! The concurrent agreement of all the members of this great republic to separate! A voluntary separation, with alimony on one side and on the other. Why, what would be the result? Where is the line to be drawn? What States are to secede? What is to remain American? What am I to be? An American no longer? Am I to become a sectional man, a local man, a separatist? with no country, in common with the gentlemen who sit around me here, or who fill the other house of Congress? Heaven forbid! Where is the flag of the republic to remain? Where is the eagle still to tower? or is he to cower and shrink and fall to the ground? Why, sir, our ancestors—our fathers and our grandfathers, those of them that are yet living amongst us with prolonged lives, would rebuke and reproach us; and our children and our grandchildren would cry out shame upon us, if we, of this generation, should dishonor these ensigns of the power of the Government and the harmony of that Union, which is every day felt among us with so much joy and gratitude. What is to become of the army? What is to become of the navy? What is to become of the public lands? How is each of the thirty States to defend itself? I know, although the idea has not been stated distinctly, there is to be, or it is supposed possible that there should be, a Southern Confederacy. I do not mean, when I allude to this statement, that any one seriously contemplates such a state of things. I do not mean to say that it is true, but I have heard it suggested elsewhere, that that idea has originated a design to separate. I am sorry, sir, that it has ever been thought of, talked of, or dreamed of, in the wildest flights of human imagination. But the idea, so far as it exists, must be of a separation, assigning the slave States to one side, and the free States to the other. Sir, there is not, I may express myself too strongly, perhaps, but some things, some moral things, are almost as impossible as other natural or physical things; and I hold the idea of a separation of these States, those that are free to form one government, and those that are slave-holding to form another, as a moral impossibility. We could not separate the States by any such line, if we were to draw it. We could not sit down here to-day and draw a line of separation that would satisfy any five men in the country. There are natural causes that would keep and tie us together, and there are social and domestic relations which we could not break if we would, and which we should not if we could. Sir, nobody can look over the face of this country at the present moment, nobody can see where its population is the most dense and growing, without being ready to admit, and compelled to admit, that ere long America will be in the valley of the Mississippi.

Well, now, sir, I beg to inquire what the wildest enthusiast has to say on the possibility of cutting that river in two, and leaving free States at its source, and its branches, and slave States down near its mouth, each forming a separate government? Pray, sir; pray, sir, let me say to the people of this country that these things are worthy of their pondering and of their consideration. Here, sir, are five millions of freemen in the free States north of the river Ohio; can any body suppose that this population can be severed by a line that divides them from the territory of a foreign and an alien Government, down somewhere, the Lord knows where, upon the lower banks of the Mississippi? What would become of Missouri? Will she join the arrondissement of the slave States? Shall the man from the Yellow Stone and the Platte be connected, in the new Republic, with the man who lives on the southern extremity of the Cape of Florida? Sir, I am ashamed to pursue this line of remark. I dislike it, I have an utter disgust for it. I would rather hear of natural blasts and mildews, war, pestilence, and famine, than to hear gentlemen talk of secession. To break up! to break up this great Government, to dismember this glorious country, to astonish Europe with an act of folly such as Europe for two centuries has never beheld in any Government or any people! No, sir; no sir! There will be no secession. Gentlemen are not serious when they talk of secession.

Sir, I hear there is to be a Convention held at Nashville. I am bound to believe that if worthy gentlemen meet at Nashville in convention, their object will be to adopt counsels conciliatory, to advise the South to forbearance and moderation, and to advise the North to forbearance and moderation; and to inculcate principles of brotherly love and affection, and attachment to the Constitution of the country as it now is. I believe, if the Convention meet at all, it will be for this purpose; for certainly, if they meet for any purpose hostile to the Union, they have been singularly inappropriate in their selection

of a place. I remember, sir, that when the treaty was concluded between France and England, at the peace of Amiens, a stern old Englishman and an orator, who regarded the conditions of the peace as ignominious to England, said in the House of Commons, that if King William could know the terms of that treaty, he would turn in his coffin. Let me commend this saying of Mr. Windham, in all its emphasis and in all its force, to any persons who shall meet at Nashville for the purpose of concerting measures for the overthrow of this Union over the bones of Andrew Jackson.

Sir, I wish now to make two remarks, and hasten to a conclusion. I wish to say, in regard to Texas, that if it should be, hereafter, at any time, the pleasure of the Government of Texas to cede to the United States a portion, larger or smaller, of her territory which lies adjacent to New Mexico, and north of 34° of north latitude, to be formed into free States, for a fair equivalent in money or in the payment of her debt, I think it an object well worthy the consideration of Congress, and I shall be happy to concur in it myself, if I should be in the public counsels of the country at the time.

I have one other remark to make. In my observations upon slavery as it has existed in the country, and as it now exists, I have expressed no opinion of the mode of its extinguishment or melioration. I will say, however, though I have nothing to propose, because I do not deem myself so competent as other gentlemen to take any lead, that if any gentleman from the South shall propose a scheme of colonization, to be carried on by this Government upon a large scale, for the transportation of free colored people to any colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur almost any degree of expense to accomplish that object. Nay, sir, following an example set here more than twenty years ago by a great man, then a Senator from New York, I would return to Virginia, and through her for the benefit of the whole South, the money received from the lands and territories ceded by her to this Government, for any such purpose as to relieve, in whole or in part, or in any way to diminish or deal beneficially with, the free colored population of the Southern States. I have said that I honor Virginia for her cession of this territory. There have been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands ceded by her. If the residue should be sold at the same rate, the whole aggregate will exceed two hundred millions of dollars. If Virginia and the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, or such as may be made free, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay them any sum of money out of its proceeds, which may be adequate to the purpose.

And now, Mr. President, I draw these observations to a close. I have spoken freely, and I meant to do so. I have sought to make no display; I have sought to enliven the occasion by no animated discussion, nor have I attempted any train of elaborate argument. I have wished only to speak my sentiments, fully and at large, being desirous once and for all to let the Senate know, and to let the country know, the opinions and sentiments which I entertain on all these subjects. These opinions are not likely to be suddenly changed. If there be any future service that I can render to the country, consistently with these sentiments and opinions, I shall cheerfully render it. If there be not, I shall still be glad to have had an opportunity to disburden my conscience from the bottom of my heart, and to make known every political sentiment that therein exists.

And now, Mr. President, instead of speaking of the possibility or utility of secession, instead of dwelling in these caverns of darkness, instead of groping with those ideas so full of all that is horrid and horrible, let us come out into the light of day; let us enjoy the fresh air of Liberty and Union; let us cherish those hopes which belong to us; let us devote ourselves to those great objects that are fit for our consideration and our action; let us raise our conceptions to the magnitude and the importance of the duties that devolve upon us; let our comprehension be as broad as the country for which we act, our aspirations as high as its certain destiny; let us not be pigmies in a case that calls for men. Never did there devolve on any generation of men higher trusts than now devolve upon us, for the preservation of this Constitution, and the harmony and peace of all who are destined to live under it. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in that golden chain, which is destined, I fondly believe, to grapple the people of all the States to this Constitution, for ages to come. We have a great, popular, constitutional Government, guarded by law, and by judicature, and defended by the whole affections of the people. No monarchical throne presses these States together; no iron chain of military power encircles them; they live and stand upon a Government popular in its form, representative in its character, founded upon principles of equality, and so constructed, we hope, as to last forever. In all its history it has been beneficent; it has trodden down no man's liberty; it has crushed no State. Its daily respiration is liberty and patriotism; its yet youthful veins are full of enterprise, courage, and honorable love of glory and renown. Large before, the country has now, by recent events, become vastly larger. This republic now extends, with a vast breadth, across the whole continent. The two great seas of the world wash the one and the other shore. We realize, on a mighty scale, the beautiful description of the ornamental edging of the buckler of Achilles—

“Now the broad shield complete, the artist crowned
With his last hand, and poured the ocean round;
In living silver seemed the waves to roll,
And beat the buckler's verge, and bound the whole.”



THE
AMERICAN UNION:
A DISCOURSE

DELIVERED ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1850,
THE DAY OF THE ANNUAL THANKSGIVING IN PENNSYLVANIA,
AND REPEATED ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19,
IN THE TENTH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

BY
HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D.D.

Third Thousand.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO AND CO.,
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To the Rev. HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 20th*, 1850.

DEAR SIR:—Your friends and immediate fellow-citizens who have listened to your discourse on the Union, are naturally desirous of sharing with the country at large the advantages of so valuable a production.

The spirit of true patriotism which it breathes is especially calculated to do good by being widely diffused at the present moment, while it is distinguished by a tone of piety that is auspicious at all times, and cannot fail to be universally acceptable.

In the name of all who had the satisfaction to witness your eloquence on this interesting occasion, we respectfully ask that you would favor us with the use of the manuscript for publication.

With sincere respect and regard,

Your friends and faithful servants,

J. R. INGERSOLL,

R. PATTERSON,

JOHN K. FINDLAY,

W. C. PATTERSON,

JOHN W. FORNEY,

G. M. DALLAS,

W. M. MEREDITH,

JOS. PATTERSON,

R. M. PATTERSON,

EDWARD ARMSTRONG,

JOHN S. RIDDLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 20th*, 1850.

To the Rev. HENRY A. BOARDMAN, D. D.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:—Cordially approving the sentiments expressed by you in your recent discourse on the AMERICAN UNION, and believing that a more general diffusion of these sentiments would tend to the formation of a sound public opinion on this very important subject, and being desirous, moreover, individually, in some explicit and formal manner, to testify our own devout attachment to the Union, and our utter dissent from those who would subvert it, and our determination to abide by the Constitution and laws, and more particularly those laws of the last session of Congress known as the Compromise Acts, we, the undersigned, do most gratefully and heartily thank you for your eloquent and timely discourse on this subject, and request a copy of the same for publication.

ALEX. W. MITCHELL, M. D.,

WM. H. DILLINGHAM,

LAWRENCE LEWIS,

WM. SHIPPEN, M. D.,

C. B. JAUDON,

HUGH ELLIOT,

FRANCIS WEST, M. D.,

WM. GOODRICH,

R. R. BEARDEN,

TURNER, HARRIS & HALE,

JAMES IMBRIE, JR.,

CHARLES B. PENROSE,

A. V. PARSONS,

JOHN S. HART,

JAMES B. ROGERS,

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 A. B. CUMMINGS,
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 WILLIAM B. HIESKELL,
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 THOS. H. HOGE,
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 J. W. TILFORD,
 JNO. MCARTHUR,
 ROBT. M. SLAYMAKER,
 A. W. SLACK,
 JAMES BURROWES,
 KNORR & FULLER,
 DE COURSEY, LAFOURCADE & Co.,
 MAURICE A. WURTS,

HENRY R. DAVIS.

PHILADELPHIA, *December 23d*, 1850.

GENTLEMEN:—I cannot doubt that the favor with which my late humble effort in behalf of the UNION has been received, is to be ascribed more to the existing state of the public mind on this subject, than to the intrinsic merits of the performance itself. I do not feel at liberty, however, to decline an application emanating from a body of my fellow-citizens so honorably representing the commerce of our city, and the learned professions, and comprising gentlemen whose public services have won for them the respect and gratitude of the nation, and identified their fame with that of the Union.

In the hope that the discourse which you have in such flattering terms requested for publication may be made, by a good Providence, instrumental in promoting in some degree the cause which we all have so much at heart, I herewith place the manuscript at your disposal.

I am very faithfully,

Your friend and fellow-citizen,

H. A. BOARDMAN.

To the Hon. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL,
 Major-General PATTERSON,
 Hon. GEORGE M. DALLAS,
 Hon. WM. M. MEREDITH,
 Hon. CHARLES B. PENROSE;
 Hon. A. V. PARSONS,
 ALEX. W. MITCHELL, M. D.
 WM. H. DILLINGHAM, Esq.,
 Professor HART,
 LAWRENCE LEWIS, Esq., and others.

THE UNION.

Do ye thus requite the LORD, O foolish people and unwise? *is* not he thy father *that* hath bought thee? hath he not made thee, and established thee?

Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations: ask thy father, and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.

When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel.

For the LORD's portion *is* his people; Jacob *is* the lot of his inheritance.

He found him in a desert land, and in the waste howling wilderness: he led him about, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings;

So the LORD alone did lead him, and *there was* no strange god with him.

He made him ride on the high places of the earth, that he might eat the increase of the fields; and he made him to suck honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock;

Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat; and thou didst drink the pure blood of the grape.—DEUT. XXXII. 6—14.

THESE words delineate with great beauty of imagery the general course of the Divine dispensations towards ancient Israel. Susceptible as they are of a ready adaptation to our own country, they suggest some of the various causes for gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events, which should animate our hearts

as we assemble in our sanctuaries on this DAY OF THANKSGIVING. But they also intimate (if we choose thus to appropriate the passage to ourselves) that we are in danger of perverting and losing the munificent blessings Providence has conferred upon us. There is, I fear, but too much occasion for this warning. The pulpit should be very slow to give countenance or currency to topics calculated to excite or alarm the public mind; but where the UNION itself is in jeopardy, both patriotism and religion forbid that it should remain silent. In the judgment of discreet and upright men of all parties, a crisis of this kind has now arrived. And, indeed, the indications of it are so palpable that he only who shuts his eyes can fail to see them.

Up to a period quite within the recollection of the young men before me, the atrocious word, Disunion, was never uttered in any part of the Republic but with abhorrence. The universal sentiment was that the Union of these States was to be maintained at all hazards—that it was not a question to be discussed—and that any individual who should presume to impugn its sacred obligation would be justly chargeable with moral treason, and ought to be regarded as an enemy to his country. This wholesome public sentiment has been for several years past gradually giving way. Our ears have become familiarized to the word, Disunion. A protracted session of Congress has been consumed in discussing the thing itself. One State is at this moment almost on the verge of secession. Others are threatening it. And a large and vigilant

party elsewhere are pressing favorite measures with the full conviction that, if they succeed in carrying them, the Union must and will be riven asunder. Under these circumstances, the pulpit may no more keep silence than the press. We have the same civil rights as other citizens; and we do not mean lightly to surrender them. But aside from this, the interests of religion in this country are in some sort confided to the keeping of the Ministry: and Christianity—not Christianity for our own land merely, but for the world, and for all coming generations of mankind—has so much at stake in the American Union, that, if we should refuse to co-operate with our fellow-citizens in all legitimate measures for the preservation of that Union, we should be recreant to the Master we profess to serve, and unfit to minister at his altar.

In the original manuscript of Washington's Farewell Address, there is the following paragraph partially erased. With the exception of the last sentence, it was rejected by him; but no apology will be needed for citing it on an occasion like the present: "Besides the more serious causes already hinted as threatening our Union, there is one less dangerous, but sufficiently dangerous to make it prudent to be on our guard against it. I allude to the petulance of party differences of opinion. It is not uncommon to hear the irritations which these excite, vent themselves in declarations that the different parts of the United States are ill affected to each other, in menaces that the Union will be dissolved by this, or that measure.

Intimations like these are as indiscreet as they are intemperate. Though frequently made with levity, and without any really evil intention, they have a tendency to produce the consequence which they indicate. They teach the minds of men to consider the Union as precarious; as an object to which they ought not to attach their hopes and fortunes; and thus chill the sentiment in its favor. By alarming the pride of those to whom they are addressed, they set ingenuity at work to depreciate the value of the thing, and to discover reasons of indifference towards it. This is not wise.—It will be much wiser to habituate ourselves to reverence the Union as the Palladium of our National happiness; to accommodate constantly our words and actions to that idea, and to discountenance whatever may suggest a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned.”

It may be doubted whether this paragraph would not have been retained, could Washington have foreseen the events which are passing before our eyes. For there is a tone of remark now prevalent on this subject which indicates a wide-spread and perhaps growing disposition to calculate the value of the Union. That such a problem should in any quarter be seriously entertained—that it should not, on being propounded, be as summarily and indignantly thrust away as the question would be, whether we shall not replace our present form of government with a monarchy—is symptomatic of a decay of that pure and lofty patriotism which once throbbed in every Ame-

rican breast. Certain it is that those who can degrade a theme like this to the computations of a mere commercial arithmetic, and resolve the value of the Union as they would adjust a marine venture, or the cost of a cotton-mill, have never even begun to comprehend the extraordinary chain of events which led to the establishment of this Union, the gigantic difficulties which opposed its formation, the manifold blessings which have resulted from it, and the legionary evils which would be produced by its destruction. A proper discussion of these several topics in a temperate and able manner might well engage the leisure of some one of our eminent statesmen at the present juncture, and could not fail to have a salutary influence on the nation at large. I propose simply to recall your attention to THE ORIGIN OF THE UNION, AND SOME OF THE MORE OBVIOUS CONSEQUENCES WHICH WOULD BE LIKELY TO FLOW FROM ITS DISSOLUTION—that we may the better understand what it is that certain parties are proposing to accomplish.

The observation has been often made, that the whole current of events connected with the settlement of America, and the growth of the Colonies, reveals a purpose on the part of Divine Providence to found, in this Western Hemisphere, a model government. They were no ordinary men who were sent here to lay the foundations of an empire in a wilderness tenanted by wild beasts and savages. No nation can boast a more honorable ancestry than that which

comprises the Puritans, the Huguenots, and the Quakers, who fled to this continent, that they might enjoy

“Freedom to worship God.”

The seeding of the soil gave promise of a rare and generous harvest; and amply was the pledge redeemed. They knew not the exalted mission entrusted to them; it was impossible, without the gift of foresight, that they should have known it. But it is easy for us to see that, during the entire period of their colonial state, they were preparing for the work before them. In their privations and dangers, their sicknesses and wars, their mutual rivalries and quarrels; in the unnatural neglect and flagrant oppression with which they were treated by the parent government; in the sagacity, enterprise, firmness, and courage which their circumstances helped to develop; and in the continual accession to their numbers of men of kindred principles, who were driven from the old world by persecution or tyranny—we can detect a superhuman agency, which was moulding and strengthening them for the scenes of the Revolution, and the responsibilities involved in its successful termination. These, it is important to remember, demanded a training no less peculiar than the Revolution itself. It is too commonly taken for granted that, with the Peace of '83, all danger was over; that the auspicious issue of our contest with the mother country was tantamount to the creation of a free and powerful Republic. In a word, that, as soon as their battles were ended,

and the chains of their colonial vassalage broken, our fathers had but to sit down in quiet and enjoy the benign protection of that glorious Union which has, under Providence, made us the most prosperous nation on the globe. This is not only an utter misconception of the facts in the case; but it is adapted to disparage the wisdom and patriotism of the men of the Revolution, and to impair our reverence for the Union itself. It is scarcely going beyond the truth to say that their work was but half accomplished with the close of their last campaign. They had severed their allegiance to the crown; but they had no adequate government of their own, and they were in a situation most unfavorable for the establishment of one. The Union, that is, such a Union as their necessities demanded, was so far from evolving itself spontaneously from the chaos which succeeded the war, that the wisest and best men among them entertained the most anxious apprehensions as to the possibility of effecting it at all. "It may be in me," said one of them,* a man whose comprehensive and penetrating intellect resolved the abstrusest theorems in political science as by intuition, and who could express his profound and luminous views in a style which would scarcely suffer by a comparison with that of Junius—"It may be in me a defect of political fortitude, but I acknowledge that I cannot entertain an equal tranquillity with those who affect to treat the dangers of a longer continu-

* Mr. Hamilton.

ance in our present situation as imaginary. A nation without a national Government is an awful spectacle. The establishment of a Constitution in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of a whole people, is a PRODIGY, to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety. I dread the more the consequences of new attempts, because I know that powerful individuals in this State [New York] and other States, are enemies to a general national Government in every possible shape."

In a similar strain, General Washington, at an earlier period, two years after the Treaty of Peace, wrote to Mr. Jay: "What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking: thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies, to verify their predictions! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend!"

The old Confederation would have been too weak even for the purposes of war in any other hands than those of the pure and able men who were called to conduct the Revolution. And when the outward pressure was removed, and the colonies fell back,

under the sway of their several local usages and interests, the compact which united them proved to be but a rope of sand. The condition of the country waxed worse and worse, until it seemed to be on the verge of some terrible catastrophe. The war had dried up its resources. The government was encumbered with a debt which it had no means of paying. Commerce was at the lowest point of declension. The colonies, oppressed by their necessities, and more solicitous to retrieve their own fortunes than those of the Union, refused the supplies of money which were indispensable to the efficiency of the Confederation, and even to its prolonged existence. The Government was the very picture of imbecility ; without troops, without a revenue, without credit, without power to enforce its laws at home, or to inspire respect abroad. And the reciprocal jealousies of the colonies, reviving with the return of peace, afforded little ground to hope that any scheme of union could be devised in which they would all, or even a major part of them, coalesce. The defects of the existing league were too palpable to be denied ; but the most discordant opinions prevailed as to the appropriate remedy. This may be seen in the multiform objections which were made to the new Constitution when it came to be submitted to the States for their adoption. Not to speak of the monarchical party alluded to by General Washington, and which was probably very small, the following may be taken as a sample of these objections—"This one tells us that the Constitution

ought to be rejected, because it is not a Confederation of the States, but a government over individuals. Another admits that it ought to be a government over individuals to a certain extent, but not to the extent proposed. A third objects to the want of a bill of rights. A fourth would have a bill of rights, but would have it declaratory not of the personal rights of individuals, but of the rights reserved to the States in their political capacity. A fifth thinks the plan would be unexceptionable but for the fatal power of regulating the times and places of election. An objector in a large State exclaims loudly against the unreasonable equality of representation in the Senate. An objector in a small State is equally loud against the dangerous inequality in the House of Representatives. From one quarter the amazing expense of administering the new government is urged; from another the cry is that the Congress will be but a shadow of a representation, and that the government would be far less objectionable if the number and the expense were doubled. A patriot in a State that does not import discerns insuperable objections against the power of direct taxation. The patriotic adversary in a State of great exports and imports is not less dissatisfied that the whole burthen of taxes may be thrown on consumption. This politician discovers in the Constitution a direct and irresistible tendency to monarchy; *that* is equally sure it will end in aristocracy.* But it would be wearisome to

* Mr. Madison.

go on with this catalogue, and cite the objections urged against the instrument as a whole, and those advanced against the specific provisions appertaining severally to the legislative, the judicial, and the executive departments. Enough has been said to show that the convention which assembled to frame a Constitution had an herculean task to perform; and that, without the special illumination of Divine Providence, they must have essayed in vain to frame an instrument which should unite in its support the suffrages of a majority of the States.

It is an additional consideration of great weight, bearing upon this point, that they were without a model. There was no existing government which they were willing to copy. There was no government of antiquity which would at all answer their purpose. They were, in truth, not only in advance of their own age, but of all ages, in their ideas of civil government. We may apply to them what Milton has said of the Hebrew prophets: they appear

“As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic, unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome; ‘
In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so.”

The concise instrument drawn up and signed in the cabin of the *May Flower*, was the charter of an embryo *Commonwealth*. It recognizes the great principle of equality, and the right and duty of the “civil body politic,” into which the signers organized

themselves, to “enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, as should be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony.” This germ expanded. It derived nurture from the alternate indifference and tyranny of the home government. The colonists, not of Massachusetts only, but of Virginia and the other provinces, were compelled to act for themselves. They came to regard the “*general good*,” not the honor of a throne, or the aggrandizement of an aristocracy, as the proper end of government; and “*just and equal laws*,” as the legitimate means by which this end was to be promoted. Long before their difficulties with the crown reached their crisis, these ideas had become as familiar to their minds as household words. They were very unlike the prevailing ideas in the Old World. They found no place in the constitutions of the most liberal monarchies. Political equality—popular suffrage—equal laws—the right of the majority to govern—the greatest good of the greatest number as the end of government,—these were principles which, however they might be entertained by individuals, had yet for the first time to be *enacted*, or even recognized by any European monarchy. And when with these principles is combined another of no less importance, that of a representative republic, we shall search in vain for any adequate exposition of their views even among the so-called republics of ancient or modern times. It shows an extraordinary elevation of mind, and a moral courage stamped

with true sublimity, that they should have succeeded in divesting themselves of the intolerable thralldom of precedent and authority, and dared to lay the foundations of their new structure on principles which no other government had made trial of, or which had certainly never been tested in such combinations as were now contemplated. These principles alone, however, were suited to the emergency, and they applied them with a trustful fortitude and a profound wisdom which have never ceased (unless they have *now* ceased) to elicit the gratitude of their posterity, and the admiration of enlightened and liberal statesmen in all lands.

Without stopping to illustrate these points in detail, let us advert for a moment to that great principle of a representative republic which they invoked to harmonize the conflicting rights and interests of the colonies. Our minds are so familiar with this principle that we are scarcely in a position to appreciate the wisdom which guided the convention to the discovery of it (for it was a discovery), and led them to adopt it as the core of the new Constitution. They were to create a Government or Governments for the colonies. Putting monarchy out of the question, these plans were before them: 1st. Consolidation; the dissolution of the thirteen Provincial or State Governments, and a general amalgamation under one republican charter. 2dly. Consolidation in the form of a pure democracy. 3dly. The organization of thirteen entirely independent Governments—republican or demo-

cratic. 4thly. A simple Confederation of thirteen sovereignties.

These were the only models to be found in the annals of the world. All Governments not monarchical had conformed to one or another of these types: and yet the statesmen of the Revolution had the sagacity to see that they were alike either impracticable or utterly insufficient for their purposes. Consolidation was out of the question; the colonies would not consent to merge their individual existence in a single organization. A pure democracy was impracticable even for the States as such. A democracy requires the periodical convocation of the entire body of the citizens, to conduct its legislation, and is of course admissible only in the case of States comprising a very limited territory. This was a favorite scheme of a party after the war; and to elude the difficulty just stated, they were for dividing the larger colonies into districts of a tractable size. The creation of thirteen isolated sovereignties would have been the sure precursor and occasion of dissensions and wars. Nor would a simple Confederation of such a cluster of sovereignties, the scheme which was advocated by many of the most patriotic and influential men of the nation, have been essentially better. Such a Confederation already existed. Its inadequacy was matter of experience. No modification would be of any avail which came short of curing its radical vice, to wit, that of providing "legislation for States or Governments in their corporate or collective capacities, and as contradistin-

guished from the individuals of whom they consist." So long as this principle was retained, the States might be bound together in a league, but there could be no national Union. Nor would a general government be able to enforce its decrees at home or to protect its foreign interests, if the execution of its mandates were made contingent upon the legislation of other independent sovereignties.* A new principle was, therefore, needed to meet the exigencies of the case; and it was found in that of a representative republic. The sovereignty of the several States was left unimpaired in respect to all matters of local jurisdiction, while the Federal Government, springing no less directly than the State governments from the bosom of the people, and operating no less directly upon the people, was clothed with the functions requisite for the efficient administration of all interests appertaining to the general welfare of the Republic. Thus was the great problem solved. From the confusion and distraction, the imbecility and exhaustion, the conflicting theories and rivalries, of these emancipated provinces, emerged the UNION, clothed with majesty and honor, radiant with celestial beauty, her temples bound with a perennial olive-wreath, and her hands filled with such blessings for the expectant people as no nation but God's chosen one had ever dreamed of. Tyrants looked upon her and gnashed their teeth with rage. The patriots of every land hailed her

* See these points argued in the *Federalist*.

advent as the rising of a second sun in the heavens. The down-trodden nations of Europe found life and hope even in her far-off smile. And as her magic influence penetrated their dungeons, the martyrs of liberty felt their chains lightened, and blessed God that, although their efforts had failed, one nation had at length established its freedom. It was in truth the triumph, the first great triumph, of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY. The records of mankind supplied no parallel to it; and it was a fitting occasion for a jubilee among the friends of human progress of every creed and country.

This cursory glance at the difficulties which were surmounted in the formation of our government may serve to enhance our appreciation of the UNION, and to invigorate our gratitude to the men who founded it. A nobler race of men, or one who have a stronger claim upon the affectionate veneration of mankind, the world has never seen. It is impossible that they should be forgotten so long as integrity, patriotism, and public virtue, have a being among men. Their names (to borrow the sublime tribute of Daniel Webster to John Hancock—a tribute which we may even now appropriate to the great orator himself) have a place as bright and glorious in the admiration of mankind, “as if they had been written in letters of light on the blue arch of heaven, between Orion and the Pleiades.” Certain it is that if *we* ever cease to do them honor or to cherish the work of their hands, we shall deserve the execration of all future genera-

tions. For, whatever specious objections may have been urged against the Constitution at the period of its adoption, it is not with us an open question whether that immortal instrument was framed with all the wisdom which has been claimed for it, and whether it is adequate to the purposes for which it was designed. The seal of more than sixty years is now upon it, and its results are known and read of all men. In the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, in London, is the tomb of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of that noble structure, and the felicitous inscription upon it runs thus : "*Reader, if you seek his monument, look around!*" So we may say of our Constitution. If you would estimate its value, LOOK AROUND !

"How many States,
And clustering towns, and monuments of fame,
And scenes of glorious deeds."

Contrast the thirteen colonies of the Revolution with our thirty-one States. And then contrast the Republic as a whole with any other, even the most prosperous, empires of the globe. I give utterance only to one of our familiar common-places, when I say, that whether we regard the increase of its population, the development of its resources, the augmentation of its wealth, its power, and its influence among the nations, or the steady progress of its people in all the arts of a refined civilization, the history of this country is unexampled in the annals of our race. Without wishing to chime in with that strain of self-complacent declamation which has made so many

Fourth of July orations an offence to cultivated ears, the occasion not only authorizes but compels me to say, that there is no people on the earth so free as we are; none who possess such an affluence of all the immunities and appliances, social and political, secular and religious, essential to the plenary enjoyment of all personal rights, and to the greatest good of the great mass of the nation. To prove this would be a work of supererogation. If any man can "look around" and doubt it, he has mistaken his country, and should transfer his domicil to a more congenial clime.

Nor is the extraordinary growth of the United States in all the elements which constitute the true greatness and glory of a nation more indisputable than is the fact that we have been steadily opposed by most of the leading cabinets of Europe, and especially by the whole moral influence of the British Government and aristocracy. England has never forgiven us the Declaration of Independence. Whether it is because this Union is a standing memento of her folly and misgovernment, or because she is jealous of a daughter whose ships and spindles compete with her own in the markets of the globe, certain it is that she has always looked upon us with an evil eye. No maternal pride has ever betrayed her into a spontaneous burst of admiration at the enterprise, the intelligence, and the moral worth of her transatlantic offspring. When James the Second, one of her faithless kings, whom she drove in indignation from his throne, overlooked from the French coast the great

naval action of La Hogue, and saw the British, after putting to flight that imposing squadron with which all his hopes were embarked, pursue their enemy in boats into the very shallows, and set fire to the ships which would otherwise have escaped, he could not restrain his admiration of their gallantry, but cried out, "Ah, none but my brave English could do this!" But no such paroxysm of generosity has ever overcome our venerable mother in contemplating this fair country. Instead of exclaiming, as she has marked the gradual transition of this vast wilderness into a cultivated continent, covered with towns and cities, and smiling harvests, "None but my brave children could have done this!" she has systematically detracted from our just fame, and disparaged our achievements. Allowing for individual exceptions, the tone of her press (not to speak of other indices of her feeling) has been marked with an illiberality and acerbity towards us which nothing could justify. Her journalists and tourists have set themselves to misrepresent and depreciate our institutions. From her stately Quarterlies down to the humblest hebdomadal repositories of provincial wit and wisdom, they have exerted their ten talents or their one talent, as the case might be, to cast ridicule upon our public acts and monuments, upon our civil franchises, our manners, our literature, our very roads and vehicles, and the whole working of our political and social systems. They have done what they could to make the impression in Europe that our great "ex-

periment" was a failure; that there was no security here for life and property; that anarchy and semi-barbarism were already rampant; and that the Union must presently fall to pieces. And how has the country heeded these unworthy demonstrations? Precisely as a loaded train heeds the straws which sportive children scatter on the rails; or as an eagle heeds the pellets of mud cast after him as he soars upwards on his mighty pinions towards the sun. The country has advanced with a constantly accelerated momentum, which has at least changed the contempt of its maligners into the dignity of hatred. And neither defamatory presses nor official decrees, neither standing armies nor a domiciliary espionage, nor all these combined, have been able to conceal the truth from the simple-minded peasantry and the degraded operatives of Europe. Alike in their pestiferous workshops and in their remote mountain *chalets*, the name of the United States is a talisman to them. The salutation, "I am an *American* citizen," is the best passport a stranger can have to their confidence. Often have I seen their eyes sparkle on hearing it; and the sight made me proud of my country. It was the boast of the ancient Roman that the watch-word, "I am a Roman citizen," would secure him personal respect throughout the known world. But it was the dread of the imperial eagles which insured his safety. No such sentiment protects the American abroad. It is not the inspiration of fear, but of love, which lights up the countenances of the common

people at his approach. They know little of politics, and less of geography. They have read but few books. They could give no very lucid account of this country. But they have these two ideas about it inwrought into their minds, viz., that it is a free country, and that the people are comfortable and contented. This makes it a land of hope to them. This makes them long to get here. This constitutes the subtle, mysterious influence which has gone out from our Union into all the hamlets and all the mines and forges of Europe; and which is drawing their tenantry towards us with an agency as irresistible as that which keeps the needle to the pole. This it was which made an honest, truthful peasant, who lived in one of those lofty valleys at the base of Mont Blanc, say to a party of Americans, a year or two since: "Not less than two hundred of my neighbors have gone from this small valley to your country, and nothing but the want of means keeps me from following them." I say again, I was proud to hear it. These unbought testimonies to the all-pervading and blessed influence of my country—testimonies picked up by the wayside, and by the cotter's hearth, and the shepherd's fold, from reapers, and wagoners, and guides, and laborers—are worth more than all the studied compliments ever bestowed upon America by courtly diplomatists. It is something to belong to a land which looms up in this way before all nations, as a land of peace and plenty, of virtue and safety—as an asylum where the oppressed may find a refuge

from tyranny, and the poor the amplest scope and encouragement for frugal industry. It is something to belong to a land which is known wherever the foot of civilized man has trod, not by her Cæsars and Napoleons, not by her bloody wars and conquests, but by her Washingtons and Franklins, her civil and religious liberty, her equal laws, and her thriving populations. That such a land should *draw* upon the Old World is not surprising. The philosophy of the fact is sufficiently simple, and it was set forth by one of the illustrious orators of the Revolution with a felicity which is equalled only by his extraordinary prophetic announcement of the fact itself. Immediately after the close of the Revolution, Patrick Henry delivered a speech of great power in the Assembly of Virginia in favor of a liberal policy on the subject of immigration. Contrasting the expanse of our territory with the scanty population, he observed, "Your great want, sir, is the want of men, and these you must have, and will have speedily, if you are wise. Do you ask, how are you to get them? Open your doors, sir, and they will come in; the population of the Old World is full to overflowing; that population is ground, too, by the oppressions of the governments under which they live. Sir, they are already standing on tip-toe upon their native shores, and looking to your coasts with a wishful and longing eye; they see here a land blessed with natural and political advantages, which are not equalled by those of any other country upon earth; a land on which a gracious

Providence hath emptied the horn of abundance; a land over which Peace hath now stretched forth her white wings, and where Content and Plenty lie down at every door! Sir, they see something still more attractive than all this; they see a land in which Liberty hath taken up her abode; that Liberty whom they had considered as a fabled goddess, existing only in the fancies of poets; they see her here a real divinity, her altars rising on every hand throughout these happy States, her glories chanted by three millions of tongues, and the whole region smiling under her blessed influence. Sir, let but this celestial goddess, Liberty, stretch forth her fair hand toward the people of the Old World, tell them to come, and bid them welcome; and you will see them pouring in from the north, from the south, from the east, and from the west; your wilderness will be cleared and settled, your deserts will smile, your ranks will be filled; and you will soon be in a condition to defy the powers of any adversary." Liberty did "stretch forth her hand towards the Old World," and this eloquent prophecy glided into history. The three millions who chanted her glories have now become twenty-five millions; and the mighty current of humanity is setting towards our shores with a depth and a majesty which are enough to awe every thoughtful beholder. There are various aspects, economical, political, and religious, in which this imposing movement may be viewed. The twofold object for which it is cited here is to illustrate, on the one hand, the unprece-

dented growth of our country; and, on the other, the Antæan hold which this Union has taken upon the other hemisphere. Without restricting the remark to this wonderful migration from the Old World to the New, we are safe in affirming that the sublime spectacle of a self-governed and well-governed nation has told with prodigious effect upon the dynasties of Europe. For "the greatest engine of moral power known to human affairs is an organized, prosperous State. All that man in his individual capacity can do—all that he can effect by his private fraternities, by his ingenious discoveries and wonders of art, or by his influence over others—is as nothing, compared with the collective, perpetuated influence on human affairs and human happiness of a well-constituted, powerful commonwealth. It blesses generations with its sweet influence. Even the barren earth seems to pour out its fruits under a system where rights and property are secure; whilst her fairest gardens are blighted by despotism."* Such an example has been before the world for more than half a century; and while it is impossible to trace the influences which have gone out from it upon the other hemisphere, all parties are agreed that it has had a most effective agency in bringing about the ameliorating changes which have taken place in the European Governments. The reforms in those governments, which have consisted essentially in raising the people from a

* Mr. Edward Everett.

condition of political nonentity to a substantive power in the State, have drawn their animating breath and derived their most effective support from the precedent supplied by these United States. If the Nesselrodes and Metternichs of the day are competent witnesses, this country has been the great laboratory from whence "liberal ideas" have been continually flitting across the ocean and disturbing the Dead Sea tranquillity of the venerable despotisms of Europe. The extent to which these ideas have permeated the masses there is really surprising, when one considers the vigilance and severity with which tyranny everywhere guards its usurpations. Many a generous struggle has proved abortive, and hecatombs of brave but unfortunate patriots have been immolated to the Moloch of absolutism; but the cause of freedom has on the whole advanced. The nations are not where they were at the commencement of this century; and unless we betray *our* trust, and extinguish the light which now allures them on to freedom, there is little likelihood that they will ever consent to resume their chains. If we guard this vestal flame upon which so many anxious eyes are turned, the political renovation of the world must go on. Other lands will be emancipated, and the prophetic vision so beautifully depicted by the poet will be realized:—

"I saw the expecting regions stand,
To catch the coming flame in turn;
I saw from ready hand to hand
The bright but struggling glory burn.

And each, as she received the flame,
Lighted her altar with its ray ;
Then, smiling to the next who came,
Speeded it on its sparkling way.”*

No man who believes that there is a Providence can take even a brief retrospect of our history, like that which has now engaged our attention, without discovering innumerable evidences of his benignant agency. He who does not see a Divine hand directing and controlling the whole course of our affairs, from the landing of the colonists at Jamestown and Plymouth until the present hour, would hardly have seen the pillar of cloud and of fire had he been with the Hebrews in the wilderness. This Union is not the work of man. It is THE WORK OF GOD. Among the achievements of his wisdom and beneficence in conducting the secular concerns of the world, it must be ranked as one of his greatest and best works. And he who would destroy it is chargeable with the impiety of attempting to subvert a structure which is eminently adapted to illustrate the perfections of the Deity, and to bless the whole family of man.

There are, however—the fact cannot be disguised—parties actually at work in endeavoring to destroy the Union. A party at the South and another party at the North, the poles apart in their speculative

* I am indebted to Mr. Everett for this beautiful quotation.

views of the subject which agitates them, and inflamed with a bitter mutual hostility, have virtually joined hands for the purpose of demolishing this Government. This is not, indeed, as to one of these parties, the ostensible object they have in view; but it is essentially involved in that object, and they know it. They must, therefore, be held to the responsibility of aiming at a dissolution of the Union, equally with those inhabitants of the Southern States who avow this as their aim.

The subject which has occasioned this commotion is SLAVERY. The Southern Disunionists would secede because Congress, at its late session, passed certain acts abridging, as they allege, the rights of the slaveholding States; and the Northern Disunionists insist upon the repeal of a law passed at the same time, entitled the Fugitive Slave Law, even though its abrogation should involve a dissolution of the Union. My business as a Northern man, and a citizen of a free State, is with the latter of these parties, or rather with the North generally. In the few observations I am about to make on the subject, I shall simply reiterate sentiments which have been so often and so eloquently expressed both in Congress and out of it, that they have become familiar to every well-informed citizen. But I may say that the man who can put the American Union, with all its untold and inconceivable blessings, into one scale, and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law into the other, and then strike the balance in favor of the latter, is without an

exemplar in the history of the race until we get back to the record of that primeval tempter who said to our first mother, "Ye shall not surely die."

" She pluck'd, she eat !
Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
Sighing thro' all her works, gave signs of woe,
That all was lost !"

In saying this, I utterly disclaim any design to become the champion of Slavery. I have never set myself to defend it; and by the grace of God I never will. I concur in the estimate which is put upon it by the people of the North, and by tens of thousands of our Southern countrymen, that it is a colossal evil; and that no consummation is more devoutly to be wished and prayed for than its removal. But I can as little undertake the championship of Northern agitators and fanatics as that of Slavery. I believe they are the worst enemies of the slave, and the most efficient protectors of Slavery; and as such, I can have no fellowship with them. The law to which they object may be, or it may not be, defective or unjust in some of its provisions. If it is, it will no doubt at the proper time be amended; if it is not, it will stand. But what we are called upon to discountenance is the spirit in which this excitement is promoted—the recklessness and violence with which the unconditional repeal of the obnoxious law is demanded, irrespective of consequences—the abusive attacks which are constantly made upon the South—and the whole system of measures put in operation to alienate the

two portions of the confederacy, and bring about a disruption.

However the fact may be contemned by the radical Abolitionists, it behooves us all to remember, what even the cursory retrospect presented in this discourse must have made sufficiently manifest, that the Union of these States was a matter of compromise. Obstructed as it was by the most serious impediments, it could never have been effected had not all the parties concerned been animated by a rare spirit of accommodation. General Washington, in submitting the draft of the new Constitution to Congress, thus expresses himself in his official letter as the President of the Convention: "In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

In this spirit the Union originated, and in this spirit it has, under God's blessing, been preserved. On all the most important measures of the government,

the country has been divided into two great parties. We have passed through various crises, which have tested the loyalty of one party or of the other, as the case might be, as in a fiery furnace. Take for example the following measures : Jay's Treaty—the Embargo—the War of 1812—the Missouri question—the Nullification controversy—the admission of Texas—and the Mexican War. Each of these measures was highly offensive to a large portion of the American people. The legislation of Congress was, in some of the cases, resisted by Statesmen of the most eminent abilities, as being in the face of the Constitution and destructive to our best interests. But when the acts were passed, the law-abiding spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race began to work, and all parties acquiesced. We have a striking illustration of this in one of the most recent of the measures just mentioned, the admission of Texas. The major part of the population in the free States regarded this, in the manner in which it was done, as a gross invasion of the Constitution. A distinguished citizen of South Carolina, formerly Governor of that State, has remarked, in a letter recently published, that “the admission of Texas furnished a far greater provocation to the North to secede, than the admission of California does to the South, with the auxiliary stipulations incident to the former.”* But we did not secede. Nobody talked of seceding, except the party who are driving at disunion now.

* General James Hamilton's Letter to the People of South Carolina.

The sober sense and enlightened patriotism of the mass of the people, fortified by sixty years' experience, have taught them the necessity of forbearance, and made them feel that it is far better to submit even to what they believe to be wrong and hurtful measures than to break up the Union. They have no notion of setting the ship on fire because the captain deals out some oppressive orders. They choose rather to wait till the ship returns to port, and then, if they can, get a new captain.—In this spirit the compromise measures of the last session ought to be treated. They were not party measures, for none of the recognized parties was, as such, satisfied with them. But they supplied the only platform on which men of all parties could meet; and this is a sufficient reason why the country should acquiesce in them.

That a statute respecting fugitive slaves should form a part of this series of pacificatory measures, was a thing of course. One of the chief compromises of the Constitution itself relates to this very subject. The South would not come into the Union without some guarantee on this point, and the following section (Art. IV. Sect. 2) was adopted by the Convention—I believe unanimously. “No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.” A law was enacted under Washington's administration, and

with his approval, to carry this provision of the Constitution into effect.* This law had of late years been rendered nugatory in some of the States by local legislation, and it became necessary to replace it with another. This is the statute which is now exciting so much opposition, and the execution of which has been resisted with so much violence. These demonstrations, although professedly directed against some of the details of the act, are to a great extent levelled against its principle. We do the party concerned in them no injustice in supposing that they would be equally hostile to any adequate law designed to effect the same object. In this view, one cannot but be struck with the flexible morality which can declaim fiercely about the inalienable rights of man, while it is trampling under its feet one of the most sacred covenants which ever bound a people together. There is no difference of opinion as to the meaning of the Constitutional provision on this subject. To that

* It must be recorded, to the lasting honor of Pennsylvania, that she was the first of the thirteen States to abolish Slavery. This was done under the administration of President Reed, in 1780. And it is a circumstance worthy of note, that the act embraces a provision for the extradition of fugitive slaves. The following is an extract from its Eleventh Section: "Provided always, and be it further enacted, that this act, or anything in it contained, shall not give any relief or shelter to any absconding or runaway negro, or mulatto slave or servant, who has absented himself, or shall absent himself, from his or her owner, master or mistress, residing in any other State or Country; but such owner, master, or mistress, shall have like right and aid to demand, claim, and take away his slave or servant, as he might have had in case this act had not been made."

provision, in common with the others, our fathers assented, and we have assented. It is one of the terms of a compact into which we have as a people entered with one another; and which is just as binding upon us as any other of its provisions. Our judgment may condemn it. It may be very revolting to our feelings. But this is nothing to the purpose. We are under no obligation to remain in a country which we believe to be governed by oppressive laws; there is nothing to prevent our flying to any land which rejoices in a milder code and a more rational liberty. But as long as we continue citizens of this Union, we must abide by its Constitution and obey its laws.* And we cannot consent to take lessons in ethics from those who deny this proposition. The first requisite we demand in a teacher of morals is that he be a moral man himself. And when a covenant-breaker comes to expound to us our obligations, we feel disposed to decline his instructions and to say to him,

“Your nickname, virtue; vice, you should have spoke;
For virtue’s office never breaks men’s troth.”

To some persons this may sound very unfeeling as regards the slave. I will not reply by saying that the Apostle Paul thought it no sin to send a fugitive back to his master. But this is a case where we are not at liberty to take counsel merely of our sympa-

* It is not necessary, for the purposes of the present argument, to state the limitations of this principle.

thies. The obligation of contracts is not made contingent upon men's feelings; and if this plea was to be urged at all, it should have been before the Constitution was adopted. We do not, however, rest our answer to the objection on this ground only. We are not willing to concede a monopoly of all the sympathy which is entertained for the bondman to the party which is clamoring for an unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. So far from it, we claim to be the truest friends of the slave. We believe that, as well for nations and in respect to public affairs, as for individuals, "Honesty is the best policy;" and that kindness to the colored race, no less than patriotism, demands a faithful adherence on the part of all concerned to the stipulations of the Constitution. By that instrument the exclusive jurisdiction of slavery is reserved to the several States. We have no more right to dictate to South Carolina what she shall do with her slaves than she has to prescribe to Pennsylvania what railroads we shall construct or what banks we shall charter. Nor does the responsibility of her system of servitude any more attach to us than does the responsibility of the serfdom of Russia. The Northern abolitionists (I use the term in its technical sense), impressed, it would seem, with a conviction that their proper responsibilities, sectional and national, secular and spiritual, are not commensurate with their capacities, have volunteered to shoulder by much the heaviest portion of the obligations resting upon the Southern States. The South declines the

proffered civility ; but they press their attentions. The South remonstrates, on the ground that the contemplated interference would be highly prejudicial to her tranquillity ; but her officious friends insist upon it as their right to help her manage her private affairs. The South at length puts herself in an attitude of resistance, and points to the solemn compact in the Constitution ; but they reply, with an air of triumph, that they are governed by a "*higher law*," and that under that law, it is not only their right but their duty to take charge of her slaves. And what have they accomplished by this Quixotic generosity ? They have riveted the fetters of the slave. They have deterred at least three States, Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, from carrying out the plans of prospective emancipation they were just entering upon when this outbreak of misguided philanthropy occurred at the North. They have scattered the seeds of discord and alienation broad-cast through the Confederacy. In a word, protesting that they were the exclusive friends of the slave, they have taken him to their breasts with a hug which reminds one of the embrace of that terrific automaton of the Virgin found in the dungeons of the "Holy Inquisition," which, clasping the victim in its arms and pressing him to its bosom, transfixed him with a thousand concealed spikes and knife-blades. And their fitting auxiliaries in all this crusade against the South have been British emissaries ; the subjects of that crown which, in the face of the remonstrances of some of the colonies, planted

slavery in our soil and fostered it into manhood, and which at this moment has millions of subjects at home and in its colonies who would be the gainers in physical comfort, and even in spiritual privilege, by exchanging places with our Southern slaves.

The failure of all past efforts at the North to ameliorate the condition of the slave is not more palpable than is the certainty that the grand expedient now contemplated would prove equally abortive. For, suppose radicalism could achieve its purpose and split the Union to pieces, *how would this help the slave?* Does any man, not a tenant of a Lunatic Asylum, believe that Disunion would mitigate the evils of Southern servitude? Would it bring about a relaxation of the laws which regulate it? Would it incline the planters to put books and pens into the hands of their slaves? Would it facilitate the flight of fugitives? Would it conciliate the various legislatures towards schemes of emancipation? No one is so infatuated as to affirm this. The most frantic abolitionists must be aware that the disruption of the Union would put a cup of gall and wormwood to the lips of every slave; that it would be a signal for the enactment of more stringent laws than have ever appeared upon the Southern Statute-books; and for the institution of a system of *surveillance* on every plantation and in every household, the rigor of which has no parallel in the records of American bondage. In the name, then, of three millions of slaves, we protest against all schemes for dissolving the Union.

We believe that, terrible as such a catastrophe would be to the whites, it would be no less so to the blacks; that it would abridge their privileges, augment their burdens, and postpone by many years the period of their ultimate emancipation. And we should be criminally indifferent to their welfare, as well as treacherous to those sacred bonds which have hitherto united the North and the South in an honorable and affectionate brotherhood, if we could remain silent when sincere but mistaken religionists and unprincipled demagogues have well nigh precipitated the country into this frightful abyss. And we are all the more disposed to break silence because we believe that, of the two classes of agitators just named, the latter has a great deal more to do with the present excitement than the former. There is, it is true, a settled conviction in the minds of the Northern people that slavery is a great evil, and there is an anxious desire to see the country rid of it. But, left to itself, this feeling is as still as it is strong and deep; and it never could have been lashed into the foaming surges which now break over the land but through the systematic, crafty, and wicked exertions of political demagogues. There were men in the ancient republics whose motto was,

“Better to reign in hell than serve in Heaven;”

and they cared not what became of their country, so *they* were promoted. Monsters, it has been said, cannot perpetuate their species; but this species, if not perpetuated, has been reproduced, for we indubitably have

them among ourselves. Like Erostratus, who, when put to the torture, confessed that his motive in setting fire to the magnificent temple of Diana at Ephesus was to gain himself a name among posterity, these men appear to be intent upon attracting to themselves the attention of the world, even though it can be done only by applying the torch of civil war to this glorious Union. Let us hope that a merciful Providence will baffle their designs; that the upright and law-abiding people whom they have, for the time, bewitched with their enchantments, will detect the real character of their leaders; and that these local ebullitions of fanaticism will soon give place to those patriotic and conciliatory sentiments which have in every previous crisis of our history proved equally efficacious against domestic faction and foreign aggression.

It would be well for all classes of our citizens, at this critical juncture, to look Disunion fairly in the face. Its unavoidable effects upon the colored population constitute but a tithe of the evils which would flow from it. Not to exhaust your patience by going into the question at large, let it suffice to say that Disunion not only involves a fratricidal war, but that it would undoubtedly lead to a continued series of contentions and disruptions among the States. It seems to be taken for granted that, if we divide, we divide into two confederations. But why stop at two? It would be quite as natural certainly to form four confederations as two. And how long should we pause at four? A sense of common danger might

hold the new combinations together for a season; but this would give place, after a while, to local and more potent influences. The strength of the Union lies not in its physical, but its moral power. Its real buttresses are not its army and navy, its mines and factories, its canals and railroads—not even its written constitutions and charters, its laws and tribunals; but its sacred traditions, the inwrought and, until lately, universal conviction of its unparalleled benefits, and that sense of its *sanctity* which has made the nation regard it with a reverential awe akin to that with which the Hebrews looked upon the ark of the covenant. 'The feeling has been that the Union *was* another ark of the covenant to us—that it was the repository of our most precious national mementoes, the symbol of the Divine presence with us, and the pledge of his future protection. This feeling is not to be ascribed to any specific training. It is no set lesson we have learned at school, or which has been drilled into us like a code of morals or a code of manners at home. We have inherited it from the mothers who bore us; we have inhaled it in the air of heaven; it has gathered nourishment from the scenes of our firesides, from our daily employments, from our journeys, from our sanctuaries, from our national anniversaries, from all our experiences and all our associations. It has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, and imperceptibly become a part of our being. And this it is which, under God, has made the Union so strong; it is be-

cause its roots are struck down into our hearts, and so interlaced with the very framework of our moral being, that they seem to belong to our personal identity.

Now dissolve the Union, and not only do we cease to be what we have been, as individuals, but the power of the Union over us is gone, and gone forever. You annihilate by one stroke that feeling of its sanctity which has done more to preserve it than all other causes combined. And it matters not whether you merely cleave it in halves or divide it down into quarters or eighths. One pebble will spoil a mirror as well as a handful. The people will have learned, from a single rupture, that the Union is frangible—a most fatal discovery. For when they, have broken it once, they will not scruple, if occasion serves, to break it, or rather to break its fragments again; for it will have ceased to be the Union. We shall no longer have a national existence. The great events of our history—the illustrious names which adorn our annals—the heritage of renown committed to us—can no longer be appealed to as incentives to virtuous conduct, or as rallying-cries in seasons of peril. What orator will dare allude to Bunker Hill or Yorktown, to Champlain or Erie? What senator will dare invoke the name of Washington—or to speak of Henry and Marshall, of Greene and Morgan, of Jackson and Harrison, of Hull and Bainbridge? These illustrious men toiled and bled for the UNION; and when we shall have destroyed the work of their

hands, and resolved the almost perfect government they established or defended at so great a cost into a group of petty jarring confederacies, shame will conspire with ingratitude in consigning their names, their honors, and their sufferings, to a speedy and an eternal oblivion. Nothing—if this calamity awaits us—nothing presents itself to our expectations but a future as humiliating and disastrous as our past has been bright and ennobling. Instead of that beneficent mission which we have been wont to suppose had been confided to us, of leading the nations on to freedom and happiness, we may look forward to protracted scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, which will sicken and discourage the patriots of other lands, and supply the partisans of arbitrary power with a triumphant proof that nations require a master.

We are not at liberty to disregard this consideration. Even if we were so lost to virtue and patriotism as to be reckless of the fate of our own countrymen, we could not elude the responsibilities which rest upon us in reference to the world at large. This Union cannot expire as the snow melts from the rock, or a star disappears from the firmament. When it falls, the crash will be heard in all lands. Wherever the winds of Heaven go, that will go, bearing sorrow and dismay to millions of stricken hearts. Not the dismay and sorrow incident to the blighting of their own prospects and the breaking up of their household plans; but the deep and inconsolable grief occasioned by a calamity so startling and so disastrous in its

bearings upon the happiness of mankind as to leave the mind no opportunity for expatiating on its own private misfortunes. For the subversion of this Government will render the cause of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY hopeless throughout the world. What nation can govern itself, if this nation cannot? What encouragement will any people have to establish liberal institutions for themselves, if ours fail? Providence has laid upon us the responsibility and the honor of solving that problem in which all coming generations of men have a profound interest, whether the true ends of government can be secured by a popular representative system. In the munificence of his goodness, he put us in possession of our heritage by a series of interpositions scarcely less signal than those which conducted the Hebrews to Canaan; and He has up to this period withheld from us no immunities or resources which might facilitate an auspicious result. Never before was a people so advantageously situated for working out this great problem in favor of human liberty. And it is important for us to understand that the world so regards it. The argument with which Napoleon inflamed the ardor of his troops on the eve of the great battle of the Pyramids was in these pregnant words, "Soldiers! consider that from the summits of yonder Pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." Whatever the rhetoricians may say of this speech, they must at least admit that the principle to which it appeals constitutes one of the most powerful springs of human action, and that no man

is at liberty to disregard its promptings. We, certainly, are bound to remember that the nations are looking to us, not for themselves only, but for the "centuries" which are to follow, to learn whether "order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property, may all be preserved and secured in the most perfect manner by a government entirely and purely elective." And if, in the frenzy of our base sectional jealousies, we dig the grave of the Union, and thus decide this question in the negative, no tongue may attempt to depict the disappointment and despair which will go along with the announcement as it spreads through distant lands. It will be at once the most unlooked-for and the most irrefragable testimony ever given to the odious theory, that princes were made to govern, and nations only to obey. It will be America, after fifty years' experience, in the course of which period she had done more to inspire the nations with a desire for liberal institutions than all other popular Governments combined had effected in the lapse of ages, giving in her adhesion to the doctrine that man was not made for self-government. It will be Freedom herself proclaiming that Freedom is a chimera; Liberty ringing her own knell all over the globe. And when the citizens or *subjects* of the Governments which are to succeed this Union shall visit Europe, and see in some land, now struggling to cast off its fetters, the lacerated and lifeless form of Liberty laid prostrate under the iron

heel of despotism, let them remember that the blow which destroyed her was inflicted by their own country.

“So the struck Eagle, stretched upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,
Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
And winged the shaft that quivered in his heart.
Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel
He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel;
While the same plumage that had warmed his nest
Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast.”

Nor is this the only aspect in which the issues of Disunion present themselves to our contemplation. We are forced to consider them as well in respect to our spiritual as our civil and social interests. For the most remarkable characteristic of this whole movement is that the sacred name of RELIGION should be invoked to give a sanction to measures adapted to destroy this government; the Union is to be broken up for the sake of religion! The lofty morality of the Scriptures will not permit us to live together under a constitution which authorizes the Fugitive Slave Law; and we must separate.

“I thought where all thy circling wiles would end;
In feign’d religion, smooth hypocrisy!”

It needed but this ingredient to consummate the superlative madness and impiety of this scheme. For, if there is any one great national interest upon which the disruption of these States would fall with a crushing weight, it is our CHRISTIANITY—that interest which

as much surpasses all others in importance as it will in duration.

There is no land where Christianity has achieved nobler victories than it has here. Enjoying at once planetary protection from the State and the utmost freedom, it has developed itself with a purity and an energy rarely witnessed in the Old World. It was a sublime undertaking, that of supplying, without the aid of endowments or government patronage, churches and spiritual teachers for a youthful and growing nation like this, diffused over so great an expanse of territory. And the predictions of failure were equally sanguine and universal among the adherents of the ecclesiastical establishments of Europe. But these predictions have not been verified. We may venture to assert, without violating the modesty proper to the occasion, that Christianity has accomplished far more than its friends could have anticipated; that the efficiency of the voluntary principle, as displayed here, has excited the astonishment of its bitterest opponents; and that we have done more by our example to refute the vicious theories of foreign statesmen and ecclesiastics, and to promote the progress of religious liberty on that side of the water, than could have been done by whole libraries of polemical divinity. The time forbids me to go into detail. But no candid observer can survey our country, in its moral and religious features, without being impressed with the grandeur of the results already achieved here. Not to speak of the churches with which the land is dotted

over; the large body of educated and evangelical clergymen who occupy our pulpits and conduct most of the higher literary institutions; the liberal sums spontaneously contributed for the support and propagation of the Gospel; and the promptitude with which further subsidies and new laborers are supplied as fresh fields demand cultivation; look at the benign and powerful influence religion has exerted upon the population at large. There was a work to be done here so indispensable that the government could not get on tranquilly without it, but which the government could not do. Religion has done it. It has been the chief agent in establishing our systems of education. It has been the main-spring of most of the humane institutions designed to alleviate the wants and improve the condition of the people. It has gone down among the masses, and not only fed them and clothed them, but renovated their principles, restrained their passions, taught them their duties, and made them value their privileges. It has received in the arms of its comprehensive charity the myriads who land upon our wharves; and done more by its wondrous alchemy, than all other agencies combined, to transmute them into good citizens, and to homologate all creeds and parties and tongues in a harmonious brotherhood. It has redoubled its exertions to keep pace with the tide of emigration as it has rolled over the prairies, pierced the primeval forests of the West, and poured itself down the slopes of the Rocky Mountains upon the fertile plains of

Oregon and into the auriferous valleys of California. And, not satisfied with domestic conquests, though stretching from ocean to ocean, it has sent forth its peaceful cohorts to distant shores; and from Asia, from Africa, from the Isles of the Sea, ten thousand voices come back to proclaim their bloodless victories, and to assure us that the wilderness and the solitary place have been made glad for them, and the desert rejoices and blossoms as the rose.

Now let the Union be dissolved, and how certainly will this vision pass away. For it is not possible that this event should occur without involving religion in the general catastrophe. It is a common maxim that, in times of public distress or alarm, credit is the first thing to suffer. It is no less true that RELIGION sympathizes at such crises, not only with credit, but with every other element of prosperity. Christianity is not a thing by itself—a mere matter of Bible-reading and Church-going, of Sundays and Sacraments. It is interfused, as we have just seen, through all our relations, comprehends all our employments, and exerts its prerogative over the whole field of human duty. The moment you touch the commerce or the husbandry of a country, you touch its Christianity. If you paralyze any branch of industry, weaken the popular confidence in the government, excite an expectation of war, or do anything else to agitate the public mind, religion feels the effect of it. It requires no prophet, therefore, to foresee that, in the event of a disruption, the churches would share in the common

fortunes of the country. Amidst despondency and terror, dissensions and war, their strength would dwindle and their zeal decline. With diminished resources, the money now appropriated to the maintenance and diffusion of the Gospel would be wanted to pay troops and purchase munitions of war; or, should an appeal to arms be averted, to meet the enormous taxes for civil and military purposes incident to the new order of things, and the critical relations among the several States and Federations. It is no extravagant supposition that, if the process of dissolution once begins, it will not finally stop until the Republic is chopped up into six or eight distinct Leagues, each one of which must have its own general government, with the usual symbols and implements of nationality, such as Legislative and Judicial tribunals, ambassadors, a navy, and, what will then be unavoidable, a cordon of camps and fortresses and a considerable standing army. The very transit from our present condition to a state like this would be like the passage of a fleet through the Norwegian Maelstrom. It would extinguish hundreds of feeble churches and shatter the strongest ones. Instead of keeping pace with the spiritual wants of our nomadic population, which they are barely able to do when blessed with a redundant prosperity, the various denominations would find it difficult to sustain themselves at home. Foreign Missionaries would be recalled, and fields restored to paganism which have been won from it at a great outlay of money and life,

and which are now "white to the harvest." The circumstances of the country would be as unpropitious to the culture of sound morals as they are now favorable. Infidelity and atheism would run riot through the land, violence and crime would superabound, and we should deteriorate in all those high moral qualities which have hitherto attested the efficacy of our Christianity and secured for us the respect of the civilized world.

And all this avalanche of evil is to be brought down upon us for the sake of RELIGION! We are to exchange our present condition for alienation, insecurity, commercial prostration, the decay of our churches, and the bankruptcy of our great charities—for the sake of religion! We are to make the Bible a nullity, and the Sabbath a day of amusement, re-open all the sluices of immorality, and deluge the land with licentiousness and profanity—for the sake of religion! We are to disband our schools and churches among the heathen, and send back the multitudes, now under Christian instruction, to worship in idol temples and sacrifice their children to devils, for the sake of religion!

We protest against this huge impiety. If fanatics and demagogues are resolved to destroy this Union, let them not pretend to sanctify the parricidal crime by perpetrating it in the name of religion. Enough that Buddhism should crush its deluded devotees under the car of Juggernaut, in the name of religion; that Mohammed should fertilize kingdoms with human blood, in the name of religion; that a spurious Chris-

tianity should keep its arsenals of chains and fagots and slaughter whole tribes of unoffending peasants, in the name of religion. Let not Satan come *hither* also in the robes of an angel of light. Let not the august name of religion be invoked to hallow an enormity which would not only shroud this land in mourning, but inflict upon religion itself the most irreparable injury. Every consideration of virtue not only, but of decency, forbids that Christianity should be called upon to preside at an *auto-da-fe* of which it is itself to be the holocaust; to consecrate an action which would for the time arrest its own beneficent triumphs, clothe atheistic impiety with superhuman power, and send a thrill of sardonic joy through those infernal legions who exult only in the calamities of virtue and the victories of sin.

Not to pursue this painful theme, it must be too apparent to require argument that the dismemberment of this Union would be one of the most appalling calamities which could befall the world. "Other misfortunes (I use the words of the great statesman of Massachusetts) may be borne or their effects overcome. If disastrous war should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still under a new cultivation they will grow green again and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of the Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might

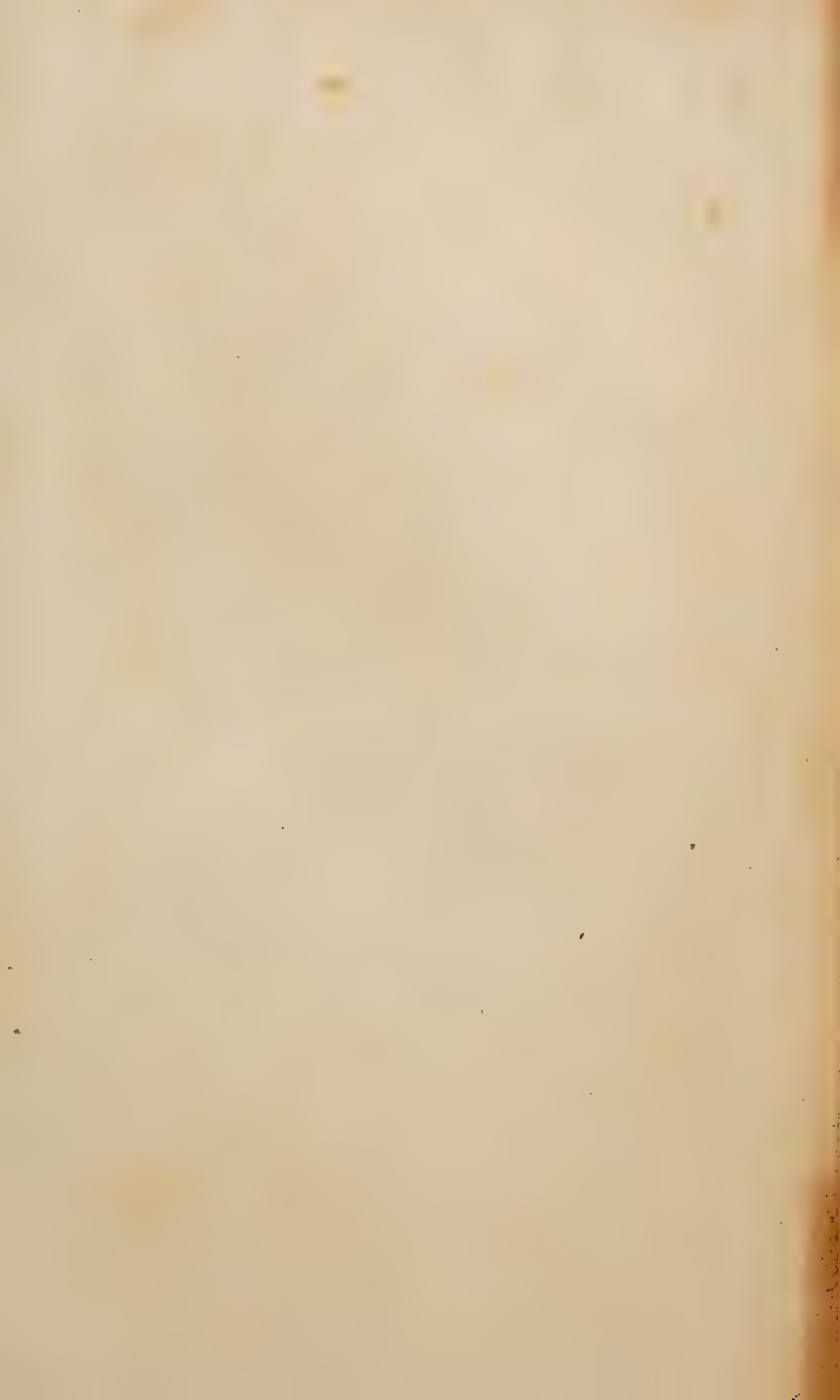
be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished Government? Who shall rear again the well-proportioned columns of Constitutional liberty? Who shall frame together the skilful architecture which unites national sovereignty with State-rights, individual security, and public prosperity? No, if *these* columns fall, they will not be raised again. Like the Coliseum and the Parthenon, they will be destined to a mournful, a melancholy immortality. Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art; for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw—the edifice of Constitutional American Liberty.”* But why *should* they fall? What is it which now threatens to overwhelm this Government in irretrievable ruin? Has it become so enervated by luxury as to sink into a state of inanition? Are we falling to pieces through the extraordinary and intractable expansion of our territory? Is there a victorious army at our gates? Are we ground down with oppressive laws for which there is no remedy but in a dissolution? No: none of these. But Congress, in the exercise of a power never before called in question, has admitted a State into the Union which refused to tolerate involuntary servitude; and in obedience to an imperative requisition of the Constitution, has passed a law for the reclamation of fugitive slaves! These are the grounds on which it is proposed to destroy this Government.

* Mr. Webster’s Speech at the celebration of Washington’s Birthday, in Washington, 1832.

For *these* reasons we are called upon, in the midst of peace, plenty, and prosperity, to exchange the best Government the world has ever seen—the most affluent blessings, the most glorious reminiscences, and the most brilliant prospects a nation ever enjoyed—for dismemberment, anarchy, and carnage. Surely, if the establishment of this Union by the voluntary consent of the people was, as Mr. Hamilton declared, a “prodigy,” its voluntary destruction by that same people or their degenerate descendants, for causes like these and after sixty years experience of its benefits, would be a far greater prodigy. The turpitude of such a crime has nothing in history to illustrate it. Language was not made to define it. The generation which perpetrates it will cover themselves with an infamy as deep as the abyss into which they will have plunged their country. And the patriots of all coming generations will execrate the memories of the men who betrayed the priceless heritage of Constitutional Liberty which was purchased with the blood of their fathers and placed in their hands as trustees for all mankind.

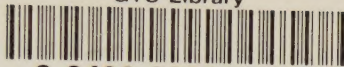
Let it be *our* aim to do what we can to avert so fearful a catastrophe. Let us cultivate a spirit of conciliation towards all portions of the Confederacy. Let us sustain the majesty of the law. Let us invoke the blessing of heaven upon our rulers. Let us, above all, be instant and earnest in commending our beloved country to the care of that benignant Providence who has brought us through so many dangers and crowned us with such unexampled prosperity.

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